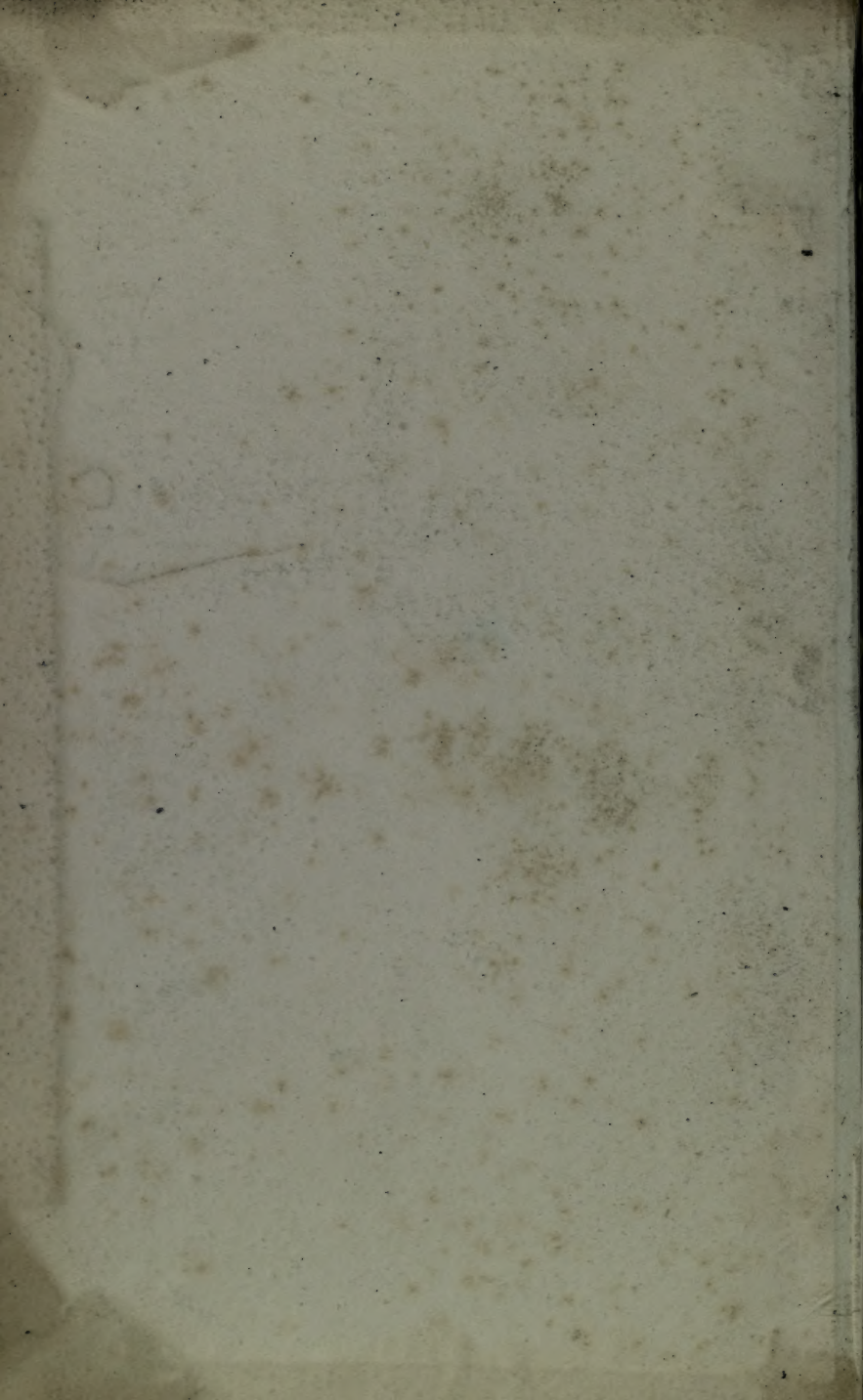
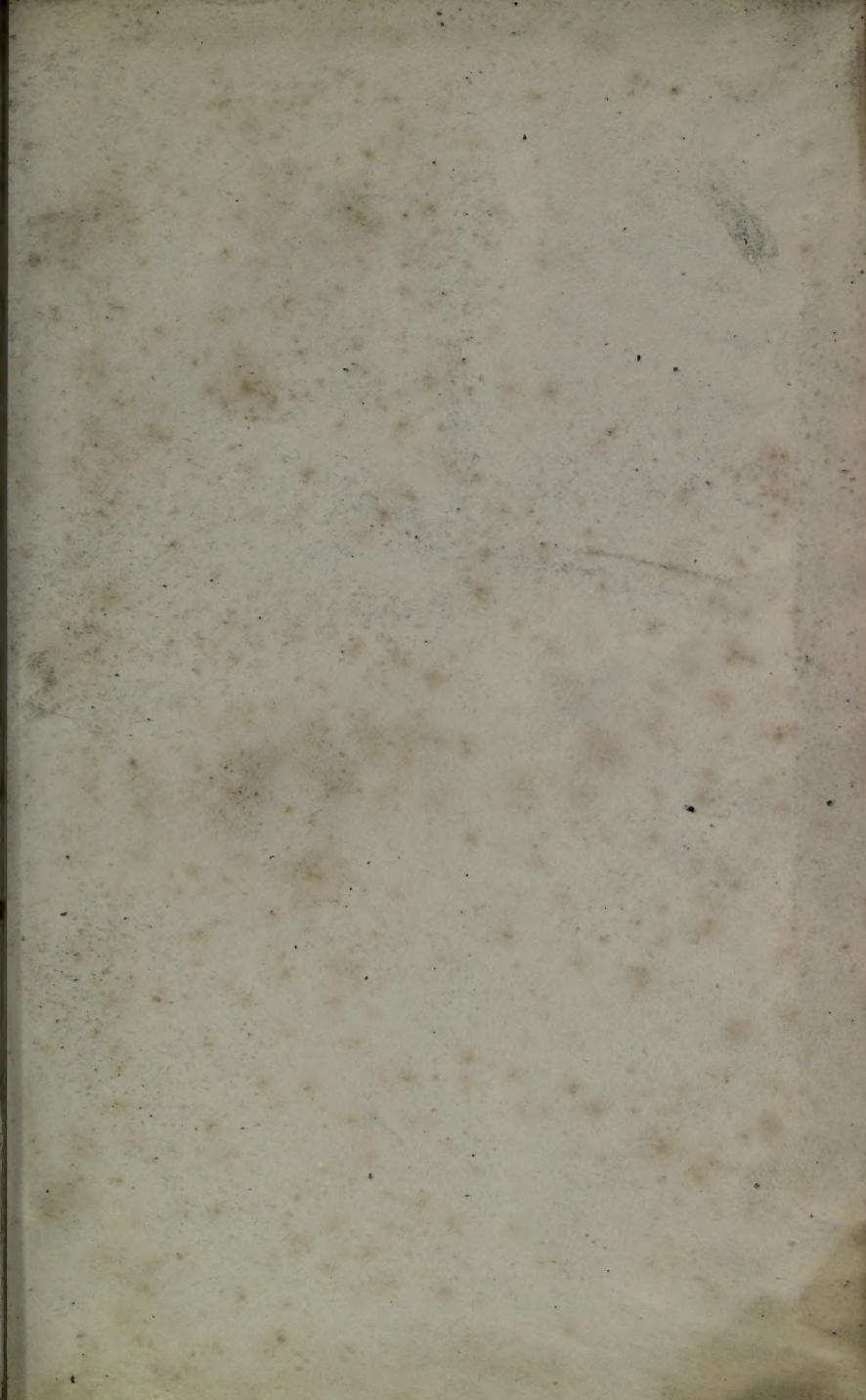


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THE FIRST

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A MONTHLY JOURNAL

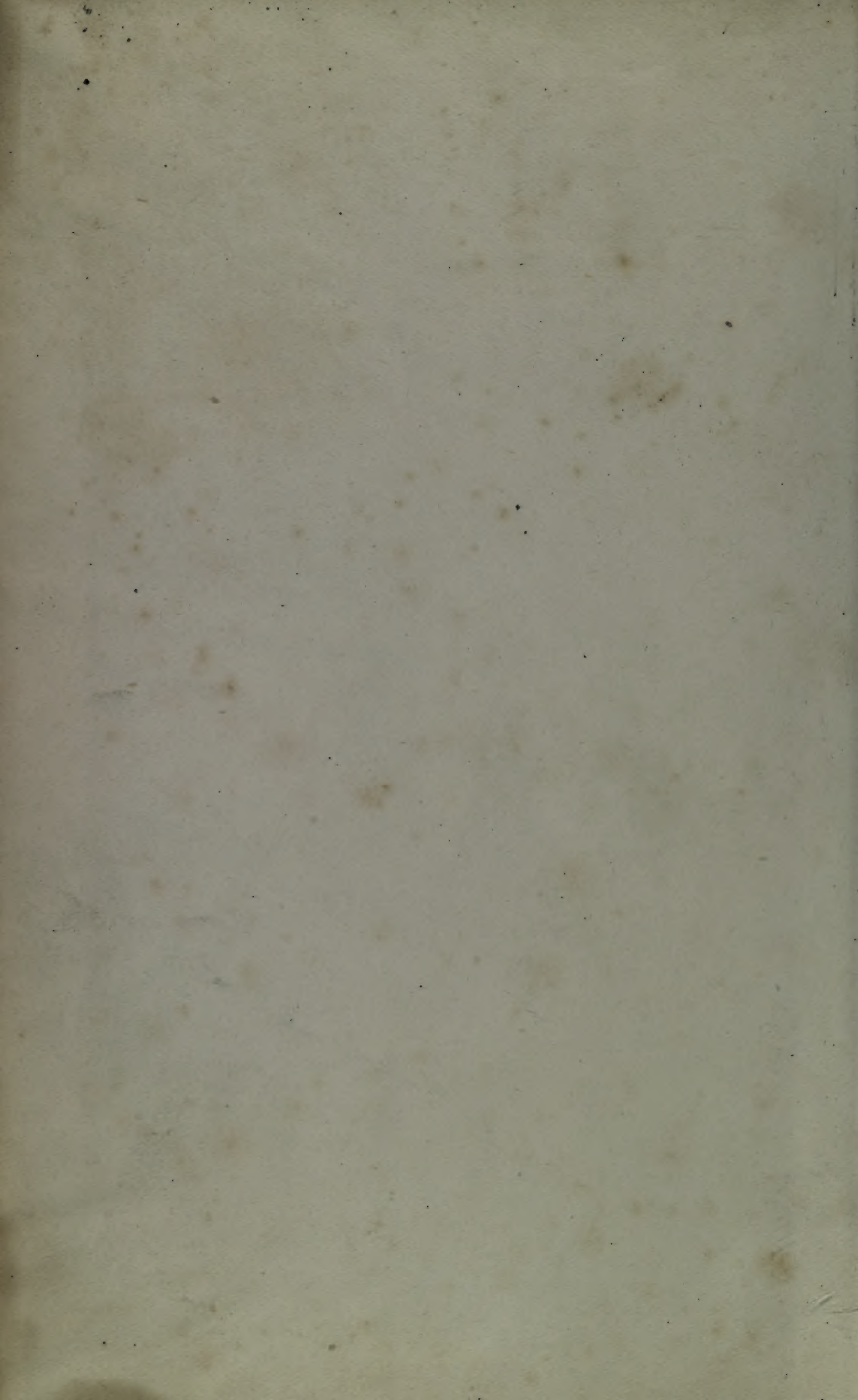
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THE IRISH ECCLESIASTICAL RECORD,

A Monthly Journal,

CONDUCTED BY A SOCIETY OF CLERGYMEN,
UNDER EPISCOPAL SANCTION.

VOL. X.

“ Ut Christiani ita et Romani sitis.”

“ As you are children of Christ, so be you children of Rome.”

Ex Dictis S. Patricii, Book of Armagh, fol. 9.

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THE IRISH
ECCLESIASTICAL RECORD.

OCTOBER, 1873.

THE ARCHBISHOP OF WESTMINSTER ON
IRELAND.

*Letter from his Grace the Archbishop of Westminster to his
Grace the Archbishop of Armagh, Primate of all Ireland,
&c., &c.*

MY DEAR LORD PRIMATE,

I can say with truth, that among the disappointments which have befallen me in events of this kind, I can remember none greater than that of failing of my promise to be with you at the dedication of the Cathedral of Armagh.

When your Grace first invited me, I answered at once that I could refuse nothing to the successor of St. Patrick. Any such invitation from Ireland would come in his name; but an invitation from Armagh comes with his authority. It speaks from his own See as Metropolitan and Primate of Ireland.

I felt also, that your invitation was not only a personal and private kindness, but that it had a wider meaning. It was a bidding to me to come and to greet once more the Bishops of Ireland, among whom I spent so many happy hours during the Council of the Vatican. I may say still more: it was an invitation to the Catholic Church in England to come and join with the Catholic Church in Ireland, in a solemnity which bears witness to the indissoluble unity of the Faith. It seemed to me very fitting, and in these days very timely, and in every way very good and full of meaning, that the Primate of Ireland should have by his side a representative of the Catholic Church in England. I knew also from certain sources, that among the clergy and people of Ireland many kind hearts wished to give me a welcome.

Therefore, I do not think that I failed in any way to appre-

ciate the reasons which now make my disappointment greater. Your Grace will believe me then, when I say that no light cause would have made me deprive myself of so much pleasure, and disappoint so many kind friends, and frustrate so many kind intentions. I may also add, that no light cause would have made me even seem to be wanting in respect to your Grace, and the Bishops, and to the clergy and people of Ireland.

But in truth I had, as I wrote last week, no choice.

Our Provincial Council, which I thought would be over in ten or twelve days, took two and twenty; and, after it closed, it laid upon me many more days of work. The dedication of the church at Rathkeale was fixed for the 17th. I could not leave St. Edmund's College, where the Council was held, until the 16th. It was then impossible to reach Rathkeale in time, even if I could have travelled night and day; and I did not know till the work was over how completely unable I was to travel at all, still more to fulfil the promise I had made of preaching in Rathkeale, and in Dublin, and Armagh, and of accepting the many kind tokens of welcome which were, as I knew, prepared for me. Those who were then with me know that I do not often break promises of work. Between the conviction that I ought not to undertake any work at that time, and the pain of disappointing so many known and unknown to me, I was in real anxiety. I can, therefore, assure you that your Grace's kind and considerate letter, and one equally kind and considerate from his Eminence the Cardinal, have given me a sensible relief and consolation. I will now therefore go on to fulfil my promise to give you in print what I should have said in words. Your Grace need not be afraid lest I should send you the sermon I was to preach. My purpose is more merciful. I wish to write what I should have said about the Catholic Church in Ireland, and also in England, their mutual relations of co-operation and support; and somewhat about the witness we have to bear, and the work we have to do in our country, at this strange crisis of the Church in all nations of Europe.

I.

If I had been able to be among you, I should have expressed, so far as I could, some of the many motives of veneration with which I regard Catholic Ireland; for I know no country in the world more truly Christian, nor any Catholic people that has retained its faith and traditions more inviolate. The one only exception I know is indeed out of all comparison: I mean Rome. It is true indeed that the immutability of Rome is thrown out into higher relief by the fact that the city

has been submerged, times without number, by every form of anti-Christian enmity ; and that it has been the centre of all the warfare of the world against the Faith : but it has been sustained by its exceptional divine prerogatives, and therefore remains immovable. Ireland has not the special support of either " *Tu es Petrus*" or of " *Ego rogavi pro te* ;" nevertheless it remains to this day, for fourteen hundred years, as St. Patrick left it, unstained and inviolate in Catholic fidelity. I know of no other province in the Kingdom of our Divine Master of which this can be said. Every other country in Europe has had its heresy, and its periods of obscurity. Some have risen and fallen again, and have been restored once more ; some, after centuries of light and grace, have apostatized utterly, and lie dead to this day ; but Ireland is the Ireland of St. Patrick to the present hour. I am well aware what nibbling critics and historical scavengers may rake up from the twelfth or thirteenth centuries of Irish history ; but this still more confirms my assertion. Even in those dark days the faith of Ireland never failed. It was Catholic and Roman as St. Patrick taught it. I note this, not only because it is a great glory which has been won by centuries of suffering even unto death—and Ireland may indeed be truly inscribed in the Calendar of the Church as both Confessor and Martyr—but I note it because it seems to me to be related to other great truths. If England had been less prosperous in this world, it might have been more faithful to the Kingdom of God. If Ireland has had an inheritance of sorrow, it has received, in the order of grace and life eternal, the recompense of a great reward. In this I see some explanation of the unexampled spiritual fertility of Ireland. What other race since the Apostles had so spread the Faith on earth ? There is at this hour an Irish and Catholic population in England, Scotland, Canada, Australia, and the United States, double in number as compared with the whole population of Ireland. They are multiplying beyond all other races : founding churches and episcopates, building cathedrals, raising everywhere altars, schools, colleges, convents ; and covering the surface of new countries—I may say new continents—with the Catholic faith, as fervent, fruitful, and pure, as in Dublin, Cashel, Tuam, and Armagh. I know nothing else like this in the world—I may say, in Christian history. When I remember how this faith has been preserved, through what sorrows and sufferings, with what a prolonged martyrdom of generations, I must believe that our Divine Master has called the Irish nation to a great mission, and a great destiny. And this comes out all the more visibly in this age of national apostasy. The nations have fallen away one after another from the unity of the

Kingdom of God. Germany and the North fell first ; France, and Italy, and Austria, and now Spain have followed. By anti-Christian revolutions and public rejection of the Vicar of Jesus Christ they have as nations ceased to be Catholic, and seem bent on ceasing to be even Christians ; but Ireland in heart, and soul, and will, in its private life and public opinion, in its popular voice and political action, is Christian and Catholic ; with a noble pride and manly indignation at the apostasy and cowardice of the nations who are hiding their face from the Redeemer of the world, and disowning His Vicar upon earth. With all my heart I love Ireland for this apostolic fidelity, for this chivalry of Catholic fortitude and Christian love. Your Grace is at this moment, while I am writing, surrounded by the Bishops and clergy of Ireland, dedicating the Cathedral at Armagh. I am consoling myself for my privation by writing these words : and praying that the promise made to St. Patrick may be abundantly fulfilled in all the world, and with a special benediction on the province of Ulster ; and upon the faithful, fervent, generous people of Ireland.

Edmund Burke said that, with some changes, the Catholic Church in Ireland, to his mind, bore the closest resemblance of any Church on earth to the Church of the Apostles. I fully believe this ; for it is the most Pastoral Church in the world, where pastors and flock are in the closest bonds of confidence and love. Where this is, Christianity is, in its primitive purity of life. I am not going to dwell on these topics now. Ireland, its adversaries being both judges and witnesses, is at the head of the nations for purity of morals, and freedom from ordinary crime. For years I have declared my belief that Ireland is the most Christian country in the world. Its Christian traditions are universal and unbroken ; its people know their religion ; the intelligence of Ireland has been illuminated, quickened, enlarged by the inherited faith of fourteen hundred years ; to your flocks Christian and Catholic are convertible terms. An Irishman without faith is a shame to his mother and to Ireland. The laity of Ireland, as I well know, are as prompt and clear when Catholic doctrine or principle are at stake, and speak as authoritatively and logically in defence of the Catholic religion, as if they had been trained in a seminary. The whole action of Irish homes, Irish public opinion, and the social life of the nation, moulds them, not by constraint and unwillingly, but insensibly and spontaneously, to the instincts and character of Christians. May God preserve this inheritance of His grace to you. In England it has been shattered and wasted ; every year mutilates more and more the remaining Christian traditions of public life and opinion among us. We can test this comparative difference under our

The Archbishop of Westminster on Ireland.

own hands. The difference of Catholic formation between those who come to us from Ireland and those who are born of Irish parents in England is sadly marked. The atmosphere of Ireland unfolds and ripens the Catholic instincts of faith ; the atmosphere of England, like untimely frost, checks and cuts them off.

II.

I could have wished also to say to my Irish brethren what, as one looks at Ireland from a distance, may perhaps be a mirage or an illusion ; but it may also be a truth and reality, more promptly seen by those who look from a distance, than by those who live in the monotony of every day and the importunate presence of the common life which surrounds them. Perhaps no one is so quick to perceive the growth of the trees about a friend's house as a visitor who comes only from time to time. One conviction then is strongly impressed upon my mind. I do not believe that Ireland was ever so full of life, power, and resource as at this day. I can fully understand how the constant sense of the many evils and wrongs you daily see, may make it hard to realize this fact ; but I believe it to be the simple truth.

1. First, was there ever any time in the history of Ireland when its people were so completely united ? There have been in past times many interests of races, families, and classes, which have hindered the fusion of the people into one whole. At this day they are as solidly united as the people of Scotland or of Yorkshire. The moral importance of this fact will be estimated by all who know the past history of Ireland.

2. Next, it may with certainty be said that the people of Ireland were never so well or so universally educated as at this day. The College of St. Patrick's, at Maynooth, has now, since the beginning of this century, wrought its effects throughout the Catholic clergy ; a number of lesser colleges throughout the provinces has powerfully affected the Catholic laity. The system of education which for the last thirty years has covered Ireland with national schools, has diffused education through the whole body of the people. Popular education in Ireland is more widely spread than in England. What was intended by some to undermine the Catholic religion in Ireland has turned to the confirmation of the Faith. The mass of the people at this day are an intelligent and educated Catholic nation : all the more Catholic because all the more intelligent ; and thereby able to appreciate explicitly the grounds of their faith, the notes of the Church, the history of heresy, and the emptiness of all anti-Catholic systems which, after ages of pretensions, are visibly dissolving

every day before their eyes. Firm, changeless, and invincible as Ireland has ever been in its faith, it is more so now than ever. Everything has been tried against it, from martyrdom and pitchcaps to soup and secular education: *merges profundo pulchrior evenit*. I am old enough to remember the high days of Exeter Hall, and Irish missions at Dingle and the like, and Priest Protection Societies, and the New Reformation in Connemara; of which the great public oracle of England declared that, if its progress should be long maintained, Roman Catholicism would one day be as extinct in Ireland as the worship of the Phenicians in Cornwall. But all these things have gone to the limbo of South Sea Bubbles; and the Catholic people of Ireland are rising and consolidating every year in vigorous intelligence and immutable faith.

3. To this I may add one more sign of prosperous growth in Ireland. Since the day when its people were put out of their inheritance in the soil, there was never a time when so much land had returned again into Catholic hands. Famine and fever, and the exodus, have indeed done their mournful work, in assuring to those who survive or remain a better remuneration for their industry; but, apart from this, there never was, I believe, a time when more industry was at work in Ireland, when more capital was invested, more activity of production and exchange was in motion, and when, therefore, better returns were secured to the employers and better wages to the employed. Of this I lately had an unlooked for and trustworthy proof. A very intelligent Englishman, who had raised himself, as he told me, from the plough's tail, went over last autumn to Connemara, to see with his own eyes the material condition of the peasantry in Ireland. On his return he assured me that in abundance and quality of food, in rate of wages, and even in the comfort of their dwellings, the working men of Connemara are better off than the agricultural labourers of certain of our English counties. It is, therefore, to me beyond a doubt, that the Catholic population of Ireland is at this moment forming to itself a social organization, in all its conditions of industry and commerce, labour and capital; and filling up the unsightly chasm between the richest and the poorest with a gradation of social classes; which must every year indefinitely increase the resources and power of the country. I know, indeed, that the last census shows once more a diminished population: but when this descent has touched a certain point emigration will slacken, if not cease, and the population must increase again.

4. And, lastly, I must say that no one without a foresight almost prophetic could have foretold, in 1828 and 1829, to how high a share in the public life and power of the Empire

Ireland has been lifted by the last five and forty years. On this let me speak out of my own observation. I was just entering upon life when the Catholics of these kingdoms were admitted into Parliament. I well remember the political conflicts from the time of Mr. O'Connell's election for the county of Clare. From that day to this many events and reasons have made me note somewhat closely the course of our legislation: and my clear and firm conviction is, that at no time in the history of the English Monarchy has Ireland had so wide, so various, and so powerful a share in the legislature, in the public opinion, and in the public life of the Empire. The justice of Englishmen has admitted Ireland to the same legal privileges and powers as England and Scotland; and the intelligence and energy of Irishmen are every year converting what is potential in the Statute Book into actual exercise and possession. It is not my intention now to enter upon political matters; but I must say in passing that I do not forget the inequalities which still depress the Catholic population of these kingdoms. They are not, however, inequalities of the law, which is the same for all; but inequalities of social and personal conditions, which still weigh upon the posterity of those who were a generation ago under penal laws. Who would have believed that, after five and forty years—that is, nearly half a century after the admission of Catholics to Parliament—there should not be a single Catholic returned to the House of Commons by any constituency in England or in Scotland? And who would believe that, of the hundred and five Irish members in the House of Commons, the Catholic members should be only one in three to represent a people of whom the Catholics are nearly four to one? Nevertheless, as I am aware, the Protestant representatives of Catholic constituencies are men of honour; and through them also Catholic Ireland makes its just claims felt, so far as they are felt, in the Imperial Legislature. Your Grace will correct me if I be in error; but am I not right in affirming that Ireland has a public opinion of its own which has matured and strengthened in the last forty years beyond all example in the past history of the country? And has not that public opinion a powerful action, through an extensive and active press, upon the public opinion of England and upon the Imperial Legislature? And let me add that, in all the great cities and towns of England and Scotland, there is a response to this public opinion and to this public voice of Ireland which carries home both to the ear and to the intelligence of this country. My belief is that there is a great future for Ireland. If less than fifty years have brought about what I have hardly touched in outline, what may not another fifty years with the

accelerating ratio of improvement accomplish? When I look on foreign nations, and I may say also upon England, I see cause for grave foreboding. Everywhere I see change, or what men call progress, without stability. Governments and nations are marching into the unknown, without a base of operations, and therefore without any line of retreat; without communications open for resource, or means of reforming in case of a disaster. States, I do not say monarchies, for they have sold themselves and are morally gone, but States without faith are therefore without God; and States without God have no stability, because they have no vital coherence. They may hold together by the force of custom for awhile, or by the tenacity of interest even for a long time; but they have no source of life or curative resources in themselves. All these things I see in Ireland. You have a people pervaded by faith, openly serving God by every form of private and public duty. You have a religious unity in doctrine, worship, and communion, which resists and casts off all modern expedients of latitudinarianism or Godless legislation. The progress of Ireland is on the pathway of Christianity, which has made the nations of Christendom and the glory of them. They have departed, or are departing from faith, and their glory likewise is departing from them. For them I see no future. I see no future for Imperial Germany; or for revolutionary Italy; or for Spain, if it abandon its ancient Catholic traditions; or for France, if it continue to deify Voltaire and to glorify the principles of 1789. But I do see a future for Ireland, and I see also a future for England—if Ireland be Ireland still, and if England have still a Christian heart. Here is the trial which has now reached its crisis. The trial is this: Shall the next generation of Irishmen be formed as Catholics? Shall the next generation of Englishmen be formed as Christians?

III.

I am at a loss to understand the blindness which has fallen upon a multitude of men at this day. They would indignantly claim to be Christians. But they deal with Christian education as they would deal with the casting of iron and the combing of wool; as a necessary but expensive work, in which there is no motive for enthusiasm. Not so those who desire to rid the world of the Catholic faith, of doctrinal Christianity, and of religion in any form. They know perfectly well that the school is more fatal to their policy than the church. Our churches would soon stand empty if our schools were not full. They see what we are either blind enough not to see, or, as they may well think, stupid enough not to understand; that the shape, and mould, and form, and character of the next

generation is to be decided in our schools. Bring up the children without religion, and the next generation will pull down the churches. We in England were upon the brink of being terrified by agitation, and juggled by Leagues into some compromise, which is the beginning of interminable concessions. This danger is I hope past, because the momentary scare is over, and the weakness of the agitation is found out. We have need, however, of a hundred eyes, and of keeping them all open, to watch the dangers which beset the Catholic and Christian education of these countries. The popular education of Ireland is indeed safe; not through any favour of legislatures, but through the fidelity and industry of the Catholic Church and its people. Your danger will be in the higher education. And your only safety will be in the same Catholic fidelity and industry; which will render all experiments at mixed education in Ireland useless, because the Catholic laity in Ireland refuse them, and the Catholic Church is resolved to provide colleges and a higher education for its people. When the late proposal for university education in Ireland was first made known, I was, for a time, induced to believe, looking at it as for us in England, that it could be accepted with safety and worked for ultimate good. But this impression, for I will not call it a judgment, or even an opinion, I carefully guarded by the consciousness that those only who are upon the spot and familiar with all local and personal conditions could form an adequate judgment. I was fully aware that what could be tolerated in England might be intolerable in Ireland: and that what would be a gain to a handful of Catholics in a vast non-Catholic population, might be a great loss, and even a wrong, to a Catholic people of which the religious unity and Catholic traditions are unbroken. When, then, the Catholic Episcopate of Ireland refused the proposal on the high Christian principle that it involved two things which the Catholic Church inflexibly refuses, the one mixed education, the other education without faith, I recognised the higher and nobler attitude of its refusal. I saw in it the broad assertion that a Catholic people have a right to Catholic education; that education is impossible without faith; that already enough had been endured by Ireland; and that had been done by Parliament in the establishment of primary schools in which the Catholic religion could not be taught, and in the founding of colleges where education is mixed; that both these things are wrong against a Catholic people; and that it was therefore impossible to consent to a measure which would consolidate, perpetuate, and extend this system of mixed and Godless education in the heart of a people profoundly religious and profoundly Catholic. When I saw this, I at once recog-

nised not only the truth and the justice, but also the higher elevation of your reply. Such mixed and Godless schemes of university education have become inevitable in England by reason of our endless religious contentions. England has lost its religious unity and is paying the grievous penalty. But Ireland may well remind the Imperial Parliament that it has not forfeited its religious unity, and that such penal legislation is neither necessary nor tolerable. Even Scotland has made this plea good, in bar of schemes of education at variance with its religious convictions. The Scotch Education Bill is essentially religious and denominational. Parliament has legislated for Scotland wisely and justly, according to the desires and the conscience of the Scotch people. It will assuredly take its measure of any education schemes for England from the ideas and choices of the English people. To their shame be it spoken, there are Englishmen and Scotchmen who will claim this for themselves and will deny it to Irishmen. We have of late years fully unmasked this injustice. For a long time your claim was not denied, because it was not distinctly enunciated. Ireland had borne with a long course of niggard and ungenerous legislation; in which the least possible recognition was admitted that Ireland is a Catholic country, and the Irish a Catholic people. But when certain politicians began to claim Presbyterian education for Presbyterian Scotland, the whole truth was told, and the claim of Ireland was unintentionally established. The Presbyterians in Scotland are as somewhat more than four to one of the population. The Catholics of Ireland are about the same to their non-Catholic fellow countrymen. The late Irish University debates have lifted the whole question, and placed it upon this level: Catholic Ireland justly claims that its higher education shall be Catholic. And from this demand, I trust, under God, it will never go back. The Bishops and people of Ireland who, in resistance of the Godless colleges five and twenty years ago, founded a Catholic University, will not fail now in resisting the scheme of a mixed university, to give permanence and development to the university which already exists. The vigorous unity of the pastors and people of Ireland will not hesitate to take up and to consolidate the work which was so well begun with so much foresight, and with so much self-denial. Its very existence on Stephen's Green is a witness that Catholic Ireland claims a pure Catholic University. I trust that no line, no letter of this noble and explicit inscription, will be effaced. It was the work of the Irish Church and nation. It has stood for more than twenty years, bearing witness to the claims of the laity of Ireland, and to the duty of the Imperial Parliament towards the Irish people. If it served no other purpose

in our day—and it does serve a multitude of other and excellent uses—this one alone would suffice to bind the faithful to maintain it in its integrity, and to make it the centre of the higher national education of Ireland.

IV.

If this be done by the spontaneous efforts of the Irish people, the day must come when a juster spirit will prevail in our Legislature. It will not for ever obey the narrow bigotry of Covenanters, nor the jealous fears of Sectarians, nor the imperial haughtiness of tyrannical Liberals, nor the supercilious contempt of infidels. The Parliament of the future will be broader, and more in sympathy with the constituencies of the three kingdoms. England and Scotland will not claim to legislate for Ireland according to English and Scotch interests and prejudices; and Ireland, when it is justly treated, will have no more will then than it has now to make or meddle in the local affairs of England or Scotland. The three peoples are distinct in blood, in religion, in character, and in local interests. They will soon learn to "live and let live," when the vanishing *reliquiæ* of the Tudor tyranny shall have died out, unless the insane example of Germany shall, for a time, inflame the heads of certain violent politicians to try their hand at what they call an Imperial policy. I have watched with a mixture of sorrow and indignation the writings and the speeches of a handful of boisterous and blustering doctrinaires, who are trying to turn men away from doing what is just towards Ireland by grandiloquent phrases about the Imperial race and an Imperial policy. An Imperial policy, in the mouths of doctrinaires, means a legislation which ignores the special character and legitimate demands of races and localities, and subjects them to the coercion of laws at variance with their most sacred instincts. Not so the Imperial policy of ancient Rome, which wisely consolidated its world-wide power by the most delicate regard to the religion of every race and nation. But our doctrinaires either have no religion, or a Scotch or English creed. They will take good care to make provision for themselves.

Imperial policy means, and may be defined as, legislation to hamper and harass the Catholic Church in Ireland. Such Imperial legislation would be intensely English for England, and Scotch for Scotland; but Imperial, that is, anti-Irish and anti-Catholic for Ireland. Imperial legislation means using Imperial power to force Ireland into subjection to the religious ideas of England. These same gentlemen lament openly that the policy of the Tudors stopped short of exterminating the Irish Catholic race. They are saying: "If we had lived in

the days of our fathers not a Catholic soul should have been left in Ireland, and then we should now have had no trouble with questions of Church, or land, or university education." The appearance of such public counsellors is a portent of evil. They distort the vision and heat the blood of men ; they revive animosities and kindle old hates. They may be the forerunners of convulsions which would lay waste our public peace, if there be not calmer heads and juster hearts to repress their inflammatory declamation.

The rise of an Empire is no cause of joy to men who love their country. It is the sign of the loss of true liberty. When local government, springing from mature national self-control, grows weak and impotent, then, and then only, it is that Imperial centralization becomes possible and necessary. France has tried it, and is expiating the fault by half a century of successive revolutions and a chronic instability. Germany is beginning to inflict upon itself a vengeance worse than France could wreak, by an Imperial despotism which legislates in violation of the religion and conscience of its subjects. Its present ecclesiastical laws have been hailed and heralded by our newspapers as the policy of Henry VIII. Till the other day no Englishman was found to glorify Henry VIII. Now he has received his apotheosis as a great Englishman and a wise king. Germany is applauded because it is persecuting the Catholic Church. The Imperial power is setting to us the magnanimous example of defying the Pope. Articles without end appear every week, all alive with sympathy for this ignoble tyranny, which violates liberty of conscience, of religion, of speech, and of action, in its most sacred sphere. And Englishmen, who have prated for three hundred years of the duty of private judgment, of the rights of conscience, of civil and religious liberty, are praising the German penal laws with all the fervour with which they used to denounce the fables of the Spanish Inquisition.

V.

I cannot say that I have much fear of an Imperial policy in Great Britain and Ireland. The day is past, and the work would be found too tough for our doctrinaires. My chief reason for this confidence is, that the people of these three kingdoms will not have it so. They mean to manage their own affairs with a great extension, rather than a hairsbreadth of diminution, in the freedom of local self government. They are willing, as I said, to live and to let live ; not to meddle with others, nor to allow anybody to meddle with them : above all, in matters of conscience and of religion they will not be interfered with by any authority. They have no desire to interfere

with the conscience or religion of their neighbours ; and they do not mean to be used again as the tools or the weapons of any party, political or religious.

Such is certainly the mind and will of the English people, as I believe I can undertake to say ; and I think your Grace would be able to add your testimony as to the people of Ireland. They have least of all any desire to meddle with the political or religious affairs of their neighbours ; and they have no intention that any neighbours whatsoever should meddle with theirs. In this temper of mind I see the surest guarantees of our future peace ; and of the healthful development of a local self-government over the three kingdoms, suited to the character, faith, conscience, traditions, and interests of each. We shall be thereby removed every day further and further from the dangers of "Imperial" centralization, which is everywhere, as it has been in France, the paralysis of all local and individual energy and life. In this expansion of our distinct and various national life and energy, I see also the bonds of mutual good will and justice which must assuredly draw us more closely together and hold us indissolubly united.

I shall, therefore, hope that our Legislature will hereafter represent more adequately the legitimate will, conscience, and mind of Great Britain and Ireland : and that when certain politicians, who would vote for denominational education in England and mixed education in Ireland, because they exist by favour of the Orangemen of Ireland and the Anglicans in England, shall have put off their traditional narrowness and their anti-Catholic enmity ; and when the so-called Liberals shall have repented of their sympathy with the German penal laws, and the Nonconformists shall have remembered that it is not for Free Churches to force the conscience of those who believe education without religion to be anti-Christian ; when these recent mental aberrations shall have been rectified by certain of our legislators, and they will be rectified when the House of Commons truly represents the people of the three kingdoms,—then, I believe, the university education offered to the people of Ireland will be such as a Catholic nation has a right to possess. Until then I hope both the Bishops and laity of Ireland will wait in patience. The policy of patience won for them unconditional Catholic emancipation fifty years ago ; and it will win for them hereafter a true and pure Catholic University.

VI.

In the course of the late debates I heard strange utterances about the duty of Government to interfere to save the laity of Ireland from an Ultramontane priesthood. There are yet

men alive, and in parliament too, who can harbour and utter such wild talk. This was the dream of those who set up the National Education of 1835. They fought Papacy "with their right hand tied behind them." The result was not encouraging. And now rather than confess their mistake they must try it again. It has failed with the poor, but it may prosper with the upper class; especially if there can be found anywhere the fear of being thought to be priest-ridden to work upon. I will confess that I had maliciously made up my mind, when I should be enjoying your hospitality, to hear what the laymen of Ireland would say to this benevolent purpose of their English protectors. As I have not seldom to converse with men who profess to know on the best evidence that the laity in Ireland are sighing for redemption from an Ultramontane and domineering priesthood, I thought it would not be amiss if I could give in this matter the result of my own experience. But in truth I have no need to go to Armagh, to know what the laity of Ireland would say to those who scatter imputations on their fidelity and would try to seduce them from their pastors; nor do I need any evidence to assure me that the handful of men, who in London or in Dublin mutter and whisper under the eaves of Governments against the Hierarchy of Ireland, do not represent or know the Irish people.

VII.

I am well aware how many questions there are bearing on the welfare of Ireland which demand attention; but I must take leave to say that in my judgment their is none that bears any comparison in vital importance to that of education. It is nothing less than this: Shall the posterity of Ireland be the children of St. Patrick, or the children of this world? Here is an issue in which I believe all Irishmen will be united. Even the Protestants and the Presbyterians of Ireland desire that education shall be religious and Christian. The whole Irish people, Catholic and Protestant, therefore, alike demand that the tradition of Christian education, unbroken hitherto, may be preserved inviolate, and handed down as they have received it to their children's children.

I rejoice to know that on the 12th of July no Catholic in Ulster raised his hand or his voice to hinder the freedom which his Protestant neighbours enjoyed: and that on the 15th of August no Protestant moved to disturb his Catholic neighbours. When these things can be done in Ulster, what may not be done in Ireland? I learned yesterday that on Sunday, while the Catholic Cathedral of Armagh was dedicated, the bells of Armagh rang a friendly greeting. God

grant that their mingled harmony may be a prophecy of a future perfect unity of faith. It made me doubly sorry that I was not there to hear them. Whatever experiments, I was almost going to say tricks, the miserable political and religious contentions of England may force men to practise in this country, Scotland will have none of them. John Knox has just put his foot down, and while he gives freedom to others, he will have his own Bible and Catechism. Ireland will not fail to do what Scotland has done. St. Patrick will claim that the Christian Faith of the whole people shall be guarded in all its purity and freedom; and Irishmen will know how to make this national right known and felt at the next general election. I hope to see the hundred and five Irish members vote as one man against every attempt to meddle with the full freedom and purity of religious education in Ireland.

And now, my dear Lord Primate, I have detained you too long; and if I were not to put some force on myself I should run on out of bounds. I hope my brethren, the Bishops of Ireland, will accept what I have written as an expression of my heartfelt regret at finding myself here alone while they were offering up the Holy Sacrifice in thanksgiving, in the new Cathedral of Armagh. The Catholic Church in Ireland and in England has at this day a solid unity of mutual co-operation such as it never had since Armagh and Canterbury were founded. In the Vatican Council no Saint had so many mitred sons as Saint Patrick; and, wonderful are the ways of God, no power on earth had there a Hierarchy so numerous gathered from the ends of the earth as our own. These things are not without a future: and that future hangs in great measure on our close union and mutual help. In your brotherly invitation to Armagh I read the same meaning; and in this answer, in the name of the Catholic Bishops and Church in England, I accept and reciprocate the assurance of our alliance.

Believe me, my dear Lord Primate,

Your Grace's affectionate Brother and Servant,



HENRY EDWARD,

Archbishop of Westminster.

London, August 31, 1873.

PASTORAL LETTER OF THE ARCHBISHOP AND
BISHOPS OF THE PROVINCE OF WESTMINSTER
IN PROVINCIAL COUNCIL ASSEMBLED.

WE, THE ARCHBISHOP AND BISHOPS OF THE PROVINCE OF
WESTMINSTER, IN PROVINCIAL COUNCIL ASSEMBLED.

*To our dearly beloved Brethren and Children in Christ, the Clergy,
Secular and Regular, and the Faithful under our Juris-
diction.*

Health and Benediction in the Lord Jesus Christ.

Fourteen years have now elapsed since the Third Provincial Council of Westminster was held. Nearly half a generation of men has passed away. Six of the thirteen Dioceses of England have carried to their last, it may be said their first rest, with noble testimonies of love and veneration, the laborious Pastors who in daily toil wore out their life for their flock. Westminster, and Beverley, and Hexham, Southwark, and Salford, and Liverpool, are represented in this our Fourth Council by other voices, bearing witness to the same faith and to the same authority. The Pastors come and go ; the office and the fold remain the same for ever.

If it be asked why fourteen years should have been allowed to pass without our meeting in Synod, it may be truly said that, of many causes which justified the postponement of our assembling to legislate for the Church in England, the chief cause is to be found in the completeness of the decrees of the three Provincial Councils already held. The First described and fixed the whole outline of the order, discipline, and worship, of the rising Church, which by the act of the Sovereign Pontiff had then come forth from its scattering and its captivity; the Second treated of its temporal administration ; the Third of its ecclesiastical seminaries, and the training of its clergy. You may then ask, dearly beloved brethren and children in Jesus Christ, why we should again assemble ; and what need of a Fourth Provincial Council. The law of the Church prescribes that such Synods be held every three years, unless by special permission of the Holy See this obligation be suspended. The Church does not wait till needs of new legislation shall force themselves upon us. It prescribes that we shall anticipate the pressure of necessity, and by constant vigilance prevent the abuses or disorders that demand correction. We give thanks to God that our meeting now is not for this need or purpose ; there is another and more consoling reason for our assembling here. We meet, now, not to reform or to correct, but to unfold and to expand, our former legislation. The

supernatural growth of the Church in England during the last fourteen years demands that its internal discipline shall be enlarged and perfected. This visible growth, which is evident to all men—to some indeed a cause of unreasonable fear, to us of humility, thanksgiving, and increasing labour—can be ascribed to no other power than that of the Holy Spirit of God, who is sensibly breathing where he lists over all the face of the land ; and to that also which is likewise His own work, the perfect order and action of the Church in its pastoral office, restored to us three and twenty years ago.

For three hundred years England had but one Pastor, afar off, and burdened with the charge of the universal Church. The Vicars Apostolic bare indeed his commission ; and, as true fishers of men, they wrought works which we humbly desire at least to imitate, if we cannot equal. But their Vicariates reached from sea to sea ; the Missions were few and isolated, with intervals of a day's journey from altar to altar. The creation of thirteen Episcopal Sees has opened thirteen sources of pastoral care ; each of which again has thrown out a whole diocesan organization, and multiplied churches, missions, clergy, colleges, and schools. The Hierarchy in its first nine years was as yet only gathering its strength to expand. In the last fourteen it has almost doubled its centres of action, and its resources of spiritual agency. Compare the state of the greater cities and towns of England before the year 1850 and at this time. The Missions have been divided and subdivided into new districts, with resident clergy in each ; the number of clergy in the larger Missions already existing has been steadily increased ; the schools and the children attending them are more than doubled ; the devoted religious who teach our children have multiplied in a still greater proportion ; the works of charity and piety of every kind have sprung up, and are springing up without ceasing ; the means of divine worship, the popular devotions of the Most Holy Sacrament, and those also of our Blessed and Immaculate Mother, have spread everywhere with so large an increase, that the whole face of England, especially in our large cities, begins to put on the aspect of Catholic lands, and to afford to the Faithful in most places a ready facility of daily devotion. In all this our beloved clergy, Secular and Regular, have zealously and powerfully co-operated. But, as we have said, it is not to ourselves that we arrogate this supernatural work ; but to the Spirit of God, and to the grace which attaches to the pastoral care.

For two and twenty days the Church has held counsel in Synod ; but we are not able as yet to make known the results of our deliberations. The decrees of the Council, until they have been approved by the Holy See, cannot be published. We

have the happiness of announcing to you that this Synod, containing the whole Episcopate of England, two mitred Abbots, the Cathedral Chapters by representation, the Provincials and Heads of Religious Orders in England, the theologians and officers of the Council, has for three weeks deliberated in the perfect unity of faith and charity, of heart and mind, of will and purpose, which is the heir-loom of those alone who inherit from the Apostles. We now separate, to return to our several flocks and charges, in the full consciousness that it has been good for us to be here. The deliberations of the Council have been guided, from the opening to the end, with a mutual confidence and respect which will not only be long remembered, but will bind us all to each other when we are once more scattered to our distant fields of work. The Catholic Church from this Synod will have gained an incalculable increase in its solid unity, and in its vigour of action, throughout the whole of England. For this grace of brotherly peace and concord we render our thanks to our Divine Master, who, according to His promise, has been in the midst of us, to help and to guide us.

We now address to you, dearly beloved brethren and children in Jesus Christ, a few words on some of the more urgent matters of our common duty.

1. And, first, we have to thank the Father of Lights and the Giver of all Grace for your fidelity and steadfastness in the faith in these days when some who were teachers among us have fallen away. The times in which we live are more dangerous than those of our forefathers. Persecution is a blunt weapon, which can but destroy the body : it gives strength and life to the soul. These days of subtle errors and poisonous refinement are far more perilous to the grace of faith, to rectitude of will, and to purity of heart : and when any one of these is infected, the fidelity of a Catholic is in peril. The whole atmosphere of this nineteenth century is charged with hostility to God and to His Church, to the doctrines of revelation, and even to the truths of natural order. And this, which a century ago was confined to a higher class of over-cultivated minds, is now, by the unprecedented activity of the press, diffused through every class, reaching even to the skilled and the unskilled working population of all countries, above all of our own. From the highest to the lowest class, unbelief has its literature and its apostles. In the midst of all these perils you have to live and breathe, to listen, and to receive, perhaps unconsciously, a tone and a spirit adverse to piety, and maxims contrary to faith. Therefore, dearly beloved children, we all the more rejoice over your constancy, firmly believing that the noble and inflexible fidelity we see in you is given you

from above. While all religious belief around us from internal dissensions is crumbling away, your solidity in the faith is proved by your unity with one another and with us. We have indeed cause to thank God for you all, for you are "our joy and our crown."

2. We need hardly exhort you to take care that your children shall be like yourselves, perfect in Catholic faith, and in the instincts which protect the grace of faith from the spirits of error now assailing us on every side. "Our wrestling is not against flesh and blood; but against principalities and powers, against the rulers of the world of this darkness; against the spirits of wickedness in the high places." But we need say no more. You are already roused to this duty. The work of our education in the last twenty years is sufficient proof. It has kept pace with the progress of which men are so fond. Burdened and hindered as we are with poverty, neither in quantity nor in quality is the education of the Catholic Church in England at a disadvantage. We might say more; but this is enough. The moral industry of our teachers, and the obedience of our children, has had its full effect even upon the intellectual development of our colleges and schools. We may confidently affirm that the most Christian, and most doctrinal schools in England, will be found, to say no more, not a whit behind any other schools in the standard of their secular instruction. You will, we are persuaded, labour together with us until every Catholic child of our poor shall be gathered into a Catholic school. You will deny yourselves that you may promote this vital work by your alms and contributions. Twenty years ago we had but one poor school society. It may be truly said that now we have thirteen. Every diocese is in itself the most efficient education society: and to this many give their aid readily and generously, as we already know. We need not repeat that, to the utmost of their power, all the faithful are bound to contribute, in the Diocese or Mission where they reside, to the education of the poor. These have a first claim upon you as your nearest of kin in the household of faith. You will not fail to remember that the Poor School Committee, which was once, as we have said, our only society for education, is still our only society for the training of school teachers, without whom all efforts to multiply our schools would be of little avail. The efficiency of a school depends upon the teacher. And the excellence of the teacher depends upon his training. Just in proportion as religion is banished from the school-time, the obligation to train a race of teachers, who for the love of God and of souls will make the religious education of our poor children their primary care, becomes graver and more urgent.

3. There is another part of our education system which now needs attention. Until the last quarter of a century the middle class hardly existed in the Catholic Church in England. There were indeed in parts of the country a few families of the yeomanry still faithful; but our flock was for the most part made up of a smaller number of venerable and honoured Catholic families, who represent the spiritual inheritance of our forefathers, and a multitude of the poorest in the land. At this time, partly by prosperity in the commerce and industries of our country, and partly by a large accession of educated families to the Faith, a numerous middle class has been formed, for which a corresponding education must be carefully provided.

4. And here, though it is not our intention to dwell upon it, we think it well to add that the Bishops of England fully recognise the duty which lies upon them, to mature and to provide a system of higher education, required by our youth from the age of seventeen or eighteen to twenty-one or twenty-two years. It has been our duty, under the supreme guidance of the Holy See, to warn all parents that they cannot send their sons to the national Universities without exposing them to the peril of losing either faith or morals, or perhaps both; and that no parent can so expose a son without incurring grave sin. This admonition, which we gave five years ago, we are now compelled to repeat with still graver warning. The late changes in the national Universities, by which all tests in religion have been abolished, caused us once more to seek the guidance of the Holy See. After reciting the decision of the Holy See, dated February 3, 1865, the answer runs in these words: "The declaration then given was founded on the grave dangers which the said Universities presented: and the Catholics of England, both clergy and laity, complied with that declaration in the most edifying manner, although the state of the national Universities was far different then from what it has become since. Not only does the Holy See perceive no reason why it should recede from the afore-mentioned decision of 1865; but, in proportion as the reasons which called forth that decision have increased in gravity, so much the more necessary does it appear that that decision should be maintained."¹

5. Charged, as we are, with the pastoral care of the whole flock in this land, we recognise our obligation to see that the education of every member of the Church shall be in accordance with the Faith, out of which no one can be saved. We know that the education of the highest, as well as of the lowest, of our people is a part of the cure of souls for which we must give account. Every baptized soul, whether of the rich or

¹ Letter of the Cardinal Prefect of Propaganda, September 19, 1872.

poor, has a right to Catholic education. Every Christian father and mother have a right to educate their children in the Faith. We are guardians of the rights of children who are born again in Christian baptism; and guardians also of the rights of parents, to whom God has given, both by the law of nature and of grace, an authority over their children higher than the authority of any human power. For this cause we recognise our duty to labour with all provident care that the higher studies of our Catholic Colleges shall be so raised and matured as to leave nothing wanting to a mature Catholic education; and though, at this time, we may not have the power to found a Catholic University, it is certain that those who come after us will be compelled to accomplish in some way this great and necessary work. We ought, therefore, in our day, to do all in our power which may prepare for such a completion of our Catholic and Christian education. While others are departing, further and further, from the traditions of the Christian world, and casting the revelation of God out of the range of human science and of intellectual culture, it is the duty of the Catholic Church, with a steadfast inflexibility, to preserve, and to transmit whole and inviolate to those who shall come after, not only the doctrines of Christian education and of science, but the principles and the method of Catholic science, and of Christian culture. We have this precious deposit in trust, not for ourselves only, but for all posterity. Therefore, we cannot accept modern schemes of mixed education, or conform ourselves to them by the slightest deviation from the traditions of the Catholic Faith.

6. And this leads us to a last topic connected with the education of our youth, namely, the training of those who are destined to the priesthood. Until a certain age they are educated in the same Colleges with boys or with youths destined for the world. The early friendships formed in boyhood bind together the laity and the clergy through life. Their example may be mutually for good. Their path, as Christian and Catholic youths, is in common, until those who are to ascend the altar withdraw, for their last training in the life of interior perfection and of separation, from the world. Four years, or even six, are a short time to set apart for the last formation of men who shall become the guides and pastors of souls. For this purpose it is necessary that the greater dioceses, at least, should each possess a theological seminary. The lesser dioceses may either combine together or unite with some one of the greater in a common seminary. But to accomplish this we need your help. You can do no greater good than by training the clergy of the future. You cannot more wisely apply, whether by gift while living or by

bequest after your death, the means at your disposal than in the education of pastors and teachers for the work of souls. The need of such seminaries is evident, for two reasons : first, because the multiplication of our people demands a multiplication of our clergy ; and, secondly, because the rising standard of intellectual culture, both in the Catholic and the non-Catholic population around us, demands a higher intellectual culture in our priests. We would, therefore, earnestly exhort you to consider how you can promote the founding either of additional seminaries, or of burses for the maintenance of students in those that already exist. We would also specially exhort parents to remember that they can offer to the Lord no more precious gift than their sons to be His disciples. It is an exceeding honour and a signal grace to a house when a son is called to be a priest. A vocation brings a benediction into the home, and sanctifies it by a special relation to the altar and to the presence of Jesus in the Holy Sacrament.

7. The change which has been introduced into the popular education of England demands of us all a redoubled effort to preserve the Christian formation and traditions of our people. Hitherto the whole education of our poor schools was pervaded with faith and piety. Even the books of secular instruction were so written or compiled as to form at one and the same time the intellect, the conscience, and the will. The secular instruction, without ceasing to be literary, or falling below the required standard of efficiency, was throughout Christian and religious. It is so no longer. Our national education has ceased not only to train Christian men, but even to form the character of citizens. Four hours of secular teaching, in which neither Christianity nor the religion of nature may be taught, will not form conscience, or will, or character in man. The office of shaping the character of men belongs to a higher power. God has placed it in the hands of parents and of those to whom they confide their children. It is one of the penalties of religious division, that, because men have lost the unity of faith, the faith is banished from the schools of a Christian people. The State has ceased to admit Christianity into schools, because the people is not agreed as to what Christianity is. In saying this, we do but recite and describe our position, that we may point out our duty for the future. All are bound, pastors and parents, and all the faithful according to their power, to labour, and, by all means they can devise, to maintain in the hearts and minds of Catholic children of every class the full doctrinal knowledge of the faith, which throughout the four hours of the school time may no longer be taught. For this purpose no care on our part will be omitted :

first to provide catechetical formularies adapted to the several degrees of intelligence and culture in our youth ; secondly, to maintain a constant and minute examination, year by year, of the religious knowledge in our schools by inspectors in every diocese ; and lastly, to promote the diffusion of Catholic books, and, after the custom so widely spread in Catholic countries, of devotional objects, and of prints, and brief instructions of piety. We shall never know till the great harvest is gathered in, how much has sprung up from a diligent scattering of these unnoticed seeds of piety and faith. Happy are they who go through life casting the words of salvation along their path. "In the morning sow thy seed ; and in the evening let not thy hand cease : for thou knowest not which may rather spring up, this or that ; and if both together, it shall be the better."—(1 Eccl. xi., 6.) This admonition we give above all to heads of families. Let your homes be schools of faith and piety. Gather your children and your servants together day by day in some common acts of prayer. Sanctify your households, that they may be worthy of the Apostolic salutation, "the church which is in thy house."

8. We cannot leave this topic without urging on you, dear children in Jesus Christ, to ascertain carefully what is the character of the literature admitted into your homes. For the most part our English literature continues to be pure ; and it is at least free from impiety. But there are recent books of fiction in prose and in poetry, and works professing to be history and philosophy, which ought not to be under your roof. You are not without advisers who can tell you the real nature of such works. Twenty years ago we were almost without a modern Catholic literature. We have now a literature growing up, partly original, partly translated from other languages, which for variety and excellence promises gradually to supply much of our need. In commending our modern works, we do not mean to give them precedence in solidity and truth of expression over our older books. In devotion indeed we should rather commend the writings of our Catholic forefathers, to whom the realities of persecution taught a deep and simple piety, such as men learn in suffering, and would desire to rest upon in the hour of death.

9. There yet remains one other subject on which we desire to speak : not indeed to instruct you ; but to justify your fidelity, in cases which bring upon us much unreasonable and perverse censure from the world around you.

The Church has by its earliest discipline, and at all times, in language of great energy, condemned marriages of mixed religion. The reasons of this prohibition to you are self-evident ; to the world they are, like the Catholic Faith itself, unintelligible. The Church has added to

its prohibition the impediment whereby a mixed marriage without dispensation is unlawful. For grave causes, such a dispensation is granted by the Church. But it cannot be granted except upon the mutual and united promise of the two parties, Catholic and non-Catholic, made to the Bishop who grants the dispensation, that the Catholic party shall have perfect liberty to practise the Catholic religion, that all children born of such marriage shall be brought up in the Catholic faith, and that the marriage shall be solemnized in the Catholic Church alone. Of these three conditions the first is so self-evidently right and necessary that we need do no more than recite it. But on the two last much censure has been cast, and many things unreasonable and untrue have been said. We will therefore place in your hands a statement of the law of the Church, by which you will be able to satisfy all just minds, and to answer even those whose contentions are not just.

First, as to the education of the children in the Catholic faith, it has been said, and thought, that the Church used to permit that the sons should be brought up in one religion and the daughters in another. The Church has never permitted such a thing; it could not permit it: because such a practice is intrinsically sinful. It would be not only the breach of a law, but it would also be a denial of the Catholic faith. The Catholic Church knows of only one faith in which we can be saved. To consent to, or to countenance, an agreement by which one soul shall be brought up out of that way of salvation would be a mortal sin, and a tacit denial of the one only way of salvation. This the Church has never done, nor has ever even implicitly countenanced. They who have done such things will answer at the judgment-seat for their own personal acts, which were not acts of the Church, nor sanctioned by the Church, but were in direct variance with its express commands and with the law of God. It is in the memory of living men that the Archbishop of Cologne endured imprisonment in vindication of this divine law. We are bound to walk in the one only way to life, and to allow no soul for whom we are responsible to be led away from it. The Catholic father or mother who, for interest or any worldly motive, consents that their offspring shall be educated out of the way of life in which they profess to desire to die, thereby denies in deed the faith which they profess in words. Both by the natural and the revealed law of God, parents are bound to rear their children in the same grace of salvation in which they hope for eternal life. This condition, then, that all children of such marriage shall be brought up in the Catholic faith, is not a new or an arbitrary rule. It is an intrinsic law, founded upon the revelation

of God, old as the Church itself, and inseparable from the faith. They who believe that all forms of Christianity are indifferent will perhaps not understand our words. They who believe that the Catholic is the only revealed way of salvation will need no further reasoning.

The other condition, that no Catholic shall solemnize marriage before any minister of religion other than the priests of the Catholic Church, rests on principles equally plain. From the unity of the faith springs the unity of divine worship. As it is unlawful to hold communion with any professions of faith out of the unity of Catholic truth, so it is unlawful to hold communion in any acts of religion out of the unity of Catholic worship. Matrimony is a Sacrament of the Church; and no Catholic can therefore hold communion with any marriage ceremony professing to be religious, or in the presence of any person professing to be a minister of religion, out of the unity of the Catholic Church.

So long as penal laws inflicted legal nullity upon all Catholic marriages unless they were solemnized before the ministers of the Established Church, Catholics were compelled to go before them to obtain the legal validity of their marriage and the legal security of their estates. But they went before the minister of the Established Church, not as a minister of religion, but as a civil authority, and for civil effects. The Catholic marriage was the only marriage they recognised as perfect and valid before God and man; but, for its civil recognition and legal validity, they were compelled by penal laws to appear before the appointed civil officer, who was also a minister of the established religion. When, however, in the year 1836, this penal law was abolished, and the validity of Catholic marriages, with the presence of the Registrar, was legalized, the Registrar took the place of the Protestant clergyman, as the Protestant clergyman had until then discharged the office of the Registrar. From that moment the necessity of appearing before him ceased for all civil effects; and no other lawful motive for a Catholic to appear before him could exist. Thenceforward he could only be regarded as a minister of religion; and to go before him as such for any religious act, and especially for matrimony, which a Catholic knows to be a Sacrament, has ever been and ever must be forbidden, as an act intrinsically sinful. The highest authority in the Church declares such an act to be "unlawful and sacrilegious." This, then, is no new or arbitrary law, recently enacted by us. It is as old as the Church, and directly, and by necessity, resulting from the unity of Catholic Faith.

We cannot but add another reason which ought to weigh with our fellow-countrymen, and to satisfy every just mind. The

Catholic Church recognises as perfect and valid the marriages of the people of England contracted before the law of the land, if there be no impediment which in itself annuls the contract. The Catholic Church does not re-marry those of the English people who are received into its unity. It regards them as already man and wife, and their children as legitimate. Therefore if any Catholic solemnize a mixed marriage before the Registrar, or before the Protestant minister, the Catholic Church refuses to re-marry them. For two obvious reasons : first, they are already married ; and secondly, the Catholic party has committed a sacrilegious act. If the Catholic Church know beforehand that a Catholic intends, after his Catholic marriage, to commit that act of sacrilege, the law of the Church forbids the Catholic clergy to bless such a marriage. The intention to commit sacrilege excludes a Catholic from the Sacraments, and matrimony is a Sacrament. They who chose to forfeit the Benediction of the Church chose their own lot. The Church is neither responsible for their act, nor severe in withholding a Sacrament which, if sacrilegiously received, would add sin to sin. But, beloved brethren and children in Jesus Christ, you know these things : and we are speaking rather to those who reproach you than to you.

10. And now, in drawing these words of affectionate counsel to an end, we would once more thank God for the graces which have visibly descended upon us since the first Councils of Westminster were held. They met in times when a momentary outburst of fear and of ill-will had revived what lingered and smouldered of the anti-Catholic spirit of England. We were then in the first beginnings of our restoration to order. The walls were raised ; but the mortar was yet moist, and the structure had not hardened into its solidity. We have now a system covering the whole land. The Church in England is now so rooted and so fruitful, that it needs only time to grow to its fullness. The malevolence which then threatened us has given way before a truer knowledge of what the Catholic Faith and Church really are. For three hundred years both have been studiously hidden from the intelligence of England by penal laws, and by controversial misrepresentation. Ever since the Church regained her liberty, this has become impossible. She is now seen, and heard, and known. Englishmen have now, for more than forty years, that is, for nearly half a century, been with us in our divine worship : they have heard our preachers ; they have seen our colleges, convents, and schools ; they have laid aside suspicions, fears, and hates, in the open light of day. These old superstitions are gone to the moles and to the bats. Educated Englishmen know us better. The poor in England have no animosities

against the faith of their fathers. Our people are mingled with them : they labour together and live together. They are accustomed to see with no wonder, and with some good will, our Clergy and our Sisters visiting the sick and the dying in the same neighbourhood, in the same hospital, and often in the same house where they dwell. They have learned that the Catholic religion is the religion of charity, and that the Catholic Church is the Church of the poor. We have heard them say more than this, but this is enough. There is at this hour spread over the breadth of England a benevolence towards the Catholic Church and the faith of our ancestors such as for three hundred years has never been. For this cause we have no alarms. If here and there violent and disappointed men attempt to rekindle old fires, or to imitate the despotism which is dooming ambitious statesmen to destroy their own works, it does not move us to fear. The world does not go back upon its path. The age of imperial religions is over. The civil powers of the world have separated themselves from God, and are making the experiment of standing by their own strength, and of ruling by their own wisdom. They have refused to learn from the Church of God that without God there is no society among men. They must learn it in the school they have chosen for themselves : that is, in the bitter experience of all who fall from God.

11. Pray, then, for the people of this land, for whose salvation we should gladly make any sacrifice, and if need be lay down our life. Pray for the Catholic Church in England, that in purity, and fervour, and charity, it may draw to itself the heart of those who are parted from us. Pray that the work of this our Fourth Provincial Council may be accomplished, in the sanctity of our clergy and the fidelity of our laity. Pray, above all, for the Vicar of our Lord, now bound for Christ's sake : that he may be shielded from all evil, and that his days may be prolonged to see the rights of justice for which he has stood steadfast through his long Pontificate, assailed by menace, treachery, and violence, vindicated once more, and the Church once more in freedom under his paternal sway.

12. Finally, beloved brethren and children in Jesus Christ, the Fathers of the Council closed the deliberations of three weeks by an act full of consolation and of confidence. In the last days of the Synod the Canons of the Cathedral Chapters, with a large number of theologians and members of the Religious Orders, petitioned us that our proceedings might be closed by an act of consecration to the Sacred Heart of our Divine Lord. We joyfully acceded to this request, which morally represented the unanimous desire of the Council ; and at the close of the last public session, after the *Te Deum* had been sung, our

last act was to offer up to the Sacred Heart of Jesus a thanksgiving for all the blessings bestowed upon us, upon our clergy, upon our flocks, upon the Church in England, and upon England itself; and to consecrate ourselves, and all that we are and have, with all the acts of this Synod, to the Sacred Heart of our Divine Redeemer.

The Grace of the Father, and of the Son, and of the Holy Ghost, be with you all. Amen.

Given at St. Edmund's College on the twelfth day of August, in the year of Our Lord one thousand eight hundred and seventy-three, and ordered to be read in all churches and chapels of the province on Sunday, the fourteenth day of September.

- ✠ HENRY EDWARD, Archbishop of Westminster.
- ✠ THOMAS JOSEPH, O.S.B., Bishop of Newport and Menevia.
- ✠ WILLIAM BERNARD, O.S.B., Bishop of Birmingham.
- ✠ JAMES, Bishop of Shrewsbury.
- ✠ RICHARD, Bishop of Nottingham.
- ✠ WILLIAM, Bishop of Plymouth.
- ✠ WILLIAM, Bishop of Clifton.
- ✠ FRANCIS, Bishop of Northampton.
- ✠ ROBERT, Bishop of Beverley.
- ✠ JAMES, Bishop of Hexham and Newcastle.
- ✠ JAMES, Bishop of Southwark.
- ✠ HERBERT, Bishop of Salford.
- ✠ BERNARD, Bishop of Liverpool.

HOLYCROSS ABBEY.

(Continued from p. 569, vol. ix.)

ABBOT ARCHER was succeeded, in 1644, by Father Cantwell, who had been for some time previously appointed his coadjutor, with right of succession.

Lewis John Cantwell was born at Poyntztown, in the diocese of Cashel, in the year 1600. He was sent in early youth to the University of Paris, and there took his degree of Master of Arts, at the age of sixteen. Shortly after, disgusted with the world, he left that University, and travelled into Spain, where he embraced the Cistercian order in the Convent of St. Mary of Aranza, in the kingdom of Navarre. On completing the usual curriculum of ecclesiastical studies in that house, he was elected preacher and lecturer in moral theology, which office he continued to discharge for a period of eight years, till, by an order from his provincial, he was recalled to his native country in 1633 after an absence of nineteen years.

The Abbot of Holy Cross (Archer), wishing to provide a successor, summoned a chapter, when Dr. Cantwell was unanimously elected his coadjutor, with the right of succession. The congregation of SS. Malachy and Bernard having been created in 1638, he was deputed by the congregation as their Procurator to the Holy See, where, having satisfactorily accomplished the objects of his mission, he returned after eight months to Ireland, and permanently resided at his Abbey of Holycross.

During the unhappy divisions that agitated, and finally broke up, the Catholic body at that period, Abbot Cantwell took his stand with those who fearlessly stood out "for God, king, and country,"¹ in opposition to that section of his co-religionists who were prepared to abandon the principles to which they swore, and to accept any terms that secured them their possessions; and, accordingly, we find him at the Synod of Waterford, 1646, condemning the promoters of the peace concluded between the council of the Confederate Catholics and the Duke of Ormond. In disgust, at the utter selfishness of public men, he retired from the angry arena of politics, and devoted the remainder of his life to the duties of his office, in the calm seclusion of the cloister.

About this time, Barnaby O'Kearney erected, during his lifetime, a sepulchral monument for himself and wife, on which he had inserted the following inscription:—

"Monumentum hoc infrascripti fecerunt, 1646.

"Hic jacet Barnabas O'Kearney, filius Edmundi, de Sancta Cruce et Joanna Ny Cleary, als Kearney, uxor ejus; ille obiit. An—Mense—"

They appear to have left no children or other relative who felt an interest in their memory, as the spaces left to mark the month and the year in which they died have never been inscribed. Another member of this family—Maurice O'Kearney—and his wife, Eliza Purcell, were buried here in 1643.

The O'Kearneys never possessed real property in the parish of Holycross. A member of that family farmed the tithes of the Abbey under the house of Ormond, and was succeeded in that office by his nephews, probably the individuals who are buried here, but they appear to have had no other connexion with the parish.

There were three houses of the family—one at Cashel, another at Thurles—both now extinct; and the third was located at Knockenglass, in the parish of Killenaule. This house suffered by the forfeitures of 1652, and all its members were reduced to the class of farmers. It had preserved, for a period of 400 years, a piece of St. Patrick's staff, which, about

¹ "Pro Deo, Rege et Patria, Hyberni unanimes"—the oath and seal of the Catholic Confederation of Kilkenny.

fifteen years ago, was given up by the representative of the family to the late Archbishop Slattery, and was by him inserted in the Archiepiscopal crozier of Cashel, with a silver band, on which that fact is commemorated.

As the Holy Rood was permanently kept in the Abbey from the death of Abbot Fulow, invalids were wont to resort thither on the great festivals of the monastery, and, among many other cures effected, it is recorded that on the Feast of the Exaltation of the Cross (1648), a soldier was cured of lameness by the Abbot applying the holy relic to the suffering member.

The Abbot Cantwell died about 1665, and was succeeded by Father Thomas Cogan, a friar of the house, who was raised to the dignity of Abbot immediately after.

The period through which he lived was adverse to the growth of monasticism in Ireland, and though a great part of the missionary clergy were the members of the religious orders, they dare not assemble in community through fear of provoking the executive into one of its periodical outbursts of persecution. The Abbey which, during the incumbency of the last two Abbots, had given promise of a rapid revival, began to decline; it ceased to be a noviciate, so that as its members died off there was none to supply their places. Accordingly, towards the close of his life, Abbot Cogan had the mortification to see the brotherhood so reduced in number as to be insufficient to form a chapter or constitute a regular community. The Irish province of the order having also become extinct, there was no longer any legitimate authority in the country to appoint a successor; consequently, Thomas Cogan was the last of the Abbots of Holycross. He died in the monastery on the 10th of August, 1700, and is buried in the choir among his predecessors.

In the year 1681, Eileen O'Meagher, daughter and heiress of John O'Meagher, of Clonakenny, representative of the O'Meaghers, lords of Ikerrin, was interred in the north aisle of the Abbey. This lady was born to a noble inheritance, but survived the ruin of her house and race. Thirty years before her death, her father suffered the penalty of being an "Irish papist,"¹ by the forfeiture of over 4,000 acres, and his ancestral castle of Clonokenny.

In the year 1698, Margaret Ryan, of Pallas, for seven years dumb, having been brought to the monastery, had no sooner touched the Holy Rood, than she recovered her speech.

It has been already stated that the Abbots of Holycross

¹ In the forfeitures, after the Cromwellian war, such was the designation applied to those Catholic gentlemen who took up arms in defence of their religion and their country.

asserted and successfully established their right to appoint a pastor, in quality of vicar, to the parish of Holycross; and, in the exercise of this right, Abbot Cogan appointed Father Bernard Lahey, a member of his community, to that office in the year 1675. He was clothed with the habit of the Cistercian Order in that monastery by the hands of the same prelate on the 10th November, 1671, and ordained priest the year after at Lisheen, by Dr. Burgatt, Archbishop of Cashel. Having zealously discharged the duties of pastor for many years, he was registered at Nenagh in 1704 as P.P. of Holycross under his baptismal name of Edmond.

Meanwhile, the fabric of the Abbey was rapidly going into ruin. The restoration effected by the Abbots—Archer and Cantwell—arrested for a season the progress of decay; but, for many years past, the elements had told so much upon it, that it had fallen into that state of dilapidation in which we see it to-day. Father Leahy, who still continued to reside within it, roofed in and thatched a portion of the ruins for the purposes of a parish church, a description of which shall be noted hereafter. The last recorded notice of any cure having been effected by the agency of the Holy Rood is that of Edmond Hackett, of Kilrush, in the parish of Thurles, who, on the 29th October, 1723, recovered his speech, by Father Leahy having applied the holy relic to his tongue.

Edmond Bernard Leahy, the last of the Cistercian Order at Holycross, died on the 28th April, 1724, and was buried in that monastery.

As there was no longer an Abbot of Holycross to appoint a pastor to the parish, the right of appointment reverted to the ordinary of the diocese; and, accordingly, the Archbishop, Dr. Christopher Butler, promoted one of his clergy, the Rev. John Dorney, to the cure. A friar of the house, named Cormack, who appears to have had a family connexion in the neighbourhood, put forward pretensions to that office in right of his order as having exercised it for so many centuries; but on finding his claim untenable, he contented himself with retaining a cell amid the ruins, and holding in his possession the few articles of altar furniture and other small effects belonging to the Abbey, as so many sad mementos of its bygone splendor.

In an episcopal visitation of the parish, made by the Archbishop, Dr. James Butler, on the 21st July, 1752, Mr. Dorney, the P.P., made to his Grace the subjoined return of the effects:

“The effects exhibited by the Rev. John Dorroney.

“One crosalet plate, one side is guilt with gold, containing a piece of the holy rood—fa: Dorroney exhibits in a bitt of paper inclos'd in a ledenen purse a piece of old wood, wch he

says was the holy rood, in a case of gold convey'd by the deceas'd fa : Cormack, a Cistercian, to be sold in Dublin by Peter Dalton of farnybridge.

" N.B. Sd : Dorrory declares that ye said bitt of wood was given him in ye house of Mr. Thomson, by name Manual, of Graigue, and deceas'd, where all ye effects of the abbey in possession of Edmd Cormick were carried to from said abby on ye death of sd Cormock, and then and there found—a plate chalice, with its patena with ye following inscription. Orate pro pro aabs Gullelmi Marten et Anastasiæ uxoris ejus qui me fieri fecerunt 1647.—Another chalice, the middle piece of a clever fashion, made of brass washed with gold, with a large cupp of plate likewise guilt, stolen in the year 1738 by John Henesy, son to Thomas Henesy of H : cross ; an old water clerk—sd John Henesy—sold sd cupp to John Tracy of Cashil who likewise dispos'd of it before the cupp was missed—an old miter—an upper piece of a brass crosier : two old casulas with one maniple and stole, one unfitt for use : another casula without maniple, stole or lining, stripe light silk, green and white crossed, with a narrow and suitable silk lace—&c. given to ye abby by ye lady of Baron Nicholas Purcell before sd Dorrory's access to H : cross.

" One old book in parchment intitl'd *Triumphalia Cronologica de Cenobia Sanctæ Crucis Sacri Ordinis Cisterciensis in Hybernia in quibus plura a salutifero Stæ Crucis ligno patrata miracula &c.* Auctore Rev. patre fratre Joanne, alias Malachia Hartry monacho cister : Waterfordiæ natario app. Anno 1640.¹

" The contents of the above are acknowledged by me.

" John Dorroney.

" Being Present, Michl. Fihan, Secret."

In another visitation held on the 15th of July, 1754, we have a description of the humble thatched edifice in which our

¹ " John, alias Malachy Hartry (it being usual with Regulars to take a new Christian name when they enter into any Religious Order) was a Waterford man by birth, and a Cistercian Monk in the Abbey of Nucale in Spain ; but returning into Ireland, resided in the Abbey of Holy Cross, in the county of Tipperary, where, I suppose, he officiated as Parish Priest. He wrote a book, which he began in the year 1640, intitl'd, *Triumphalia Chronologica de Cænobio S. Crucis. Sacre Ordinis Cisterciensis in Hiberniâ ; in quibus plura a Salutifero S. Crucis ligno patrata Miracula. aliæque memoratu desiderata illustrantur.* One may judge of the Texture of this Book by the Title. It is in small Folio, written on Velum, and tollerably well adorned and illuminated. It probably was designed for the Press, having Preface, Dedication, and a recommendatory Copy of Verses before it. He also writ, in 1649, another Manuscript in Velum, bound with the former, intitl'd, *Synopsis nonnullorum Sanctorum illustriumq ; Monachorum Hibernorum Cisterciensium* : the running Title of which is, *De Cisterciensium viris illustribus.* These two Tracts were in the custody of the officiating Romish Priest of the Parish of the Holy Cross, who did me the Favour to lend them to me in the Year 1733."—*Ware's Antiquities of Ireland*, vol. ii., p. 125.

fathers worshipped less than a century ago, which, when contrasted here with the vestiges of magnificence strewn around, told a sad tale of tyranny and spoliation.

"I. J. B. visited the chapel of Holy Cross in the care of Mr. Dorrony.

"Produced a neat plate pixis in good order, a good ritual and stole, plate oylstocks, newly replenished, a right good altar stone, 2 clean fine altar cloths, 2 corporalia, one neat bursa, a right good amict and alb, casula, manipula, and stole, one side striped red and white, hem'd with yellow lace, the other side black, large, trim'd with white lace; a silk antependium, 2 wooden candlesticks, a right good missal, &c.

"A chapel built with an indifferent stone altar, 6 old pictures of paper—6 couples in the body of the house, and 4 in the return, on some of ye old walls of ye monastery, 2 glass windows and 2 deal doors.

"He (Father Dorney) promises to keep for the future a registry of the deceased, baptis'd, and married, he frequents the diocesan synod, his ordinary, C. fa: Mr. Mockler and he, frequents the Sacrament of Penance—the remedy against cursing and swearing was duly executed and had its due effects—no publick scandalous sinners—he prones and exhorts very often—John Ryan is his schoolmaster, in the parish of Ballycahill—*ab ultima visitatione nemo defecit a fide duos vero recepit.*

"John Dorrony."

The vicarage of Rathkennan, a parish in the vicinity, was granted to the Abbey by Archbishop Cantwell during the fifteenth century. About the time at which we are now arrived, the Right Rev. Dr. Wm. O'Meara, Bishop of Kerry, driven from his diocese by the intolerance of the times, took shelter at Rathkennan, and lived there for many years in great seclusion about a century ago. Dr. O'Meara appears to have been a native of Waterford—he was at least Vicar-General of that diocese when he was elevated to the see of Kerry, in 1744. In that year the Duke of Devonshire, then Lord Lieutenant, calling into more active operation the act of the 7th of William III., proscribed by proclamation "all Archbishops, Bishops, Vicars-General, &c., and all such persons as should be found harbouring or concealing them." Dr. O'Meara was accordingly obliged to fly from his diocese in disguise, and to seek refuge in the house of his relative, Mr. John Flood, at Rathkennan. The difficulty of communicating at such a distance with the clergy, and the comparative proximity of his residence to his diocese of Killaloe, led him to propose a "permutation," or exchange of their respective dioceses, to Dr. Madgett, Bishop of Killaloe.

The proposition was accepted. The Holy See sanctioned the permutation in 1755, and immediately after Dr. O'Meara took formal possession of his new diocese. But the year after another spasmodic fit of intolerance seized the executive, and he was driven once more to seek an asylum in the house of his friend.

From his "hiding place" at Rathkennan (*a loco refugii*) he governed his diocese for some years, till the temporary lull which followed permitted him to return to it towards the close of his life.

Whilst Dr. O'Meara resided at Rathkennan, he became the victim of a brutal and cowardly assault perpetrated by a Mr. Luke Strang, "a professing Roman Catholic," who farmed large tracts of land in that neighbourhood. This worthy made overtures of marriage to a Catholic lady of his acquaintance, who had first favored, but afterwards rejected, his suit. This change in the lady's sentiments Strang attributed to the Bishop's counsels; and, burning with revenge, he sought an opportunity of gratifying it. One day, whilst returning from visiting his farms in Clonoulty, he met the aged prelate on the public road at Clogher; and after applying to him every opprobrious epithet his brutal nature suggested, he violently struck the venerable man on the head with the loaded end of a heavy horsewhip, and leaving him bleeding and insensible on the ground, escaped a terrible retribution by a precipitate flight. The Bishop survived the effects of this outrage only a few years, and died in peace in 1763.

What, it may be asked, has given to the Abbey of Holy-cross the celebrity it so long enjoyed, and the prestige of which still continues to attract tourists from other countries to visit its ruins? Was it the beauty or the magnificence of its architecture, or was it the large possessions with which it was endowed, or the great immunities it possessed; or, finally, was it the liberal hospitality it dispensed? Certainly not; for though these may have contributed to its local fame, they could never have conferred on it the pre-eminence it obtained in public estimation, as many other abbeys in Ireland possessed these characteristics in an equal, and some in a more eminent degree. Its celebrity was evidently founded on the possession of the Holy Rood, and the fame of the many remarkable cures effected through its instrumentality.

This relic was an object of especial veneration, and was preserved in a marble repository or shrine, executed in a very finished style of art. The shrine is cut into the wall on the epistle side of the altar of the south aisle, which was probably called the Chapel of the Holy Rood, and consists of two rows of small twisted pillars of black Kilkenny marble, about four

inches in diameter, highly polished and carved. These support a corresponding number of pointed arches of exquisite workmanship, and rest on a base of the same material, about three feet high and two wide, in which is left a cavity, nearly six feet long, for the reception of the sacred relic. This repository was always kept covered.

In modern times it is generally pointed out to visitors as "the place where the monks were waked." This is a popular error; for, independently of other evidence to the contrary, it may be stated, that no such place to serve as a catafalque has ever been found in any other house of the order; nor is it probable that the lowly-minded Cistercian, whose life was spent in austerity and abjection, would lie in death under a sculptured canopy, or that he would be surrounded by aught else than whatever symbolised the poverty and holiness and lowliness of spirit in which he lived. Besides, it is well known that, whilst all the marvels of art were lavished on the embellishments of God's house, and on whatever had reference to God, the bare unplastered walls of a dreary cell and a nameless grave, were the only dwelling of the monk in life and in death.

On the suppression of the Abbey, the Earl of Ormond, to whom its temporalities were granted, took possession of the relic, which remained in the custody of his family for nearly a century after. Since then it passed through several hands, till, at the commencement of this century, it was deposited in a shrine in the Chapel of the Ursulines, at Blackrock, near Cork. By the kind permission of the Sisterhood, I have been favored with a view of it, and of the different instruments by which its transmission, through various hands, till it was finally deposited there, is duly authenticated.

It is enclosed in a gold case or reliquary, on which is embossed a symbolical representation of the Three Persons of the Holy Trinity, in an early style of mediæval art. Its form is that of a Latin cross, or rather that of an archbishop's pectoral cross; that is, with two transverse bars, instead of one. The shaft, or upright bar, is about seven inches in length, and one in width. The transverse bars are both of equal length, and in due proportion to the shaft. This piece may be but the outer covering of the holy relic; but if it be the holy relic itself, I have no hesitation in believing it to be the largest fragment of the sacred Rood preserved in Christendom, except that of Rome.

The Rev. William Laffan having been promoted to the parish of Holycross, in 1827, at once commenced, and in less than a year brought to completion, a fine parish church, in which he purposed erecting an oratory or chapel for the Holy Rood; but before incurring so much expense as such a work would entail

he wrote to the Bishop of Cork to enlist his co-operation in having the relic restored to his parish. I subjoin the correspondence :—

‘MY LORD,

“ I trust the importance of the subject matter of this communication will serve as my apology for the liberty I take in addressing your Lordship. I have been for some time consulting the feelings of my neighbouring clergy, and am influenced by their unanimous wish in soliciting your Lordship’s consent to have the holy relic, originally the property of Holycross Abbey, and now, and for a long time, in possession of the ladies of the Ursuline Convent, Blackrock, restored to this parish. We should long, ere this, have felt it a matter of imperative duty to apply for its restoration, but the want of a good chapel or fit repository prevented the application.

“This want, I am happy to inform your Lordship, is now totally removed. By the extraordinary exertions of the people of this parish, we have completed what is generally considered an excellent chapel, both as regards its dimensions, its architectural perfection, and interior finish. Situate on the Abbey ground within a few yards of the old Monastery, it has been built, as much as conveniently could be, in conformity with the old ruin, its front windows being mullioned in imitation of the principal windows of the Abbey.

“With this explanation, and relying on our undoubted claim to the possession of this sacred relic, I trust, my Lord, we will experience no difficulty in obtaining your Lordship’s consent, and that of the ladies of the convent, to have it immediately restored to a locality consecrated for centuries by its possession.

“I have the honor to be, my Lord, &c., &c.,

“WILLIAM LAFFAN, P.P., Holycross.

• “The Right Rev. Dr. Murphy, &c.”

HIS LORDSHIP’S REPLY.

“REV. SIR,

“Cork, August 29th, 1842.

“In answer to your communication requesting the portion of the Holy Cross now in possession of the Ursuline nuns, Blackrock, near this city, I beg leave to transmit the document on the first leaf.

“I remain, Rev. Sir, your faithful servant,

✠ JOHN MURPHY.

“Rev. W. Laffan, P.P., Holycross.”

Document referred to in Dr. Murphy’s letter.

“The portion of the Holy Cross now in the Ursuline Community was deposited in the hands of Dr. Fennell, by Walter,

Earl of Ormond, in 1632, to be by him handed over in trust and safe keeping to any of his succeeding heirs professing the Catholic religion, and so to remain until the Catholic and Roman Religion do flourish in this kingdom as heretofore ; and that in consequence of this demise, it was handed over by Dr. Fennell to James, second Duke of Ormond, who, in the year 1691, deposited it in the hands of Val. Smith, Esqr., of Carrick-on-Suir, and who gave it, according to the direction he had received from the said Duke, to Mrs. Helen Butler, of Kilcash, relict of Colonel Butler, of Westcourt.

"Mrs. Butler left it at her death in the hands of Mrs. Margaret Kavanagh, of Borris, wife of Richard Galwey, Esqr., of Kilkenny, who gave it to Mrs. Mary Kavanagh, of Borris, wife of George Butler, Esqr., of Ballyragget, who delivered it into the hands of the Right Rev. Francis Moylan, R.C. Bishop of Cork, to be disposed of by him according as it appears to have been the intention of the first possessor. He, therefore, placed it in the Ursuline Convent, Cork, to be there retained until such time as the church of the Holy Cross, with the Monastery of Cistercian Monks attached thereto, shall be rebuilt.

"This 18th day of May, 1801.

"Signed by me, MARY BUTLER, of Ballyragget.
"Francis Moylan, R.C. Bishop of Cork."

On the dissolution of the Abbey, the Earl of Ormond, as already stated, took away the Holy Rood, and it remained in the possession of his family for nearly a century, when Earl Gerald seeing that his successor, lately a pupil of the "School of Wards," would be a Protestant, transferred it to Dr. Fennell, then a zealous and distinguished member of the Catholic body, and afterwards one of the six representatives for Munster in the Supreme Council of the Confederation of Kilkenny.

It must have already occurred to the reader, that whilst the relic was in the actual possession of the Ormond family, that is, to the year 1632, and afterwards whilst passing through other hands, we find frequent reference made to it as having been permanently kept in the monastery ; and even cures are recorded to have been effected through it at *Holycross*, in the years 1626, 1648, &c. Indeed the portion of the Holy Rood to which these notices refer, was altogether different from the ancient relic, as is obvious from a comparison of the latter with the full size illuminated representation of the former preserved in Harty's manuscript. The gold case in which he represents it as enclosed, measures only two and a half inches in length, while that of the ancient one, now in possession of the Ursulines at Cork, measures seven. The truth is, that when the monks returned to the Abbey in 1599, after an

absence of sixty years, they brought with them another piece of the Holy Rood, which, no doubt, they obtained at Rome.

The beautiful monument on the south side of the altar, known by tradition as "The Tomb of the Good Woman's Son," assumed by O'Halloran to be that of the founder, King Donald O'Brien, and held by others to be that of Eleanor Butler, Countess of Desmond, appears to have been principally intended as a highly decorated canopy, surmounting the "sedilia," or seats on which the celebrant and the attendant deacons sit at stated intervals during the High Mass, and other solemn functions of the church.

Its position within the sanctuary, and at the epistle side of the high altar, as prescribed by the rubric, as well as its division into three equal compartments, evidently indicate the purpose to which it was destined, and correspond with the usual location and highly ornamental character of these sedilia in other churches of the period. As an ancient tomb, however, is placed inside it, and in immediate contact with it, and as that tomb has ever been held as that of the "Good Woman's Son," the ornament under consideration may have been contrived to serve a double purpose, namely, a mausoleum for the personage referred to, as well as the usual sedilia of the church. That it was used for the latter purpose I entertain no doubt whatever.

This exquisite specimen of art, as well as the beautifully groined arch above it, is now, and has been for some time past, menaced with destruction. A constant flow of water precolates through the stone roof in three or four different places, which has already tarnished and otherwise damaged a portion of its entablature; whilst from the same cause the ornamental works of the contiguous chapels are rapidly going to decay. Efforts have, indeed, been made to arrest the progress of the destructive element, but hitherto without success.

The altar tomb opposite is the sepulchral monument of the O'Fogarty, lord of the soil. None but the chief and representative of the name has been buried there, whilst other branches of the family are interred in the choir in immediate proximity to it. The inscription on this monument is nearly obliterated; this much, however, is legible—Donatus O'Fogarta et Ellena Porcell, uxor ejus qui obiit An. 15—"Donogh O'Fogarty and Ellen Porcell his wife"; but the precise date has not been afterwards added, or else has been defaced. This Donagh was slain at the battle of Lateragh in 1583, and his body was conveyed to Holycross, where it was deposited in the family sepulchre during the lifetime of his father Connor O'Fogarty.

The choir which had been from an early period reserved for the sepulture of the abbots, and on that account long respected, began, about a century ago, to be invaded by some of the neighbouring gentlemen as a place of burial for their families. The country people followed their example, and in some instances perpetrated an act of vandalism by rubbing off the inscriptions on the ancient tombs and reinstating them with their own names. Burials, indeed, of late years have so increased within the nave and aisles, that the place at present is little less than a reeking mass of decaying human remains, the miasmata arising from which, particularly in damp weather, render the air extremely oppressive, and forbid a protracted visit to this portion of the ruins.

For sixty years and more the Abbey had been entirely neglected, and as no person was employed to look after it, it became on Sundays the resort of mischievous idlers and "gay pleasure parties," who often, in very wantonness, mutilated some of its most beautiful carvings, and caused other damages throughout the place. Since, however, the Rev. Dr. Wall, of Trinity College, the present worthy proprietor, succeeded to the property, everything has been done to protect the ruins from further dilapidations, to remove the masses of rubbish that had accumulated for centuries, and to restore many of the works that had entirely gone to decay.

Indeed, this gentleman and his excellent brother are eminently entitled to the gratitude of every Irishman who feels an interest in the preservation of the ancient monuments of the country, not only for having rescued these interesting ruins from the inevitable destruction that awaited them, but also for the large outlay they must have incurred in effecting restorations in so many portions of the building. Several arches which had fallen in have been rebuilt; the shattered mullions of the eastern and other windows have been tastefully restored; the stairs that conducted to the central towers and upper chambers have been renewed; the outer walls of the church, which were "tottering to their fall," have been supported by buttresses; the doorways have been protected by iron gates so as to exclude mischievous intruders from the premises; and all these works, at the sole expense of the owners, have been executed in perfect harmony with the general character of the architecture. Had other proprietors been actuated by the same liberal and enlightened spirit, we should not have to mourn over the total destruction of so many of those noble monuments, which attest the civilization, the piety, and faith of our fathers.

DOCUMENT.—LETTER OF HIS HOLINESS PIUS IX.
TO HIS EMINENCE CARDINAL CULLEN.

PIUS PP. IX.

DILECTE Fili Noster salutem et Apostolicam Benedictionem. Excepimus nuper litteras tuas plenas officii, tuasque cum illis tuique Cleri ac Fidelium pias oblationes, in quibus non solum munus sed multo magis studiosissimam oblato- rum voluntatem atque animum paterno cum affectu respeximus. Probe enim cognoscimus, Dilecte Fili Noster, qua dilectione et obsequio tuus Clerus Populusque fidelis tui exempli claritudinem sequens, Nos et hanc Apostolicam Cathedram prosequatur, et qua sollicitudine ex Nostris tribulationibus ad consolationem Nobis afferendam suae pietatis officiis, et praesertim fervidis precibus, quas ad Deum effundit, noveatur. Quapropter Nos tibi, Dilecte Fili Noster, et universo tuo Gregi gratissimos Nostri animi sensus profite- mur, optantes vobis a Domino, ut uberrimam pietatis vestrae mercedem in hoc et in altero saeculo referatis.

Magnam autem ex tuis litteris consolationem accepimus, intelligentes rei catholicae rationes isthic tranquille procedere, ac te duce tuum Clerum, aliaque pia instituta strenuam ac indefessam operam Religionis utilitatibus, et praecipue christianae institutioni juventutis promovendae navare. De his rebus maximas gratias Omnipotenti Deo agimus, ac in Ipso speramus fore ut benedictionis suae gratia egregium tuorum zelum in dies magis confortet, fructusque iustitiae et salutis large multiplicet. Quod si non desunt isthic plures ac infensi religionis hostes, quorum consilia ad ejus perniciem spectant, dolendum quidem est, Dilecte Fili Noster, de atrocitate belli, quod hoc tempore Sancta Dei Ecclesia sustinet, sed tamen illud erigere debet animos nostros, quod stat super illos qui imperat ventis et mari, quique oculos conversos habet super metuentes eum, et in eos qui sperant super misericordia ejus. Caeterum persuasum tibi esse volumus, auctoritatem et studia Nostra nunquam, quantum cum Domino poterimus, tibi tuoque gregi Nobis carissimo esse defutura. Caeleste autem praesidium et omnium gratiarum plenitudinem tibi a Domino ex corde implorantes, in earum auspici- um, et in pignus praecipuae benevolentiae Nostrae Apostolicam Benedictionem tibi ipsi, Dilecte Fili Noster, cunctisque Clericis Laicisque Fidelibus, quibus tanto cum zelo praees, peramanter impertimus.

Datum Romae apud S. Petrum, die 17 Septembris an. 1873, Pontificatus Nostri Anno Vicesimoctavo.—PIUS PP. IX.

Dilecto Filio Nostro Paulo tituli S. Petri in Janiculo S.R.E. Presbytero Cardinali Cullen, Archiepiscopo Dublinensi Primati Hiberniae, Dublinum.

THE IRISH ECCLESIASTICAL RECORD.

NOVEMBER, 1873.

HARMONY OF THE PASSION.—IV.

§ 4.

KEEPING THE PASCH.

TEXT.

Vulgate Version.

MATT. xxvi. 17-20, 29.—Prima autem die azymorum accesserunt discipuli ad Jesum, dicentes : Ubi vis paremus tibi comedere pascha ? (18). At Jesus dixit : Ite in civitatem ad quemdam, et dicite ei : Magister dicit : Tempus meum prope est, apud te facio pascha cum discipulis meis. (19). Et fecerunt discipuli sicut constituit illis Jesus, et paraverunt pascha. (20). Vespere autem facto, discumbebat cum duodecim discipulis suis. [(29). Dico autem vobis : non bibam amodo de hoc genimine vitis, usque in diem illum quum illud bibam vobiscum novum, in regno Patris mei.]

MARK, xiv. 12-17, 25.—Et primo die azymorum, quando pascha immolabant, dicunt ei discipuli : Quo vis eamus, et paremus tibi ut manduces pascha ? (13). Et mittit duos ex discipulis suis, et dicit eis : Ite in civitatem, et occurret vobis homo lagenam aquæ bajulans, sequimini eum ; (14). Et quocumque introierit, dicite domino domus, quia magister dicit : Ubi est refectio mea, ubi pascha cum discipulis meis manducem ? (15). Et ipse vobis demonstrabit coenaculum grande, stratum : et illic parate nobis. (16). Et abierunt discipuli ejus, et venerunt in civitatem, et invenerunt sicut dixerat illis, et paraverunt pascha. (17). Vespere autem facto, venit cum duodecim. [(25.) Amen dico vobis quia jam non bibam de hoc genimine vitis, usque in diem illum quum illud bibam novum, in regno Dei.]

LUKE, xxii. 7-18.—Venit autem dies azymorum, in qua necesse erat occidi pascha. (8). Et misit Petrum et Joannem, dicens : Euntes parate nobis pascha, ut manducemus. (9). At illi dixerunt : Ubi vis paremus ? (10). Et dixit ad eos : Ecce introeuntibus vobis in civitatem, occurret vobis homo quidam amphoram aquæ portans : sequimini eum in domum in quam intrat. (11). Et dicetis patrifamilias domus : Dicit tibi magister : Ubi est diversorium, ubi pascha cum discipulis meis manducem ? (12). Et ipse ostendet vobis coenaculum magnum, stratum : et ibi parate. (13). Euntes autem invenerunt sicut dixit illis, et paraverunt

pascha. (14). Et quum facta esset hora, discubuit, et duodecim apostoli cum eo. (15). Et ait illis : Desiderio desideravi hoc pascha manducare vobiscum, antequam patiar. (16). Dico enim vobis, quia ex hoc non manducabo illud, donec impleatur in regno Dei. (17). Et accepto calice, gratias egit, et dixit : Accipite, et dividite inter vos. (18). Dico enim vobis quod non bibam de generatione vitis, donec regnum Dei veniat.

Rheims Version.

MATT. xxvi. 17-20, 29.—And on the first day of the Azymes, the disciples came to Jesus, saying : Where wilt thou that we prepare for thee to eat the pasch ? (18). But Jesus said : Go ye into the city to a certain man, and say to him : The master saith, My time is near at hand, with thee I make the pasch with my disciples. (19). And the disciples did as Jesus appointed to them, and they prepared the pasch. (20). But when it was evening, he sat down with his twelve disciples. [(29). And I say to you, I will not drink from henceforth of this fruit of the vine, until that day when I shall drink it with you new, in the kingdom of my Father.]

MARK, xiv. 12-17, 25.—Now on the first day of the unleavened bread, when they sacrificed the pasch, the disciples say to him : Whither wilt thou that we go, and prepare for thee to eat the pasch ? (13). And he sendeth two of his disciples, and saith to them : Go ye into the city ; and there shall meet you a man carrying a pitcher of water, follow him ; (14). And whithersoever he shall go in, say to the master of the house : The master saith, Where is my refectory, where I may eat the pasch with my disciples ? (15). And he will shew you a large dining-room furnished ; and there prepare ye for us. (16). And his disciples went their way, and came into the city ; and they found as he had told them, and they prepared the pasch. (17). And when evening was come, he cometh with the twelve. [(25). Amen I say to you, that I will drink no more of the fruit of the vine, until that day when I shall drink it new, in the kingdom of God.]

LUKE, xxii. 7-18.—And the day of the unleavened bread came, on which it was necessary that the pasch should be killed. (8). And he sent Peter and John, saying : Go and prepare for us the pasch, that we may eat. (9). But they said : Where wilt thou that we prepare ? (10). And he said to them : Behold, as you go into the city, there shall meet you a man carrying a pitcher of water : follow him into the house where he entereth in. (11). And you shall say to the good-man of the house : The master saith to thee, Where is the guest-chamber, where I may eat the pasch with my disciples ? (12). And he will shew you a large dining room, furnished, and there prepare. (13). And they going, found as he had said to them, and made ready the pasch. (14). And when the hour was come, he sat down, and the twelve apostles with him. (15). And he said to them : With desire I have desired to eat this pasch with you, before I suffer. (16). For I say to you, that from this time I will not eat it, till it be fulfilled in the kingdom of God. (17). And having taken the chalice, he gave thanks, and said : Take, and divide it among you. (18). For I say to you, that I will not drink of the fruit of the vine, till the kingdom of God come.

HARMONY.

Now the first day of the unleavened bread, on which it was necessary that the Pasch should be killed, the disciples came to Jesus, saying: Whither wilt thou that we go, and prepare for thee to eat the Pasch? And He sendeth two of his disciples, Peter and John, and saith to them: Go ye into the city, and behold, as you go in, there shall meet you a man carrying a pitcher of water: follow him into the house where he entereth in, and say to the goodman of the house: The Master saith to thee, My time is near at hand; I will keep the Pasch at thy house; where is the guestchamber, where I may eat the Pasch with my disciples? And he will show you a large supper room furnished; and there make ready for us. And his disciples went forth, and came into the city, and found as He had told them; and they made ready the Pasch. And when evening was come, He sat down, and the twelve Apostles with Him. And He said to them: With desire I have desired to eat this Pasch with you before I suffer. For I say to you, that from this time I will not eat it, till it be fulfilled in the kingdom of God. And having taken the chalice, He gave thanks, and said: Take, and divide it among you. For verily I say unto you, I will not drink from henceforth of this fruit of the vine, until that day when I shall drink it with you new, in the kingdom of my Father.

NOTES.

MARK, 12. *On the first day of the unleavened bread.* This was Thursday in the week of the Passion: for it appears, from the sequence of the narrative, that it was the day before the Crucifixion; and the Crucifixion was on Friday. On the evening of the same day, our Lord kept the Paschal Rite, as prescribed by the Mosaic Law. It was, therefore, the fourteenth day of the month Nisan; and, at sunset, began the feast of unleavened bread, called also the feast of the Pasch, which lasted seven days. Now, it must have been pretty early in the day, when our Lord sent forward his two disciples, to prepare the Pasch; and, therefore, strictly speaking, the feast of unleavened bread had not yet commenced. How then is it called *the first day of unleavened bread*? To answer this question, we must bear in mind that the Jews were strictly forbidden to keep leaven in their houses during the feast.¹ Hence they were bound to clear away every trace of leaven, *before the feast began*. And accordingly, it was their traditional practice, as we learn from their ancient records, to

¹ Exod. xii. 19.

make a rigorous search for leaven, early on the fourteenth; and to burn, before noon, whatever could be found.¹ Thus it came to pass that the fourteenth was spoken of, *in popular language*, as the first day of the unleavened bread, though strictly speaking, it did not belong to the feast of unleavened bread, *according to law*.

This assertion is supported by evidence from some of the highest authorities on Jewish laws and customs. Maimonides, for example, says: "When it is written, 'You shall put away leaven from your houses *on the first day*,' we are taught by tradition, that by the *first day*, is to be understood the fourteenth." Not less clear is the testimony of Josephus. He says, indeed, in the Third Book of his Antiquities, that the Feast of the Azymes begins on the *fifteenth*, and lasts *seven days*. But, in the Second Book, he tells us that, "we keep for *eight days* the solemnity which is called the Azymes." From this it would appear, that there were two modes of speaking on the subject. According to one, the Azymes were regarded as beginning on the fifteenth, and lasting only seven days: according to the other, as beginning on the fourteenth, and lasting for eight days. It was, therefore, quite natural that the Evangelists, in the present case, referring to the fourteenth day, at an hour probably when the search for leaven had already been made, and all that was found had been burned, should speak of it as the first day of the unleavened bread.²

LUKE, 7. *On which it was necessary that the Pasch should be killed.* These words, *on which it was necessary*—ἐν ᾧ ἔδει—show clearly enough that our Lord kept the Pasch on the day prescribed by the law: whilst the corresponding passage of Saint Mark, "the first day of unleavened bread, *when they sacrificed the Pasch*," leave little room for doubt that the Jews also kept the Pasch on the same day. It was commanded to kill the lamb on the fourteenth, "in the evening."³ The Hebrew version says more explicitly, "between the two evenings." And, in Deuteronomy, the explanatory words are added, "at the going down of the sun."⁴ It is much disputed what precise time is represented by these phrases. Some consider it to be the interval between sunset and darkness. Others take the first evening to be the time when the sun begins to descend towards the west; and the second, the time when it sinks below the horizon. The interval, then, between midday and sunset, would be the period described as "between the two evenings." This opinion is supported by the traditional practice of the Jews,

¹ Friedlieb, Archäologie der Leidensgeschichte, § 18, pp. 43, 44.

² See Patrizzi, De Evang. Lib. ii. sect. clvi; Lamy, Harmonia, Lib. v. sect. vii.; Kitto, Cyclop. Bib. Lit. *passover*, p. 426.

³ Exod. xii. 6.

⁴ Deut. xvi. 6.

who, according to Josephus,¹ used to kill the Paschal lamb between the ninth and the eleventh hour, that is between three and five o'Clock.² Whatever may have been the precise meaning of the phrase, there seems no doubt that our Lord and his Apostles conformed to the established practice of their time. We may suppose, therefore, that the two disciples were sent on from Bethania, at such an hour that, after going to Jerusalem, and providing a lamb, they could reach the Temple about three o'Clock.

MATT. 18. *Go ye into the city to a certain man.* These are not the exact words of our Lord, but rather a summary statement of what He said. We learn from Saint Mark and Saint Luke, that He pointed out, very distinctly, to his two disciples, the means by which they would find the man He spoke of.

LUKE, 11. *You shall say to the goodman of the house.* This man appears to have been a disciple of Jesus, from the way in which he is addressed: "The Master saith, My time is near at hand"; as if he, too, knew something about Him, and acknowledged his authority. From the words that follow, "He will shew you a large dining room furnished," it would seem that he was a man of considerable means. Beyond these slight indications, we have no certain knowledge who this favoured disciple was, at whose house our Lord celebrated his last Pasch, and instituted the great sacrament of the Eucharist.

LUKE, 11. *Where is the guest chamber, where I may eat the Pasch with my disciples.* Our Lord acted in this matter according to established custom. The Jews who came up from the country to keep the Pasch, had a recognised claim to receive accommodation from the inhabitants of Jerusalem. In return, they usually left behind the skin of the lamb, and the vessel they had used in cooking the Paschal meal. Those who could not find accommodation in the city, encamped without the walls, in tents, as the Mahometan pilgrims now do at Mecca.³

MATT. 19. *And they prepared the Pasch.* The following was the order prescribed. A lamb having been procured, a male of the first year, without blemish, it was carried into the court of the Temple, and there slain by the head of the family, or by some one acting in his name. The priests received the blood in basins, and cast it out towards the base of the altar. Afterwards, the lamb was roasted whole, in an earthen vessel, which was somewhat like a bee-hive in shape, and was provided with a hole in the side for the introduction of fuel. It was then served up with unleavened bread and bitter herbs;—

¹ De Bello Jud. Lib. vi. cap. 9, § 3.

² See Kitto, Cyclop. Bib. Lit. *passover*, p. 423. note; Smith, Dict. of the Bible, *passover*, p. 714, note k; Friedlieb, Archäol. der Leidensg. § 18, p. 46, note a; Jans. Gand. Concord. cap. cxxix. p. 884.

³ Friedlieb, Archäol. der Leid. § 18, p. 50; Smith, Dict. of the Bible, *passover*, p. 717.

probably endive, chicory, and wild lettuce, which were common articles of food in ancient Egypt, and are much used there, even at the present day. A thick sauce was also prepared, called Charoseth, composed of various dried fruits and spices, mixed with vinegar. It was into this sauce that Jesus dipped the morsel of bread, before giving it to Judas. Lastly, there is no doubt that wine was commonly used in the celebration of the Pasch, at the time of our Lord. It is enjoined, in the Mischna, that at least four cups of wine should be provided at the Paschal meal, even of the poorest Israelite. We are told that it was usually red, and taken mixed with water.¹

LUKE, 14. *When the hour was come, he sat down, and the twelve Apostles with Him.* At the first celebration of the Pasch, the Israelites were commanded to eat it *in haste, with their loins girt, a staff in the hand, and shoes on their feet.*² Hence we may fairly suppose that they eat it standing. But this observance was probably peculiar to that occasion, as it is nowhere else prescribed. At all events, there is no doubt that, at the time of our Lord, it was the custom to eat the Paschal meal, not standing, or sitting, but reclining on couches. The practice of reclining at table was not very ancient with the Jews; and was probably borrowed from the Persians during the time of the captivity in Babylon. It was afterwards enjoined at the Paschal meal, and a symbolical meaning was attached to it. The Paschal Rite was a commemoration of their deliverance from the bondage of Egypt: therefore they should keep it, not standing, like slaves, but reclining at ease, for this was the posture of free men. They lay on the left side, facing the table, each one resting his left elbow on a cushion, and using his right hand to help himself to food.³ That our Lord and his Apostles conformed to this custom at the Last Supper, is plain from the Greek word, ἀνέκειτο, used by Saint Matthew, as well as from the corresponding word, ἀνέπεσεν, used by Saint Luke; both of which clearly mean, not to *sit* at table, but to *recline*. And Saint John, at a later period, is described as “reclining—ἀνακείμενος—on the bosom of Jesus.”⁴

LUKE, 15. *With desire I have desired to eat this Pasch with you before I suffer.* Not for the sake of the Pasch itself, but because, on the occasion of *this* Pasch, He was to establish his new covenant with men, and to give them the most tender mark of his love in the institution of the Holy Eucharist. The Pasch was an annual ceremony, ordained by God to

¹ Friedlieb, Archäol. der Leidensgesch. § 18. pp. 47-52; Kitto, Cyclop. Bib. Lit. *passover*, pp. 426, 427; Smith, Dict. of the Bible, *passover*, pp. 714-717.

² Exod. xii. 11.

³ Lightfoot, Horæ Hebr. et Talmud. in Matt. xxvi. 20; Friedlieb, loco cit. § 19, p. 53; Smith, Dict. of the Bible, *passover*, p. 717; Kitto, Cyclop. of Bib. Lit. *passover*, p. 427.

⁴ John, xiii. 23.

commemorate the wonderful deliverance of the Hebrew people from the slavery of Egypt. And it was fitting, as the Fathers remark, that with the last observance of this ceremony our Lord should associate the institution of the Eucharist, which was destined to commemorate, to the end of time, the redemption of mankind from the bondage of sin.

MATT. 29. *I will not drink from henceforth of this fruit of the vine.* These words are recorded, without any substantial difference, by Saint Matthew, Saint Mark, and Saint Luke : but in the narrative of Saint Luke, they come before the Institution of the Eucharist, whereas in that of Saint Matthew and St. Mark, they follow it. There is no good reason to suppose they were spoken twice : therefore we must transpose the passage, either in Saint Luke, or else in Saint Matthew and Saint Mark. The latter course seems preferable. For, when we look to the context in Saint Luke, we find that the same thing is said of *eating* the Pasch, in the sixteenth verse, that is said of *drinking* the chalice, in the eighteenth. Hence it is natural to refer the words, rather to the Paschal chalice, than to the Eucharistic chalice : and therefore, in a Harmony, we must connect them with the narrative of the Paschal meal, not with the Institution of the Eucharist. Add to this, that in Saint Luke's Gospel, they cannot possibly be referred to the Eucharistic chalice, of which no mention has yet been made. Therefore, if spoken but once, they must be understood of the Paschal chalice.

Some writers think that the text cannot possibly be applied to the chalice of the Eucharist ; because what was contained in it, was not, in truth, the fruit of the vine, but the sacred blood of our Lord. This argument, however, is not decisive. When one thing is converted into another, the latter may be called, in a certain sense, the fruit or product of the former. Thus, no one has any difficulty in understanding how wine, which is produced from grapes, by a process of manufacture, may be called "the fruit of the vine." And there seems no reason why the same title may not still be used, in a somewhat wider sense, when the wine is further changed, by the operation of a miracle, into the blood of our Lord. Nevertheless, it appears more probable, on other grounds, that the text should be understood of the wine used at the Paschal meal, and not of the Eucharistic chalice.

MATT. 29. *Until that day, when I shall drink it with you new, in the kingdom of my Father.* That is to say, wine of a new kind, a heavenly wine, the drink of everlasting joy and glory ; the wine to which the Psalmist refers when he says, "They shall be inebriated with the plenty of thy house ; and thou shalt make them drink of the torrent of thy pleasure."¹ Our

¹ Ps. xxxv. 9.

Lord had spoken, a little before, in the same strain, of the Paschal food: "I say to you, that from this time I will not eat it, until it be fulfilled in the kingdom of God."¹ The happiness of Heaven is frequently represented, in Scripture, by figures taken from the pleasures of earthly banquets. Besides the passage just quoted, from the Psalms, we may refer to the words of the Apocalypse, "Blessed are they that are called to the *marriage supper* of the Lamb."² And even during the course of this very Supper, Jesus Christ said to his Apostles, "I appoint unto you a kingdom, as my Father hath appointed unto me; that you may *eat and drink* at my table in my kingdom, and sit upon thrones judging the twelve tribes of Israel."³ Now if we compare these texts with the passage before us, it seems plain enough that the "kingdom of God," in which the Pasch will be "fulfilled," is Heaven; and the fulfilment is to be found in the spiritual feast, "the marriage supper of the Lamb," which is there prepared for the elect. Our Lord wished to convey to his Apostles that the end of his career on earth was at hand, and that this was the last time He was to eat and drink with them in his mortal state. But to console them for his loss, He holds out the prospect of happier times, when they should meet Him again, in the kingdom of his Father, and become sharers with Him in a new and heavenly banquet.⁴

We have followed here the more common interpretation of the Fathers and Commentators. But the passage is somewhat obscure, and has given rise to much controversy. Saint Chrysostom and others, by "the kingdom of God," understand the Church; and think that our Lord means only to say, He will not eat and drink again with his Apostles, until after his Resurrection, when the Church shall have been established. Against this view it is argued: (1) that the phrase, "until that day," according to Scripture usage, points to a far distant day, and cannot be understood of a day that was quite near at hand. (2) That we read in Saint Matthew, not "the kingdom of God," but "the kingdom of my Father"; a designation which is never applied to the Church, by our Lord, but always to Heaven. (3) That the advocates of this opinion have failed to explain, in any satisfactory way, how our Lord could be said to drink *new* wine, after his Resurrection, or to eat the Pasch again. Whatever may be thought of these arguments, it seems to us that the interpretation we have adopted above is strongly recommended by its simplicity and its fitness.

¹ Luke, xxii. 16.² Apoc. xix. 9.³ Luke, xxii. 29. 30.⁴ See Jans. Gand. Concord. cap. cxxxi. pp. 895, 896; A Lapide, in Matt. xxvi. 29; Maldonatus, ib.

§ 5.

THE WASHING OF THE FEET.

TEXT.

Vulgate Version.

John, xiii. 1-20.—Ante diem festum Paschæ. sciens Jesus quia venit hora ejus ut transeat ex hoc mundo ad Patrem, quum dilexisset suos qui erant in mundo, in finem dilexit eos. (2). Et cœna facta, quum diabolus jam misisset in cor ut traderet eum Judas Simonis Iscariotæ, (3). Sciens quia omnia dedit ei Pater in manus, et quia a Deo exivit. et ad Deum vadit ; (4). Surgit a cœna. et ponit vestimenta sua ; et quum accepisset linteum, præcinxit se. (5). Deinde mittit aquam in pelvim, et cœpit lavare pedes discipulorum, et extergere linteo quo erat præcinctus. (6). Venit ergo ad Simonem Petrum. Et dicit ei Petrus : Domine. tu mihi lavas pedes ? (7). Respondit Jesus et dixit ei : Quod ego facio, tu nescis modo, scies autem postea. (8). Dicit ei Petrus : Non lavabis mihi pedes in æternum. Respondit ei Jesus : Si non laverō te, non habebis partem mecum. (9). Dicit ei Simon Petrus : Domine, non tantum pedes meos, sed et manus et caput. (10.) Dicit ei Jesus : Qui lotus est, non indiget nisi ut pedes lavet, sed est mundus totus. Et vos mundi estis, sed non omnes. (11). Sciebat enim quisnam esset qui traderet eum ; propterea dixit : Non estis mundi omnes. (12). Postquam ergo lavit pedes eorum, et accepit vestimenta sua, quum recubuisset iterum, dixit eis : Scitis quid fecerim vobis ? (13). Vos vocatis me Magister, et Domine ; et bene dicitis : sum etenim. (14). Si ergo ego lavi pedes vestros, Dominus et Magister ; et vos debetis alter alterius lavare pedes. (15). Exemplum enim dedi vobis, ut quemadmodum ego feci vobis, ita et vos faciatis. (16). Amen, amen dico vobis ; non est servus major domino suo ; neque apostolus major est eo qui misit illum. (17). Si hæc scitis, beati eritis si feceritis ea. (18). Non de omnibus vobis dico ; ego scio quos elegerim ; sed ut adimpleatur Scriptura : Qui manducat mecum panem. levabit contra me calcaneum suum. (19). Amodo dico vobis, priusquam fiat, ut quum factum fuerit, credatis quia ego sum. (20). Amen, amen dico vobis : qui accipit si quem misero, me accipit ; qui autem me accipit, accipit eum qui me misit.

Rheims Version.

John, xiii. 1-20.—Before the festival day of the pasch, Jesus knowing that his hour was come, that he should pass out of this world to the Father : having loved his own who were in the world, he loved them unto the end. (2). And when supper was done, (the devil having now put into the heart of Judas Iscariot, the son of Simon, to betray him). (3). Knowing that the Father had given him all things into his hands, and that he came from God, and goeth to God ; (4). He riseth from supper, and layeth aside his garments, and having taken a towel, girded himself. (5). After that, he putteth water into a basin, and began to wash the feet of his disciples, and to wipe them with the towel wherewith he was girded. (6). He cometh therefore to Simon Peter. And Peter saith to him :

Lord, dost thou wash my feet? (7). Jesus answered, and said to him : What I do, thou knowest not now ; but thou shalt know hereafter. (8). Peter saith to him : Thou shalt never wash my feet. Jesus answered him : If I wash thee not, thou shalt have no part with me. (9). Simon Peter saith to him : Lord, not only my feet, but also my hands and my head. (10). Jesus saith to him : He that is washed, needeth not but to wash his feet, but is clean wholly. And you are clean, but not all. (11). For he knew who he was that would betray him ; therefore he said : You are not all clean. (12). Then after he had washed their feet, and taken his garments, being sat down again, he said to them : Know you what I have done to you? (13). You call me Master, and Lord ; and you say well ; for so I am. (14). If then I, being your Lord and Master, have washed your feet ; you also ought to wash one another's feet. (15). For I have given you an example, that as I have done to you, so you do also. (16). Amen, amen, I say to you : The servant is not greater than his lord ; neither is the apostle greater than he that sent him. (17). If you know these things, you shall be blessed if you do them. (18). I speak not of you all ; I know whom I have chosen ; but that the scripture may be fulfilled : He that eateth bread with me, shall lift up his heel against me. (19). At present I tell you, before it come to pass : that when it shall come to pass, you may believe that I am he. (20). Amen, amen, I say to you, he that receiveth whomsoever I send, receiveth me ; and he that receiveth me, receiveth him that sent me.

NOTES.

The Washing of the Feet took place at a supper which is described by Saint John, in the thirteenth chapter of his Gospel. This chapter does not belong to the history of the Passion, as read in Catholic Churches, during Holy Week. But our Harmony would be incomplete without it : for the supper of which it gives an account, is no other than the Last Supper of our Lord. This, at least, is the constant tradition of the Church, and may be made pretty clear from intrinsic evidence as well. (1) During the supper of Saint John's Gospel, our Lord disclosed to his Apostles that there was a traitor amongst them. The same disclosure, almost in the same words, was made at the Last Supper, as described by the other three Evangelists.¹ (2) In both accounts, the result of the disclosure is the same : alarm and surprise on the part of the Apostles, and inquiry as to who the traitor could be.² (3) At the close of the supper described by Saint John, Jesus revealed to him that Judas was the traitor.³ Now, if this meal were not the Last Supper, but took place on some previous evening, the other Apostles would have found out from Saint John what our Lord had said to him ; and would not have been ignorant who the traitor was, on the evening of the Last Supper. But that they were ignorant, is plain from the

¹ John, xiii. 21 ; Matt. xxvi. 21 ; Mark, xiv. 18. ² John, xiii. 22, 24, 25 ; Matt. xxvi. 22 ; Mark, xiv. 19 ; Luke, xxii. 23. ³ John, xiii. 25, 26.

account of the Last Supper given in the first three Gospels. (4) On the occasion of the meal that Saint John describes, our Lord predicted the Fall of Peter. The same prediction is recorded, in very nearly the same words, on the occasion of the Last Supper.¹ (5) Lastly, there is a very cogent argument, in the words of this prediction, as given by Saint John: "The cock shall not crow till thou deny me thrice." That is to say, Thou shalt deny me before cockcrow,—before the break of day. Therefore the supper in Saint John's Gospel, took place on the same night as the Fall of Peter. But this was the night of the Passion; and therefore, the night of the Last Supper.²

But though it is pretty generally agreed that the Washing of the Feet belongs to the Last Supper, there is much difference of opinion as regards the period of the Supper to which it should be referred. To us its proper place seems to be, after the Keeping of the Pasch, and before the Institution of the Eucharist. The Supper began with the celebration of the Pasch: this appears from the sequence of the narrative in the first three Gospels. It ended with the Institution of the Eucharist: for Saint Luke, speaking of the consecration of the chalice, says that it took place *after supper*,—*μετὰ τὸ δεῖπνῆσαι*³—which means, at least, at the very end of supper. Now, the Washing of the Feet took place during the course of the meal. For Jesus *rose up from supper*, to perform this ceremony, and *sat down again*, when He had finished it.⁴ That the supper was resumed, after He sat down, may be shown from the fact that, at a later period He gave to Judas a morsel of bread dipped in sauce;⁵ an incident which could hardly have occurred, if supper had been completely finished before the Washing of the Feet. It seems, then, pretty clear that the Last Supper began with the Pasch, that it ended with the Eucharist, and that between these events, came the Washing of the Feet, which divided the meal into two distinct parts.⁶

1. *Before the festival day of the Pasch.* In the Greek text we read, *πρὸ δὲ τῆς ἑορτῆς τοῦ πάσχα*, that is, "Now, before the feast of the Pasch." The time here referred to was the evening of the supper. And since this was the Paschal Supper, it took place, according to law, after sunset, on the fourteenth day of the month. Therefore, strictly speaking, the Feast had already begun: because the Jews counted their festival days from evening to evening. But in popular lan-

¹ John, xiii. 38; Luke, xxii. 34. ² See Langen. *Die Letzten Lebenstage Jesu*, pp. 100-106; Patrizzi, *De Evang. Diss.* l. nn. 5-25; against Lightfoot, Bynäus, Wilhelmhaus, and others.

³ Luke, xxii. 20; see also I Cor. xi. 25.

⁴ John, xiii. 4, 12. ⁵ John, xiii. 26. ⁶ See Jans. Ypren. in John, xiii. 1; Jans. Gand. *Concord. in Evang.* cap. cxxx. p. 885.

guage, the keeping of the Pasch was referred to the fourteenth, the Feast to the fifteenth. Thus, for example, Moses says, "On the fourteenth day of the month shall be the Pasch of the Lord, and on the fifteenth the solemn feast."¹ According to this mode of speaking, Saint John gives the date of the Paschal Supper as "before the Feast."²

1. *He loved them unto the end.* The first verse of this chapter stands out by itself, as an introduction to all that follows. First we have the date: it was the eve of the Paschal Feast—that Feast made memorable for ever, by the Crucifixion of Jesus Christ. Next we are reminded of the thoughts that filled his mind. He knew that his hour was come, when He was to pass out of this world to his Father. This suggests that He was to part from his own, who were staying after Him in the world;—his Apostles, whom He had always loved so tenderly. Then follows the principal statement, "He loved them to end." These words seem plainly to suggest much more than they explicitly declare. What they say is simply, that the love He had always borne his Apostles during life, lasted unto death. But they convey that, on this eve of the Paschal Feast, He gave them some new and signal marks of his love, as friends are wont to do, when about to part for life from those they hold most dear. All that follows is but the illustration and development of this one phrase, He loved them to the end. We find the special evidence of this love in the Washing of the Feet. We find it in that long discourse, overflowing with tenderness, which followed the Last Supper.³ We find it in the ardent prayer that He offered to his Heavenly Father, for his Apostles, and for his whole Church.⁴ We find it, above all, in the adorable Sacrament of his body and blood, which though not mentioned here by Saint John, because already recorded by the other Evangelists, was doubtless present to his mind when he wrote those words.⁵

2. *When supper was done.* We have maintained that supper was resumed after the Washing of the Feet. The words before us are often urged against that view. If supper was *ended* before the Washing of the Feet, of course it was not afterwards continued.⁶ But this argument is easily dissipated by a reference to the Greek text. The phrase, *δείπνον γενομένου*, does not, in fact, convey that supper was *ended*, but only that supper *had begun*. The fundamental meaning of the verb, *γίνομαι*, is *to come into existence*. Hence in the past tense, it represents something as *having come into*

¹ Numbers, xxviii. 16, 17; see also Levit. xxiii. 5, 6; Numb. xxxiii. 3.

² See Dissert. on the Day of the Last Supper. I.E.R. vol. ix. pp. 451, 452.

³ John, xiv. xv. xvi. ⁴ John, xvii. ⁵ See Jans. Gand. Concord. cap. cxxx. 886.

⁶ Thus, for example, Patrizzi, De Evang. Lib. ii. clx.

existence, as *having begun*, as *going on*.¹ In the text before us, then, the meaning is, that Jesus stood up when supper *had begun*, or *was going on*; which is quite consistent with the opinion that supper was afterwards resumed. A similar phrase, *σαββάτου γενομένου*,² is found in the sixth chapter of Saint Mark, which certainly does not mean, *when the Sabbath was over*, but, as it is always rendered, *when the Sabbath had come*. Furthermore, it is worthy of notice that the Vatican MS., instead of the past participle, *γενομένου*, gives the present, *γινόμενον*. This reading, which is preferred by Tischendorf, on purely critical grounds, would of necessity, convey that the supper was *not* ended, when our Lord stood up.³

5. *Began to wash the feet of his disciples.* In Washing his Apostles' feet, Jesus Christ gave a singular testimony of his love, and a striking example of humility. It is important to note the various details, over which Saint John seems to linger with singular tenderness. Jesus knew that He was the supreme Lord of all things; for the Father had given all things into his hands. He knew that He was the only begotten Son of God, who had come down to this wretched world, from the bosom of his Father, and who was now on the point of returning, to sit at his right hand in glory (v. 3). The thought was present to his mind that his love would be repaid with foul ingratitude, and that He was humbling Himself before an enemy and a traitor; for Judas had already yielded to the suggestions of Satan, and had resolved to hand Him over to those who thirsted for his blood (v. 2). Yet knowing all this, He rose up from supper to wash the feet of his disciples (v. 4). He did not employ the ministry of others, as He well might have done; but having taken on Himself the office of a servant,⁴ He fulfilled it after the fashion of a servant. He put off his upper garments, as servants are wont to do, when preparing for their work: He girded Himself with a towel: He Himself put water into a basin: and thus, equipped in all respects as a servant, He began to wash their feet, and to wipe them with the towel wherewith He was girded (vv. 4, 5).

6. *He cometh therefore to Simon Peter.* It would seem that He came first to Peter, as the first in dignity. If He had begun with others, and only came to Peter afterwards, it is likely the others would have objected, as Peter did, and that Jesus would have overruled their objection: thus no ground would have been left for Peter's refusal. According to this

¹ See Liddle and Scott, in voce; Robinson, Lexicon of the New Testament.

² Mark, vi. 2; see also John, xxi. 4; Matt. viii. 16; xiv. 15, 23; xxvii. 1.

³ See Kössing, De Suprema Christi Coena, p. 32; Alford, Greek Testament, on John, xiii. 2.

⁴ Compare John, xiii. 13, 14, with Luke, xxii. 26, 27; see also I Kings, xxv. 41.

view, the preceding verse announces only the general fact, that Jesus began to wash the feet of his Apostles, and describes, in a general way, how He did it ; while, in the present verse, the Evangelist proceeds to tell what happened, in particular, when our Lord, in pursuance of his purpose, presented Himself, first of all, before Simon Peter. After Peter had submitted, no one else ventured to make any further objection ; and so, nothing, in particular, is recorded of the rest.

8. *Peter saith to Him, Thou shalt never wash my feet.* That is, I will never allow thee to undergo so great an indignity. Peter's refusal did not spring from a spirit of disobedience, but from a lively faith and a sense of profound reverence. Hence, when our Lord rejoins, "If I wash thee not, thou shalt have no part with me," Peter becomes even more ardent in offering himself to be washed, than he was before vehement in refusing. The meaning of our Lord's words would seem to be, If thou wilt not do what I require of thee, and allow me to wash thy feet, thou shalt have no part with me, that is, thou shalt forfeit my society, have no share at my table, no office in my kingdom.¹ If, after this admonition, Peter had continued to resist, it would have been, indeed, a grievous sin.

10. *And you are clean, but not all.* Our Lord here passes from the literal to the symbolical sense of this ceremony. Saint Peter had asked Him to wash not only his feet, but also his hands, and his head. And Jesus, repressing this excessive eagerness, seems to answer:—It is enough to wash your feet. For he that has been washed all over, as in a bath, needs afterwards but to wash away the dust of the road from his feet, and he is wholly clean. Now you are spiritually clean, (though not all of you) ; for you have been washed in the waters of sanctifying grace. And so, you need only to wash off those lesser impurities, typified by the stains of the feet, which are apt to soil the purity of your souls in your daily intercourse with the world.

Thus it would seem, that the Washing of the Feet was not only a mark of love and an example of humility, but that it had, moreover, a symbolical meaning: it represented the washing away of venial sin. And when we bear in mind that this ceremony was, almost immediately, followed by the Institution of the Eucharist, we can hardly doubt that Jesus Christ meant to give a lesson to all Christians, that before approaching this Holy Sacrament, they should not merely be free from mortal sin, but should strive, with diligence, to cleanse away even the smaller stains of their daily transgressions.

¹ A Lapide ; Jans. Ypren. ; against Maldonatus and Jans. Gand., who understand our Lord to speak of the necessity of a spiritual cleansing.

17. *If you know these things, you shall be blessed if you do them.* Our Lord does not say, that they shall be happy who understand the lessons He has given, but rather, they shall be happy who, understanding these lessons, put them into practice. In the same sense Saint Paul writes: "Not the hearers of the law are just before God, but the doers of the law shall be justified."¹

18. *I speak not of you all.* He had already hinted at the guilty design of Judas, when He said they were not all clean. And now, the sad theme is again suggested by the words He has just uttered. For He remembers there is one present of whom these words will not come true; who will not put in practice the lessons He has given, and who will not attain the happiness He has promised. I know, He says, whom I have chosen for my Apostles: I know what they are, and what end they will come to. Yet be not surprised that one is found among them, who will prove himself unworthy of me, and unworthy of his office. For it is fitting that the Scripture be fulfilled: He that eateth bread with me shall lift up his heel against me: that is, he that is united to me in the closest bonds of friendly intercourse, will lay plots for my destruction. Our Lord here quotes the sense of Scripture rather than the exact words. He refers to a passage in the Psalms,² where David, lamenting his misfortunes, complains that his own familiar friend, one who was nurtured in his house, had passed over to the camp of his enemies. The words then are to be understood, in their literal sense, of David, but in their mystical sense, of Christ, of whom David was the type. In the phrase, "hath lifted up his heel against me," there is a metaphor, taken from the practice of a wrestler, who seeks to throw his antagonist to the ground, by tripping him up with his foot.³

19. *I tell you before it come to pass; that when it shall come to pass, you may believe that I am he.* That I am he whom I represent myself to be,—the promised Messiah, and the Son of God. The Apostles already believed this; but our Lord means that they will have a new proof of it, in the fulfilment of his prophecy about Judas.

20. *He that receiveth whomsoever I send, receiveth me.* The connection of this verse with what precedes is obscure, and is variously explained. The most probable view seems to be, that our Lord returns from the digression about Judas to the lesson of humility and brotherly love on which He was engaged before. He had exhorted his Apostles to do to one another as He had done to them; and mutually to discharge those various offices of kindness which are typified, as it

¹ Rom. ii. 13. ² Ps. xl. 9.

³ A Lapide, Maldonatus, Jans. Gand, Jans. Ypren.

were, in the Washing of the Feet (vv. 14, 15). He now seems to extend this exhortation to the faithful generally, and to enforce it by showing that such offices, even though of a menial character, involve no real abasement, but rather bring with them great honour and dignity. For whosoever receives, and treats with kindly service, one whom Christ has sent, receives, in truth, Christ Himself, and he who receiveth Christ, receiveth God who sent Him.¹

THE CHURCH AND MODERN THOUGHT.—III.

IN our last paper we indicated the position of the Church in relation to man, and the general nature of the claims she makes to the allegiance of the human mind. That position is so commanding, and that claim so large, that the Church will necessarily have something to say to everything that interests mankind. Even those matters that appear purely secular, and that seem to lie entirely apart from the sphere of her authority, will be found invariably to have in them some element—and that the element that determines their essential character—which, from its very nature, is amenable to the authority of the Church. Hence, it is not wonderful that the Church should find herself in perpetual conflict with those who either do not recognise her authority at all, or who, though recognising it in general terms, do not fully bring home to themselves its extent and character.

It happens every day—it happens occasionally with great solemnity and circumstance—that the Church is summoned to the bar of Public Opinion to answer a charge of hostility to something that is assumed, for the time being, to be of the last importance to the interests of mankind. At one time she is said to be hostile to “progress”—at another, to be the enemy of “liberty;” now she is arraigned as obscuring the human intellect—again, she is indicted as barring the advance of “civilization.” She is represented, according to the bias of her special assailant, as the enemy of science, of literature, of art, of material prosperity—in a word, as the enemy of that vast body of doctrine which is summed up in the name of “Modern Thought.” Now, it is worth while to consider the extraordinary mode of procedure under which these trials are carried on.

First, we may remark—and, considering the circumstances, we remark without surprise—that the verdict is invariably given against the Church. That it should be so, is not only *not a*

¹ See A Lapide ; Jans. Gand., in loco.

matter of surprise, but is even a matter of congratulation, seeing that in the case the complainant and the jury are one and the same, namely—"the world"—and that the defendant is the Church of God, of which it was given as a sign that "the world" would hate it. When we hear the verdict given that the Church *is* hostile to "Modern Thought," we may content ourselves with remarking, "so much the worse for 'modern thought'—so much the worse for the verdict commonly recorded;" but when we come to examine the pleading by which it is secured, we are struck by the fact that the whole process lies widely open to the criticism of the very "Reason" by which modern thought professes to set such store.

This very philosophy, which begins by proclaiming its independence of any supernatural authority, vindicates for itself an equal independence of the laws of logic and the dictates of common sense. For, first of all, this philosophy coolly, and as a matter of course, takes for granted certain cardinal principles on which the solution of the question at issue mainly hinges. It assumes, without ever a thought of even attempting to prove, that it—philosophy—is so constituted as to have an imprescriptible right to conduct its own affairs quite independently of any authority external to itself. But this is not all—for having begged the first question, it immediately proceeds to beg a second no less fundamental, by assuming that itself is the "one thing necessary" for men; that consequently there is imposed on everything else a paramount obligation to aid it in making progress in its own fashion; that only in so far as anything does this, is it useful; that in so far as it does not contribute to this, it is useless; and that in so far as it impedes or hampers this "progress," it calls out for summary suppression.

We shall give just one, and that a well-known instance of this special pleading, conducted by an advocate no less eminent than the late Lord Macaulay. He states more than once, both in his essays and his history, that the Catholic religion is not favorable to material prosperity. He contrasts elaborately the conditions past and present of Scotland and of Spain, for the express purpose of proving this assertion. From the point of view of religious controversy, a Catholic might be well content to give a "transeat" to this proposition. But it is evident that in the mind of its defender it had a controversial value, for it is not obscurely indicated by the tone of his remarks that he considered this the palmary argument against the claim of the Catholic Church to the submission of the great, wealth-loving Anglo-Saxon race. Let us briefly analyze

this argument, that we may see plainly how it comes to have, in the mind of Lord Macaulay, any controversial value.

To have any such value—indeed, to have any force at all—the argument should run thus, in bare logical form: “The Church that is not favorable to material prosperity cannot be the true Church; the Catholic Church is not favorable to material prosperity—therefore,” &c. Of course Lord Macaulay takes care not to put the argument with such revolting explicitness. He keeps the *major* proposition in abeyance, only insinuating it as only he knew how to insinuate; he elaborates his proof of the *minor* premise, and he was too intimately acquainted with the gravitation of Anglo-Saxondom to material wealth to have any misgiving that it would fail to draw the practical conclusion which he desired to inculcate.

We give this argument, not for the purpose of discussing it in detail—which, once it is fully stated, is scarcely necessary—but because we consider it a fair specimen of the mode in which the world and its philosophy carry on their conflict against the Church. Very often, in dealing with arguments of this kind, Catholic writers address themselves too exclusively to these apparently isolated propositions, and are not sufficiently careful to formulate even to themselves the insinuated *major* premises, which, however, are more fundamentally erroneous. These *minor* propositions will assuredly contain their full share of sophistry and falsehood, to expose and to refute which is excellent work; but even this work will be more effectually done if the statement be analyzed as a proposition that holds the place of minor premise in an argument that involves far graver issues than would be suggested by the statement itself. Take, for instance, the minor proposition of the argument already given—“The Catholic Church is unfavorable to material prosperity.” It is manifest that a Catholic should deny it, *so far* as material prosperity is compatible with, or conducive to man’s higher and highest interest, and the explanation and enforcement of his views on material prosperity in that relation, and the analysis and explanation of such portions of history as bear upon the subject, will afford a field for high and varied abilities; but it is equally manifest, that such a task will be both more easily and more perfectly accomplished in proportion as one is qualified to deal with the general proposition that asserts—“that the Church that is not favorable to material prosperity cannot be the true Church.”

We have now indicated the mode of pleading adopted by the adversaries of the Church. We have shown that they gratuitously assume the first principles on which the solution of the controversy depends. We now pass to a few words of

general reply, as on the part of the Church, to the whole proceedings. First, then, the Church denies point blank the jurisdiction of the tribunal before which she is dragged. Public Opinion—especially anti-Catholic public opinion—was never intended by God to decide the claims of His Church to the allegiance of men. Secondly, the Church scouts the pretensions of this so-called philosophy. She denies that philosophy, or any of the “causes” which, from time to time, it takes under its protection, is “the one thing necessary.” Christ never instituted a Church, the ultimate end of which would be to make men philosophers in the sense in which that word is commonly understood. “One thing necessary” for man is to save his soul; to aid him in doing this, the Church has been instituted. Only on the ground of failure in this particular, can any charge be brought against the Church—and only on the clearest proof of such a charge, can failure be admitted. When such clear proof is brought—when such a failure has been established—then shall the wisdom of her Divine Founder be proved to have been at fault—then shall the promises made to her be found to be illusory. But, until these impossibilities happen, we may safely believe that the Church is quite sufficient for the work she has got to do; and we may securely pronounce that any charge brought against her is either false in itself or beside the question.

Human philosophy is the inevitable product of the human intellect. As long as men use the senses God has given them, and the intellect which, through them, holds communion with the external world, so long will there necessarily exist some course of speculation, more or less defined, which will vindicate to itself, with more or less justice, the name of “philosophy.” The Church on her arrival in the world found many such “philosophers.” She has since witnessed the rise, progress, and decline of many more—she has combated whatever in them was dangerous to religion—she has employed what was true in them to aid her in her own peculiar works, but she has never committed herself unreservedly to any system of human philosophy; and we may confidently predict that she never will. She has her place so high above the somewhat cloudy region in which human philosophies are evolved, that she can look down from the serene atmosphere of heavenly truth, from which she draws her vitality, upon the various currents of human speculation—can tolerate them as long as they are tolerable—correct them when they need correction—pass them by in silence so long as silence gives no sanction to dangerous opinions—and smite them with her anathema when, overstepping the proper limit of merely human speculation, they lift themselves up in opposition to revealed truth.

Nevertheless, the Church has always been generous in her encouragement of philosophical speculation, and has held in special honor those—and they are many and illustrious—amongst her own children who sought to make philosophy what philosophy should be—the handmaid of theology.

Human philosophy, from its very conditions as a science, draws its arguments and its proofs from sources far other than theological; yet it is as certain as anything can be, that without the friendly criticism of sound theology, philosophy will wander into paths that have their only issue in the most deplorable error. On the other hand, philosophy reacts upon theology, and we believe there is no instance in which a fundamental error in philosophy did not, sooner or later, find its logical development in heresy in the matter of religion.

We have had occasion, in a previous paper, to point out how Protestantism, as a religious system, rejected external authority, and substituted in its stead the chimera of “private judgment;” and the student of history will be at no loss to discover what we will venture to call a parallel movement in the domain of philosophy.

There are certain forms of moral and intellectual disease that seem to be epidemic and contagious. The germs of them lie in the social atmosphere, and infuse, in a greater or lesser degree, their poison into the active intellects of the time in which these diseases prevail. Three centuries ago there was spread abroad a moral disease of the kind we speak of. Its general form may be best described as a craving for what those who were attacked by it called “liberty,” but which was in reality “licence” and desire, mad in itself, and fatal in its consequences, to be freed from the restraints of any law human or divine. Theology emancipated itself from dogma presented by external authority, and set itself up to construct dogma by the pliant agency of individual judgment. Philosophy, in no long time after, receiving in its turn the impulse of the intellectual air current, proceeded to emancipate itself from what it considered the thralldom of objective truth external to the thinking subject. The movement was systematized by Descartes, who, speculatively at any rate, threw aside the external universe, and began philosophical life on the slender basis of personal consciousness. Of Descartes himself we have no wish to speak in any but terms of respect, and even of admiration. He was a man of unquestionable genius and rare philosophical endowments. He was, what stood him in better stead, a faithful son of the Catholic Church; but it was his evil fortune to introduce a philosophical method which has since led to developments which no one would regret more than Descartes himself. We have

often thought that, unconsciously to himself, he was possessed by an error which has gained for itself a separate condemnation in the Syllabus—the error of thinking that, not an individual philosopher, but “philosophy neither can nor should submit itself to any authority.” A keen philosophical critic of the positivist school writes thus of Descartes :—“Throughout the epoch which preluded that in which he lived, there had been a slow but progressive tendency towards the separation of philosophy from theology. In Abelard we see the commencement of this tendency. . . . In Descartes we see the same tendency at its climax—and in him the existence of philosophy is a thing established beyond controversy ; he boldly attempts to solve by reason alone the problems that had hitherto been solved by faith.”¹ Be all this however as it may, it is certain that Descartes never anticipated the conclusions that were deducible—remotely it is true, but most logically from his fatal first principle—that individual consciousness alone was the sufficient foundation of scientific knowledge. Like many a man before his time and since—like some even amongst Catholics at this hour—he adopted a principle that seemed to himself harmless, the logical consequences of which he did not foresee, and from which, if had foreseen them, he would have shrunk with the horror becoming a Christian, and a Catholic.

We wish here to guard against a possible misconception. It might be supposed that we were of opinion that no sincere Catholic could at present be a disciple of what is called “the Cartesian philosophy.” We do not say so ; but we do say, and think, that if any sincere Catholic do hold it, however he may possess that sincerity, which as a Catholic he is bound to have, he is wanting in that logical acuteness which, after all, a man may lack without any violation of moral duty. Again, the Cartesian school of philosophy, in the time of Descartes himself, and in the time immediately succeeding, numbered amongst its devoted adherents men of undoubted logical acuteness, who never saw any more than Descartes himself, the fatal abyss to which Cartesianism necessarily gravitated. Now, in our strictures on the Cartesian philosophy, we mean no disparagement of such men either as regards their sincerity as Catholics or even as regards their logical acuteness. The truth is, that they were not in a position to form the full development of the system by any exercise of logical ability. The consequences of a false principle do not spring up in full crop immediately after the sowing time. They grow by slow, but sure degrees—they need time for the fulness of the harvest ; and a man of very inferior ability at the present day is, by the

¹ G. H. Lewes, *History of Philosophy*.

aid of accumulated experience, far better qualified to judge the Cartesian philosophy as a whole, than a man of the highest ability could possibly have been one hundred and fifty years ago.

The Cartesian method, at all events, passed out of the hands of Descartes, and fell into the hands of very different men. Spinoza, professing to begin as its humble disciple, evoked from it the most ruthless and revolting of all systems of Pantheism. It issued in the subjectivism of Locke—the idealism of Berkeley—and found its lowest depth in the scepticism of Hume. By the time it had arrived at this melancholy issue, it had destroyed the old landmarks of philosophy, and left the field of philosophical speculation free for the reception of that “Naturalism” which is the basis of “modern thought,” and which lies at the very root of every modern error—religious, political, and social.

That “Naturalism” does lie at the root of modern error, is not obscurely indicated by the fact that it shares with Pantheism and absolute Rationalism the first paragraph of the Syllabus; and whoever studies the Syllabus carefully will see that there is a certain order, as from foundation to after structure—from principle to development in detail—from root to tree and branch and blossom—in the arrangement of the several paragraphs. As a matter of fact, Pantheism, and Naturalism, and absolute Rationalism are, in their ultimate analysis, the same thing under different lights. Pantheism is but the extreme form of Naturalism; and if absolute Rationalism be not “*quid unum et idem*” with Naturalism, in the hands of a logical reasoner, it infallibly ends in it. Naturalism, then, is the root of “modern error;” and what springs from it? This—since the personality of God and the substantiality and individuality of the human soul are the very foundations of religion and morality—if these be removed, religion and morality fall with them; and in proportion as these two truths are tampered with, in precisely the same degree will religion and morality suffer. Let us present to our readers the weighty words of the distinguished Ancillon on this subject:—“If there were no Supreme Being, or *Sovereign Person*, free and intelligent, but only some absolute principle, blind and necessary; if human souls were not *real beings*—if each of them were not a veritable substance, different from, and independent of, all the others, there would be no religion—the word itself would have no meaning.”

We may then consider “modern thought,” so far as it is proscribed in the first paragraph of the Syllabus, under the general name of Naturalism. The explanation of the meaning of this Naturalism will form the subject of our next paper.

FAITH, FEASTS, DEVOTIONS.

THE ORIGIN OF DEVOTION TO THE SACRED HEART OF JESUS.

I.

THE definition of the Infallibility of the Vicar of Jesus Christ, and the solemn consecration of Catholic Ireland to the Sacred Heart of Jesus, as well as the late great English pilgrimage to the holy shrine of the Sacred Heart at Paray-le-Monial, have been the occasion of not a little misapprehension on the nature of faith and devotions. Some, even intelligent Catholics, confound doctrines with new definitions and new devotions and feasts : the present paper may not, therefore, be uninteresting to some readers of the RECORD.

God is immutable. He cannot change. "Jesus Christ yesterday, and to-day, and the same for ever."—(Heb. xiii., 8). So is God's truth immutable, unchangeable as God Himself. The Church of God, built upon the rock of Peter, assisted by the Spirit of Truth, to suit the "times and the seasons," to meet the wants of her children in various countries and different ages—the Church, we say, may vary her laws and discipline, as she has often done—may abolish some laws and enact new ones, as is her wont ; but the truths of faith, the dogmas of Christianity, she can neither alter nor change—she cannot create, abolish, or even modify the truths of Divine revelation. They are God's, and God's alone. They are as immutable as God himself, for God is truth. Did Protestants but clearly understand the teaching of our holy Church, their prejudices would be removed, heresy, so foul and damning, would die out, the Church of Jesus would clasp them to her bosom.

Did all Catholics, too, fully understand the truth and the spirit of their holy faith, their lives would be more holy, and sin would be less frequent. The teaching of the only true spouse of Christ—the Catholic Church—imparts heat to the heart and light to the intellect. The Church of God, when she defines an article of faith, and proposes it to her children, as she did lately the Infallibility of the Vicar of Jesus Christ, and a few years before that of the Immaculate Conception of our Blessed Lady, does not invent or create the dogma ; she has no such power—she only puts in clear form what was before revealed—she tells her children that the truth defined is contained in the *written or unwritten* word of God, that whosoever denies or even doubts it, suffers a shipwreck in faith, and is cast outside the fold of Christ. In our own days, on this point there has been an immense amount of misrepresentation, the result of

ignorance or malice among Protestants ; some Catholics, too, do not fully understand the teaching of their holy Church, or what is meant by a definition of faith. A definition of faith is not a new revelation—it does not make that to be true which was not true before. Before the definition a Catholic, through ignorance or misapprehension, may doubt or disbelieve the doctrine ; after its definition he believes it with absolute certainty. There have been, and probably there will be, new *definitions* ; there never have been, and never can be, *new doctrines* in the Catholic Church. The Church from the beginning received from her Divine Founder the full deposit of revealed truths ; these she cannot vary or change, subtract from or add to. From time to time, when a sore emergency arises, she, guided by the spirit of God, puts this or that truth in the form of a dogmatic definition, either to strike down, to confound the proud heretic, or to protect her simple children from deceit or error. As the prince puts his seal or stamp upon the coin to assure his subjects that the metal is not *counterfeit* but *genuine* gold, though the stamp adds nothing to the intrinsic value of the coin—it is simply the guarantee of its genuineness—so the Church of God, to protect her children from error, puts her seal or stamp upon an article of faith, she thereby declares to the world that this doctrine was revealed from the beginning, that it is contained in the deposit of faith entrusted to her guardianship by Jesus Christ, and if any man doubts it, he is a condemned heretic, and expelled from the fold of the one and only true Church of God.

The Church, aided by the Holy Ghost, defines her dogmas at suitable times to meet the wants of the age and the necessities of her children. For instance : the Divinity of Jesus Christ is the foundation of the Catholic Church, the foundation-stone of Christianity itself, the very essence of religion ; yet for more than three hundred years it had not been defined. At length the occasion turned up—a wicked man named Arius denied it ; the General Council of Nice, in the year 325, condemned the blasphemous heretic, and defined the Divinity of our blessed Redeemer.

The Church did not invent the doctrine ; she always believed it—it was her foundation-stone—it was the very essence of her religion—her very soul and existence.

Again, the Church always believed Mary to be the Mother of God, but it was only in the year 430 she defined the revealed doctrine—it was only then the occasion arose. The impious Nestorius insulted the Blessed Virgin—the General Council of Ephesus condemned the blasphemer, and proclaimed to the world the dignity of our Blessed Lady. The

Church always believed the Real Presence of the Body and Blood of Jesus Christ in the most holy Eucharist. This holy doctrine has been at all times, since the days of the Apostles, the consolation, the hope, the joy of her children. The heretics of the sixteenth century blasphemed the sacred mystery, the centre of all our love and all our affections—the Council of Trent condemned the innovators, and dogmatically declared to the world that Jesus lives and reigns in the most holy Eucharist. As the infallible definitions of the Church of God condemned the Arians in 325, the Macedonians in 381, the Nestorians in 430, the Eutychians in 451, the Monothelites in 680, the Iconoclasts in 757, the Photians in 869; so the Council of Trent condemned the blasphemous heresies of Luther and Calvin in the year 1545.

In our own days, the occasion—the necessity arose of defining the Infallibility of the Vicar of Jesus Christ. For some years past a wild spirit of revolution against all authority was spreading itself, like a destructive fire, through most countries of Europe. This spirit of bold infidelity was sapping the very foundations of faith, making ravages among souls in France, Italy, Germany, Switzerland, &c. Earth and hell appeared leagued together to destroy the authority—the spiritual jurisdiction of the Church of God. All the deadliest weapons—the poisoned javelins—were levelled at the centre of all power and authority—the Pope of Rome. In the words of the Royal Psalmist, we may say: “The kings of the earth stood up, and the princes met together against the Lord, and against his Christ.”—(Ps. ii., 2.) The time was come. Divine Providence watches over the Church, knows her wants, and the remedies for her wants—knows “the times and the seasons,”—and so, to stem the wild torrent of infidelity, to crush the mad spirit of revolution against the authority of the Church, to place a wall of bronze at the centre of all jurisdiction, the centre aimed at by the deadliest shafts of pretended friends and open foes—about seven hundred bishops, from every clime and every land, from the sunny south and frozen north, from the burning sands of Africa and wild wastes of Siberia, representing the faith and knowing the wants of 200,000,000 of souls—these holy prelates, with the Sovereign Pontiff at their head, assisted by the unerring Spirit of God, in the Vatican Council, under the mighty dome of St. Peter’s, on the 18th of July, 1870, defined and proclaimed amid the plaudits, and to the joy of the Universal Church of God, the great and consoling dogma of the INFALLIBILITY OF THE VICAR OF JESUS CHRIST. This doctrine is nothing new. It is clearly contained in the word of God. Jesus said to his disciples: “Whom do you say that I am? Simon Peter answered and said: Thou art Christ

the son of the living God. And Jesus answering, said to him : Blessed art thou, Simon Bar-Jona : because flesh and blood hath not revealed it to thee, but my Father who is in heaven. And I say to thee : That thou art Peter ; and upon this rock I will build my Church, and the gates of hell shall not prevail against it. And I will give to thee the keys of the kingdom of heaven. And whatsoever thou shalt bind upon earth, it shall be bound also in heaven : and whatsoever thou shalt loose on earth, it shall be loosed also in heaven.”—(Matt. xvi., 16-19). Again, Jesus, after His Resurrection, gave charge of His whole flock, that is, of His whole Church, both pastors and people, to St. Peter, when He said to him : “ Feed my lambs : feed my sheep.”—(John xxi., 17). And again, our Blessed Lord said to St. Peter : “ Simon, Simon, behold Satan hath desired to have you that he may sift you as wheat. But I have prayed for *thee* that *thy faith* may fail not : and *thou* being once converted, confirm thy brethren.”—(Luke xxii., 32). Peter, therefore, and his lawful successor in the See of Rome, when teaching the universal Church in faith and morals, can never err ; he can never lead his sheep on poisoned pasture ; his faith can never fail ; the rock of Peter can never be shaken ; the gates of hell can never prevail against the Church of Jesus Christ. This holy doctrine, though defined only in the nineteenth century, is not new. It is as old as Christianity itself ; it was revealed by the Son of God himself, and contained in the deposit of faith entrusted to the guardianship of the Church. As we remarked before, there have been, and probably will be, *new definitions* ; there never have, and never can be, *new doctrines* in the Church of God. How secure and peaceful is the faith of the Catholic ! He may hear of persecutions, as we do to-day in Germany, Italy, and Switzerland ; he may see mighty kings and emperors league together to destroy the Church of God ; he may witness, with tears, scandals in high places ; he may pray, and sigh, and weep over the sufferings of the Church, and the loss of souls purchased by the blood of Jesus ; but of the final victory of the Church, of her existence and perseverance to the end of time, he has no more doubt than he has of the existence of God Himself. “ O Catholic Church ! O faith of our fathers ! ‘ O beauty, ever ancient and ever new ! ’ may we love thee dearer than life, may we ever be ready to defend thee with our hearts’ blood, may we prize thee dearer than all the treasures of earth, may we cling to thee through life, and in death only part thee in Paradise, when faith and hope shall then cease ; seeing God ‘ face to face,’ we will be inebriated with the plenty of God’s house, and drink for ever of the torrents of His pleasures ! ”

II.

To some, the preceeding section may appear foreign to our subject ; but a little reflection will show that it is quite relevant : for in reading the history and origin of new feasts and new devotions, it is well for the Catholic clearly to understand that in the doctrine of the Church there can be nothing new. In doctrine there can be no new discovery, no change, no alteration. The Church can neither add to, or subtract from, the deposit of faith received from Jesus Christ. Besides, nothing can be more important than that every Catholic should be animated by living faith in his holy Church, this living faith stamped upon his soul, and ever before his heart and mind. Did the noblemen possess this living faith, they would defend the Church as they ought, by their wealth and influence. Did the learned possess it, they would glory to bow their intellects before the Church of God—the noblest use of genius is the defence of God's eternal truths. Did the poor possess it, they would never blush for their poverty, they would esteem their faith more precious than all earthly riches. Did the emigrants possess it, they would carry in their bosoms over the deep this heavenly gift of faith, and beyond the seas, amid the stranger, amid the heretic or infidel, they would plant the Cross of Jesus Christ where its shadow was never seen before ; they would erect the new church and new altar where the infinite Victim of Redemption was never before immolated. Let us then repeat it—the faith of the Catholic Church, like Jesus Christ himself, is the same “yesterday, and to-day, and the same for ever.”—(Heb. xiii., 8).

Near two thousand years ago, Jesus Christ planted this Church and watered her with His blood. During these long years she has witnessed the rise and fall of kingdoms and empires. Revolution after revolution has swept away thrones and dynasties. The mightiest structures which the genius of man has designed and raised, have fallen to violence, or crumbled and yielded to time alone ; but though the Church has seen the snows of near two thousand winters, to-day she stands before the world fair, young, and beautiful, like a lovely virgin, without spot or wrinkle. During these long years the holy Church of Jesus has stood the shock, and repelled the assaults of paganism, heresy, and schism. In every age, at the hour of danger, she had legions of martyrs, of every age and sex, watering and fertilizing her garden with their hearts' blood. The blood of the martyrs, says Tertullian, became the seed of Christianity. How often the furious storms and tempests of persecution have raged round the bark of Peter ! How often the angry billows of sin, passion, and error surged,

and foamed, and rose, appearing to engulf her in the abyss! Some of weak faith cried out: "Lord save us, or we perish" (Matt. viii., 25); the Redeemer is on board, and though He seems to sleep and be heedless of the danger, when His own time comes, in the darkest midnight of the storms, He rises in might of His omnipotence, He commands the storms, He stills the winds, He calms the waves—"then came a great calm"—and the bark of Peter, bearing the freight of two hundred millions of souls, rides triumphantly over the waters of strife.

As has been the past, as is the present, so shall be the future state of the Church of God. New empires and kingdoms shall rise and fall; old and new dynasties shall pass away; the "face of the earth" may be changed; populous cities, like London, may be buried in ruins, as Nineveh and Babylon; new persecutions shall arise; mighty kings and princes shall conspire "against God, and against His Christ," and against His Church; but, fearless, steady, and onward shall be the course of the Church, filling her Divine mission of teaching "all nations," conveying the glad tidings of Redemption to "them that sit in darkness and the shadow of death" (Luke i., 78), condemning error and heresy, always suffering, but ever victorious in the might of her Divine commission. Our Blessed Redeemer said to his disciples: "For amen I say unto you, till heaven and earth pass, one jot or one tittle shall not pass of the law, till all shall be fulfilled"—(Matt. chap. v., 18); the promises of God to His Church will never fail, and by these promises she will last for ever. The Royal Psalmist said of her: "As we have heard, so have we seen in the city of the Lord of Hosts, in the city of our God: God hath founded it *for ever*."—(Ps. xlvii., 9). And again, God said of his Church: "I have made a covenant with my elect, I have sworn to David my servant, thy seed will I settle for ever. I will keep my mercy for him *for ever*. Once I have sworn by my holiness: I will not lie unto David, his seed shall endure for ever. And his throne as the sun before me; and as the moon, perfect for ever."—(Ps. lxxxviii., 3, 29, 37). Kings conspire against her: "Be not afraid of their presence, saith the Lord, for I am with thee to deliver thee. Lo, I have set thee over nations and over kingdoms, to root up and to pull down, and to waste and to destroy, and to build and to plant."—(Jer. i., 10). Jesus Christ, who planted His Church and watered it with His Blood, promised to be ever with her in her joys and sorrows, in her trials and persecutions. "All power," says our Blessed Saviour, "is given to me in heaven and in earth. Go, therefore, teach all nations: baptizing them in the name of the Father, and of the Son, and of the Holy

Ghost, teaching them to observe all things whatsoever I have commanded you : and behold I am with you all days, even to the consummation of the world.”—(Matt. xxviii., 18, 19). And again, Jesus Christ promised her victory over the wicked powers of earth and hell : “ The gates of hell shall not prevail against her.”—(Matt. xvi., 18). If the tear of sorrow seldom leaves her eye, the laurel of triumph will ever wreath her brow. “ In the world,” added the Redeemer, “ you shall have distress ; but have confidence : I have overcome the world.”—(John xvi., 33).

As we, to-day, after the lapse of near two thousand years, profess the faith as pure as the Apostles themselves, so the last Catholic on earth—be it two thousand years more, or a hundred times two thousand years—at the time described in the Apocalypse with such terror and awe—“ when the mighty angel sets his right foot upon the sea and his left upon the earth, and swears by him that liveth for ever and for ever, who created heaven and the things which are therein, and the earth and the things which are in it, and the sea and the things which are therein : that time shall be no longer” (chap. x. 6)—at that time, we repeat, the last Catholic shall profess the faith as pure and holy as it fell from the Divine lips of Jesus Christ Himself. We ought, every day of our lives, thank the Almighty God for being members of the Catholic Church—the only true Church of Jesus Christ ; and also daily pray to God, and offer to God the Father the precious Blood of Jesus for the conversion of all heretics, schismatics, Jews, and infidels ; that all may share in the blessings of Redemption, and that no soul may perish for whom our Blessed Saviour shed the Blood of His Sacred Heart.

III.

The faith of the Catholic Church is immutable and unchangeable ; but in her feasts and devotions, we have all the charm and beauty of variety and change. The reflecting mind cannot but be struck by the order and beauty of the Feasts of the Church. When the true philosopher analyzes the human heart, and examines the doctrines and practices of our holy Church, he cannot fail to recognise the same God as Author of both. In the light of reason he sees that the same God who created man’s soul, and stamped upon it His own image, the same God who moulded the human heart, and breathed into it the breath of life, is the Divine Founder of the Catholic Church, and His Spirit imparts life and warmth to her feasts and devotions. The Catholic Church was founded by God to sanctify the soul of man ; hence she alone satisfies

the reason of the mind, as well as the feelings of the heart ; she alone speaks to, and impresses the soul, through the senses of the body, by her solemn Feasts, her pompous ceremonies, and her sweet doctrines. The candid mind, which knows how to appreciate the sublime and the beautiful, cannot but admire the solemn grandeur, the soul-stirring spirit of our great Feasts of the year. The beautiful order, and the admirable harmony of the Feasts, help to satisfy the longings of our weak hearts, and are adapted to the capacities and aspirations of our poor souls. We know, from sad experience, that our minds become fatigued and grow languid when we long meditate or think on any one spiritual subject. This strained attention to the one subject tires the soul, dries up the current of sensible devotion so necessary for weak souls, and tempts many to give up in despair the practices of fervent piety ; but the Church, assisted by the all-wise Spirit of God, sets in beautiful order and harmony the different Feasts of the year. This beautiful order relieves and gladdens the soul with all the charms of change and variety, and thus meets our wants, helps our weaknesses, and accommodates love and perfection to all capacities. Thus, at one time she invites us to the crib of Bethlehem to adore the new born King, to sing with the angels "Glory to God in the highest, and on earth peace to men of good will."—(Luke ii., 14). Many a hardened heart melts to sorrow and repentance in contemplating the tender mercy and winning love of the Divine Babe in Mary's arms. At another time, as the miraculous star conducted the wise men of the East—"went before them until it came and stood where the child was" (Matt. ii., 9)—so the Church leads her children in spirit to the manger, and we join the wise men of the East in offering to our Infant Saviour the "gold" of charity, the "frankincense" of prayer, and the "myrrh" of mortification. The soul of the devout Catholic is stirred up by the most tender emotions of piety, and his heart is filled to overflowing with the graces and blessings showered upon the world by the great Feasts of Christmas—the Feasts of the Nativity, the Circumcision, and of the Epiphany. The Church, like a faithful spouse, remembers and celebrates every act of the life of her Divine Founder, and weeps with Jesus in every stage of His Passion. Jesus fasted forty days and forty nights, and so the Church, soon after the joyous Feasts of Christmas, ushers in the forty days fast of Lent—the holy season of prayer and penance. She puts upon the heads of her children ashes, reminding them that dust they are, and into dust they shall return ; she exhorts them to wash away their past sins in bitter tears of sincere repentance, crying out with the Prophet : "Be converted to me with all your heart in fasting, and in

weeping, and in mourning. And rend your heart and not your garments, and turn to the Lord your God: for he is gracious and merciful, patient and rich in mercy."—(Joelii., 12). During Lent, the Church commemorates every stage of the Passion of our Lord Jesus Christ; she celebrates the holy and touching Feasts of the "Prayer" of our Blessed Saviour, of the "Passion" in general, of the "Crowning of Thorns," of "the Lance and Nails," of the "Winding-sheet," of the "Five Wounds," and of "The Most Precious Blood." In Holy Week, the altar is draped in mourning, the Cross is veiled, the organ is silent, the tone of the chant is sad and plaintive—all expressive of deep sorrow, all calculated to impress upon the mind, and deepen in the soul love and sympathy for Jesus suffering and Jesus dying. Now comes all the charm of change. In the midst of our sorrow, the soul stirring Alleluias break upon the ear, the joy-bells, by their sweet and joyous peals, usher in the happy morning, the altars are decorated with all that wealth and taste can lavish upon them, the mellow soft note of the organ swells and waves upon the air. It is Easter Sunday morning, the great Feast of the Resurrection. On this great Feast the tear of joy glistens in every eye, every countenance is radiant with happiness, every heart is gladdened, that Jesus is risen, to die no more, to suffer no more. Yesterday, the Church exhorted her children to do penance "in weeping, fasting, and mourning;" to-day, she says: "This is the day which the Lord has made, let us exult and rejoice therein."—(Breviary). Here we have all the beauty of sudden transition from sorrow to joy.

In the great Feast of the Ascension we forget earth, so to speak; we follow in spirit Jesus to heaven; we are consoled at the happy home he has there prepared for us, and promised us—"In my Father's house," says our Blessed Saviour, "there are many mansions. If not, I would have told you, that I go to prepare a place for you. And if I shall go, and prepare a place for you: I will come again, and I will take you to myself, that where I am, you also might be."—(John xiv., 2, 3). The Feast of Pentecost follows in rapid succession. Here we forget, so to speak, the Father and Son, and fix all our thoughts on the Holy Ghost—the third person of the Blessed Trinity. Faith and hope—the fire of divine love as well the sigh of sincere sorrow—all proceed from the Spirit of God. "If any one saith," defines the Council of Trent, "that without prevenient inspiration of the Holy Ghost, and without his help, man can believe, hope, love, or be penitent as he ought, so that the grace of justification be conferred upon him; let him be anathema."—(Sess. vi. Can. 3). We love with our whole hearts this Spirit of Love. We thank a thousand times the Holy Ghost

for all His gifts and all His Graces ; we thank Him for all our good resolutions, for all our holy intentions, for all our pious thoughts, and for all the sacred inspirations which this heavenly Dove so often noiselessly and calmly breathed into our souls. We learn from the sacred scripture that the Holy Ghost dwells in the soul in the state of grace. "The charity of God," says St. Paul, "is diffused in your hearts by the Holy Ghost who is given to you." We thank the Holy Ghost for having come into our souls at baptism when we knew him not, and could not love him. We ask true sorrow for our past sins, and we beg the grace never again, by mortal sin, to "contristate Holy Ghost," and drive Him from our hearts. May we always hear His sweet gentle voice, His soft breathing, His silent whispers to our souls ; may we always follow the secret inspirations of the Spirit of God.

Amid the sorrows of the Passion, the joy of Holy Thursday—the glories of the Blessed Eucharist are forgotten. The sensations of joy and sorrow cannot exist at the same time in the human soul ; but on the glorious Feast of Corpus Christi our hearts dilate with joy, we make a public profession of our faith, we proclaim to the world that Jesus lives, and loves, and reigns in the most holy Sacrament. The glories of the great Feast of Corpus Christi stir the soul to its very centre with the deepest emotions. The glories of this Feast!—the sweet chimes of the joy-bells, the richest hangings of embroidered purple and gold floating in the breeze, the pavements of the streets strewn with green leaves and flowers, the streets spanned with arches of evergreens, and all that genius and wealth could command lavished upon the decorations of the altars. The procession!—the little children, whose pure souls rival their dresses in whiteness, the exquisite banners waving in the breeze, the rich vestments of the clergy, the prelate in his Roman purple, the king in his royal robes. At one time the roaring of cannon, the martial music of military bands, the swelling notes of many organs, the trained sweet voices of thousands, bless Jesus in the Holy Eucharist. In a moment all is still : the thunder of the cannon ceases, the bells are silent, music and song die away, breathless silence reigns through the vast crowd, and Jesus, in the Holy Eucharist, blesses the adoring and prostrate thousands.

When long exposed to the burning rays of the sun, we hail the cool of night, and we love and gaze upon the beautiful moon shedding her pale rays upon us. Now and again she, too, hides her face, and we are no less delighted with the beauty and variety of the twinkling stars peeping down upon us. So it is with the Feasts of the Church. Now and again, during the year, the loving Feasts of our Blessed Lady dawn upon us

to refresh our souls and enliven our devotion ; the Feasts of our great Saints—of St. Patrick, and SS. Peter and Paul—are only a little less welcome. Mary is the beautiful moon, the Saints are the brilliant stars, all borrowing their light and heat from the Eternal Sun of Justice, all revolving in order and harmony around Jesus, their centre and the centre of light : let us then repeat, though the faith of the Church is immutable, in her Feasts we have all the charm and beauty of change and variety.

IV.

Love and homage to the Person of the Eternal Word constitute the primary and ultimate object of all Feasts and Devotions. But God is infinite—His Divine attributes, His mercies and benefits cannot be summed up or comprehended in one simple view, nor can we offer Him in one day that homage which eternity is not long enough to render. Each Devotion, as well as each Feast, honours Jesus in a different mystery, and with a different idea ; and each brings with it new reasons, and reveals new motives to deepen and intensify our love for our Blessed Lord. How solemn and holy the “Devotion of the Precious Blood.” The Precious Blood !—the only hope of the just as well as the sinner—this Precious Blood which redeemed us, one drop of which is sufficient to wash away the sins of ten thousand worlds. Have we ourselves ever trampled on the Precious Blood by mortal sin ? Sacred Heart of Jesus ! grant us a spirit of reparation and love for this Divine healing stream. The devotion of the Precious Blood set on fire the soul of St. Catherine of Sienna.

The “Devotion of the Five Wounds” is sympathy and love to Jesus suffering and Jesus dying. The devout soul loves to kneel down in spirit under the shadow of the Cross of Calvary, and there to contemplate the sacred Hands and Feet of Jesus pierced through, and fastened to the tree of the Cross by the huge blunted nails ; and His sacred side opened by the lance of Longinus ; and meditating on these five wounds, opened by, and bleeding for, the sins of all mankind, she sends straight to the Sacred Heart of Jesus—the source of these five streams—many an act of deep-felt sorrow for her own sins, and those of all mankind ; and many an act of burning love to her suffering Jesus.

Omitting many Devotions in honor of Jesus Christ, we cannot forget Devotions to the Blessed Sacrament.

The Blessed Sacrament ! The soul of the Church of God, the life of our souls, the joy of our hearts, the consolation of our lives, the centre of all our love, and all our affections. Devotion to the

Blessed Sacrament began at the last Supper ; but in the thirteenth century, through the weak instrumentality of a timid nun, Blessed Juliana of Liege, an outburst of feeling broke out in the Christian world towards Jesus under the sacramental veil ; a sudden gush of love renewed the life of the Church, and overflowed the hearts of Christians ; and the Church, to the universal joy of Christendom, invented new means to impress more vividly on the minds of her children what she always believed and adored, that Jesus is ever present in the most holy Sacrament, and makes each tabernacle His home. We have the Devotions of the Holy Sepulchre preached up in floods of burning eloquence by the great Saint Bernard, who gave to the order of Templars, whom he founded, as a badge, the red Cross of Jesus Christ. We have the many Devotions in honor of our Blessed Lady, so refreshing and so welcome to the soul of the pious Christian—the Devotion in honor of her Immaculate Conception, the Devotion of her various Scapulars, and, perhaps, greatest of all, that of the Holy Rosary, founded by the great Saint Dominic in the year 1206, and by means of which he extinguished the poisonous heresy of the Albigenses in France. “ Rejoice, O Virgin Mary,” sings the Church, “ thou alone hast destroyed all heresies in the entire world.”—(Breviary). We omit the many Devotions in honor of God’s Saints—Devotion to Saint Joseph, the reputed father and guardian of our Blessed Lord. We name last the Devotion of which we have been treating—that of the Sacred Heart of Jesus—the Devotion of all Devotions—that which takes in, directly or indirectly, the whole life and death of Jesus in the flesh, and His life in the Blessed Sacrament ; the Devotion of all ages of Christianity, but, especially, that of the last three centuries ; a devotion now extended in every country, is in every diocese of Christendom—everywhere warming hearts which had grown cold—everywhere rekindling, lighting up anew, in the souls of Catholics, the burning fire of divine charity for Jesus Christ their God. As the sacred Scripture says of the “ Father of light,” so it is with faith, “ there is no change or shadow of alteration.”—(James, i., 17) ; but in Devotions, as well as in Feasts, we have all the attractions of change and variety.

A history of the origin of the Feasts and Devotions of the Church could not fail to be interesting and edifying ; but it would be, perhaps, irrelevant to our subject, as the Sacred Heart of Jesus alone is our theme : hence we content ourselves with a brief narrative of the origin and progress of that most holy of all Devotions. In God’s great works He usually selects weak instruments to carry out His designs, in order that the success may not be attributed to human wisdom and

power, but that all may see and acknowledge the finger of God in His works. Thus, the preaching of the Gospel was committed to twelve fishermen, without learning, power, or wealth. Their task was no less than to storm the citadel of Paganism, to refute the great philosophers, to preach the Gospel to all nations, in order that, in the diffusion of Christianity, nobody could see aught but the power of God alone. "The foolish things of the world," says St. Paul, "God hath chosen that He may confound the wise, and the weak things that He may confound the strong. And the base things of the world, and the things that are contemptible, hath God chosen, and things that are not, that He might bring to naught things that are. . . . For the foolishness of God is wiser than men, and the weakness of God is stronger than men. . . . It is written, I will destroy the wisdom of the wise, and the prudence of the prudent I will reject . . . that no flesh should glory in his sight."—(1 Cor., i.) In the spirit of these sacred texts, God selected twelve poor fishermen to preach and spread His Gospel throughout all nations; so, to found and to spread the Devotion to the Sacred Heart of Jesus amongst all Catholics, Jesus choose a weak, timid, humble little nun, hidden from the world in a cloister, in a small town in the South of France. Margaret Mary Alacoque was her name; and her name, her sanctity, and the favors bestowed on her by heaven, have rendered famous for ever the place where she lived and died—the convent of the Visitation, in a small town called Paray-le-Monial, in the diocese of Autun, and province of Burgundy. This timid, humble nun, was chosen by God to be the apostle of the Devotions to the Sacred Heart. God had prepared her soul for the great work, and showered upon her His holiest and choicest graces. Love to Jesus in the Blessed Sacrament was the occupation of her life. She found her delight before the tabernacle; there she poured forth her love to her Divine Lord. The day and the night were too short for her to sing the praises of her Saviour. Thus, absorbed in prayer before the Blessed Sacrament, her soul filled with the most exquisite delight, Jesus appeared to her under a sensible form, and communicated to her, for the first time, the mission she was to accomplish.

We shall give the narrative of this, her first mission, in her own words, taken from her biographer: "Being one day before the Blessed Sacrament, and having at the time more leisure than usual, I felt myself wholly invested with the presence of God, so that I lost all thought of myself and the place where I was, and abandoned myself to the Divine Spirit, yielding up my heart to the power of His love. My Sovereign Master made me repose for a long time upon His Divine Breast, where

He discovered to me the marvels of His love, and the inexplicable secrets of His Sacred Heart, which He had up to that time kept concealed from me. He opened to me, for the first time, His Divine Heart in a manner so real and sensible that He left to me no room to doubt of the reality of this grace, in spite of the dread which I always had of deceiving myself in anything I say on such matters.

"The following, as it seems to me, is the way in which the thing occurred. Jesus said to me: 'My Divine Heart is so full of love for men, and for you in particular, that being unable to contain within itself the flames of its burning charity, it must needs spread them abroad by your means, and manifest itself to them to enrich them with the treasures it contains. I discover to you the price of these treasures; they contain graces of sanctification and salvation necessary to draw them from the abyss of perdition. I have chosen you, in spite of your unworthiness and ignorance, for the accomplishment of this great design, in order that it may better appear that all is done by me.'"¹

After these words, our Lord asked her for her heart. She begged of Him to take it, which He did, and placed it in His own adorable Heart, where He showed it to her as a little atom which was being consumed in this burning furnace. Withdrawing it then, as a burning flame in the form of a heart, He restored it to the place from whence He had taken it, saying: "See, my well-beloved, I give you a precious pledge of my love. I have enclosed within your side a little spark of the vivid flames of that love to serve you for a heart, and consume you to the last moment of your life—its ardour will never be extinguished. . . . You have taken hitherto only the name of my slave; I will give you from this time that of the beloved disciple of my Sacred Heart."

This vision took place in the year 1674, in the twenty-seventh year of her age, and the second of her religious profession.

The burning fire of Divine love now consumed, so to speak, the soul of the holy nun. Jesus on Calvary, and Jesus on the altar, were ever before her mind. On the first Friday of each month she received signal favors from the Sacred Heart. The Sacred Heart was often represented to her as a brilliant sun, the burning rays of which fell vertically upon her heart, which was inflamed with a fire so vivid that it seemed as if it would reduce her to ashes. She herself thus describes one of these favors:—

"On one occasion," she says, "whilst the Blessed Sacrament was exposed, I felt drawn within myself by an extraor-

¹ See the Life of Blessed Margaret Mary, by Mgr. Languet, and also by Father Tickell, page 128.

dinary recollection of all my senses and powers. Jesus Christ my sweet Master, presented Himself to me all resplendent with glory. His five wounds shining like five suns. From His sacred Humanity issued flames on all sides, but especially from His adorable Breast, which resembled a furnace, and which was open, and disclosed to me His most amiable Heart, the living source of these flames. He revealed to me, at the same time, the ineffable marvel of His pure love, and excess of His love towards men. He complained of their ingratitude, and said He felt this more sensibly than any other pain in His Passion," &c., &c. To make reparation for the coldness and ingratitude of mankind, our Lord gave her the following command: "You shall receive Me in the Holy Communion as often as obedience shall permit you. And, secondly, you shall communicate on the first Friday of each month." The Saint adds: "At this moment His Heart opened, and there issued from it so burning a flame that I thought I should have been consumed by it."

Twice the holy nun fell dangerously ill with a burning fever. Her superior, Mother de Saumaire, commanded her to ask her recovery of the Lord Himself as a test and assurance that He Himself was the author of these singular graces; that these visions and revelations came from the Spirit of God, and not the spirit of darkness. She obeyed, and at once her health was restored. On this same year, on the Feast of St. John the Evangelist, Jesus Christ manifested to her more clearly still, that He had designed her as the apostle of His Sacred Heart as also its hidden treasures. At the command of her confessor, Father Rolin, S.J., she thus describes it:—

"One day, on the Feast of St. John the Evangelist, 1674, after having received from my Divine Saviour a favour almost similar to that bestowed upon the beloved Disciple on the evening of the Last Supper, His Divine Heart was represented to me as on a throne of fire and flames, shedding rays on every side, brighter than the sun, and transparent as crystal. The wound which he received upon the Cross appeared there visibly; a crown of thorns encircled His Divine Heart, and it was surmounted by a cross. These instruments of His Passion signified, as my Divine Master gave me to understand, that it was the unbounded love He had for men that had been the source of all His sufferings, and that from the first moment of His Incarnation all these torments had been present to Him, and that from the first moment the cross had been, so to say, planted in His Heart; that from that moment He accepted all the pains and humiliations which His Sacred Humanity was to suffer during the course of His mortal life, and even the outrages to which His love for men exposed Him till the end

of the world in the Blessed Sacrament. He gave me to understand that it was the great desire He had to be perfectly loved by men that had made Him form the design of disclosing to them His Heart, and of giving them in these latter times this last effort of His love, by proposing to them an object and a means so calculated to engage them to love Him, and to love Him solidly, opening to them all the treasures of love, mercy, and grace, of sanctification and salvation which It contains, in order that all should wish to pay and procure for Him all the honors and love which they can, and might be enriched in profusion with the Divine treasures of which it is the fruitful and inexhaustible source."

We all love to have in our book, or hanging on the walls in our rooms, a picture of the Sacred Heart of Jesus. This devotion, too, had its origin in revelation made by our Divine Lord to His chosen servant, Blessed Margaret Mary:—"The Lord assured me," she says, "that He took a signal pleasure in being honoured under the representation of this Heart of flesh, in order, He added, to touch the insensible hearts of men. And He promised me that He would shed in abundance on all who should honor it, all the treasures of grace with which it is filled. Wherever this image shall be exposed for special veneration, it shall draw down upon the spot every kind of blessing." Let us all, then, have in our houses, in our rooms, pictures of the Sacred Heart of Jesus, in order that we may share in these promised blessings, and be constantly reminded of the love of our Blessed Lord.

One revelation more: In the following year, the time 1675, during the Octave of Corpus Christi, our Blessed Lord revealed to our Saint His wish to establish in the Church the Feast of the Sacred Heart. At the command of her confessor, Father de la Colombiere, she committed to writing an account of the signal favor. "As I was before the Blessed Sacrament," she writes, "on a day within the Octave of Corpus Christi, I received from my God excessive graces of His love, feeling myself touched with a desire of making Him some return, and of rendering Him love for love." Then His wounds were brilliant as the sun, and flame issued on all sides from His Sacred Body, but especially from His Heart, to which He pointed, saying: "See this Heart, which has loved men so much, that it has spared nothing, even to the exhausting and consuming itself, in order to testify to them its love; and in return, I receive from the greater part only ingratitude, contempt, irreverence, sacrilege, and coldness in this Sacrament of love. . . . For this reason, I wish that the first Friday after the Octave of Corpus Christi, be consecrated as a *Special Feast* in honor of my Heart, by communicating on that day,

and by making a solemn act of reparation for the indignities it has received during the time it has been exposed on my altars. I promise also, that my Heart shall expand itself to shed in abundance the influence of its Divine love upon those who shall pay it this honor, and induce others to do the same." Thus, sister Margaret Mary had her mission from the Divine lips of Jesus Christ Himself—a mission to make known to the world, the love of His Sacred Heart. Well might the timid humble nun tremble all over at the magnitude of her task! When God commanded Moses to bring forth "the children of Israel out of Egypt," Moses complained and said to God: "Who am I, that I should go to Pharaoh, and bring forth the children of Israel out of Egypt? . . . Lo, I am of uncircumcised lips; how will Pharaoh hear me?" (Exodus, chaps iii., vi.) And the Lord said to Moses: "I will be with thee." And when the Almighty commanded Jonas to arise and go to Nineveh, the great city, and preach in it . . . "Yet forty days and Nineveh shall be destroyed," Jonas rose up to flee into Tharsis from the face of the Lord."—(Jonas, i., 3). These great saints shrank from the difficult mission imposed upon them by God. No wonder the sensitive sister, thus cried out to her Lord: "To whom, O Lord, dost thou address thyself? to a poor creature, and so wretched a sinner, that her very unworthiness would be even capable of hindering the accomplishment of the design;" and the Lord said to her, as He said to Moses, "Fear not, I will be with thee." Yes, the Saint feared not, trusting in the Sacred Heart. Like all God's servants, she had her trials and contradictions, crosses and humiliations; in these she found her joy and glory; she lived to see the devotion established in her own convent, and in other houses of the Visitation. On the 21st of June, 1686, she made her novices join with her in a solemn Te Deum of thanksgiving, and said, "I shall die happy, I have now nothing more to desire, since the Sacred Heart of My Saviour is known and begins to reign over the hearts of others;" and, doubtlessly, prayed, as holy Simeon: "Now thou dost dismiss thy servant, O Lord, according to thy word, in peace. Because my eyes have seen thy salvation."—(Luke, ii., 29). The great Feast of Corpus Christi owes its origin to a private revelation made by God to Blessed Juliana of Liege, in the year 1210; so we are indebted to the revelations made by the same God to Blessed Margaret Mary, in the year 1675, for the Feast of the Sacred Heart. It is true that we are bound to believe, under penalty of shipwreck of Faith, those revelations alone contained in the word of God—the Sacred Scriptures. It is also true that the Church never proposes to our belief—never approves—in fact, expresses no judgment upon these private revelations. In the

many Bulls and decrees by which the Church has sanctioned and approved of the Feast and Devotions of the Sacred Heart, she, in her wise caution, never even alludes to these revelations. At the same time we have evident marks and motives of credibility for these visions, which have been examined, approved, and believed by learned and holy men: hence they are not to be treated with levity or ridicule, as sometimes happens with half educated Catholics, but with respect and reverence.

Thus we evidently see the finger of God, and the interior action of the Holy Spirit, in the origin of the Devotion of the Sacred Heart. The marvellous rapidity with which it spread throughout Christendom shows the working of Divine Providence. We are not to forget that these revelations rest upon the authority of a holy soul who lived and died in the odour of sanctity, and whose heroic virtues God Himself confirmed by great miracles before and after her death. We are also to bear in mind, that the Church has approved, by many Bulls, the Devotion to the Sacred Heart; and, lastly, and, perhaps, the most important of all—that the Church, in the Decree of Beatification of Margaret Mary, says that “God selected this holy nun to establish the Devotion to the Sacred Heart: thereby giving great weight, if not some indirect sanction, to the visions above-named. We shall conclude this paper with the words of the Decree of Beatification pronounced by our Holy Father Pius the Ninth, the 29th of August, 1864:—“That Jesus might the more enkindle the fire of Divine Charity, He would have the veneration and worship of His most Sacred Heart established and promoted in His Church. For who is there so hard-hearted and unfeeling as not to be moved to make return of love to that most amiable Heart, which was pierced and wounded with a lance, in order that our souls might find therein a hiding place and a secure retreat, to which we might betake ourselves in safety from the attacks and snares of our enemies. Who would not be provoked to show every mark of love and honor to that Sacred Heart, from the wound of which flowed forth water and blood, the source of our life and salvation? In order to establish and spread far and wide amongst mankind this so saving and just Devotion, our Saviour vouchsafed to choose His servant, the venerable Margaret Mary, who by the innocence of her life and constant practice of every virtue, proved herself worthy, with the aid of Divine grace, of this exalted office and charge.”

T. H. K.

DOCUMENTS

I.

THE IRISH HIERARCHY AND CATHOLIC EDUCATION.

THE following resolutions were adopted at a meeting of the Archbishops and Bishops of Ireland, held in the Presbytery, Marlborough-street, Dublin, on Wednesday the 15th, and Thursday the 16th October, 1873 :—

Resolution No. 1.—That, with a view to the improvement of Catholic Education, and in order to make our University a great centre of Catholic education throughout Ireland, we will take immediate steps to affiliate to it the several Colleges, Seminaries, and higher schools of our respective dioceses ; that we approve and adopt the scheme proposed to our meeting relative to examinations for Matriculation and Degrees in Arts, Philosophy, and Theology ; and that we sanction the arrangements for the creation of Bourses and Exhibitions, and authorize the University Council to complete and carry out this scheme in all its details.

Resolution No. 2.—That we pledge ourselves to have the prescribed collection for the Catholic University made every year on the third Sunday of November, in every parish of our respective dioceses, giving it precedence of all local claims.

Resolution No. 3.—That, whilst earnestly exhorting our flocks to support the Catholic University by their generous contributions, and to sustain by their influence our Catholic Educational Institutions, we renew our most solemn admonitions to Catholic parents to keep their children far away from all condemned colleges and schools.

Resolution No. 4.—That, whilst we sympathise with our people in every legitimate effort to ameliorate the condition and to promote the temporal welfare of our common country, we, as Bishops, call upon them to use all constitutional means to uphold the cause of Catholic Education, and we pledge ourselves to support, and exhort our people to support, as candidates for Parliamentary honours, only those who will, in Parliament and out of Parliament, strenuously sustain our Educational Rights, which are inseparably bound up with the best interests of religion.

Resolution No. 5.—That the administration, financial and disciplinary, of St. Patrick's House of Residence, Stephen's-green, be confided to the Jesuit Fathers.

Resolution No. 6.—That the erection of a new School of Medicine and University Hall, on the University site in Stephen's-green, shall be commenced without delay, the plans to be previously approved by the University Council ; and that a Committee be organised by the Rector to aid in collecting funds for that purpose.

Resolution No. 7.—That the Rector be authorized to engage the services of competent gentlemen as lecturers on the following subjects for the present year, eight lectures to be delivered on each subject, viz. :—English Language, English Literature and Poetry, Fine Arts, Geology, Irish Antiquities, Evidences of the Christian Religion, Modern Irish History.

Resolution No. 8.—That we will use our best efforts to establish and maintain Classical Schools in the principal towns of our diocese.

Resolution No. 9.—That we earnestly call upon our clergy throughout Ireland to exert all their vigilance and zeal in repressing drunkenness, which is one of the great evils of the day, demoralizing and impoverishing the people, and destroying in thousands the souls which Christ died to save. Amongst the means which may be usefully employed we recommend the " Association of Prayer " and the establishment in every parish of Temperance Societies, based upon the principles of the Catholic Religion.

Resolution No. 10.—That we see with deep sorrow the continued sufferings of Our Most Holy Father Pope Pius IX., and the persecution to which Religion is subjected in Rome, the centre and capital of the Christian world ; that we also deplore the evils by which, in Germany, Switzerland, Spain, and Italy, the Bishops of the Church, their Clergy, and Religious Orders, are afflicted ; and, therefore, we exhort our flocks to put on the spiritual armour of Faith, and to approach the throne of God in fervent prayer, that in His mercy He may look down upon His children, and restore peace to the Head of His Holy Church, and to its members.

Signed on behalf of the meeting,

✠ PAUL CARD. CULLEN.

II.

LETTER OF HIS EMINENCE CARDINAL CULLEN TO THE
CATHOLIC CLERGY, SECULAR AND REGULAR, OF THE
DIOCESE OF DUBLIN.

VERY REV. AND DEAR SIR,

Within the present week an important circular regarding the Catholic University will be addressed to you by the Rector, the Very Rev. Monsignor Woodlock.

I beg of you to read that document for your faithful flocks, and at the same time to impress upon them the necessity of upholding the cause of religious education, and providing the youth of the country with the means of acquiring not only all useful scientific knowledge, but also solid instruction in the practices and doctrines of the one, holy, Catholic Church, out of which there is no salvation. If this be not done, and if children be not brought up in the fear and love of God, and inspired with a spirit of respect and obedience for the laws of God and the Church, they will forget the interests of their immortal souls, and their eternal salvation will be exposed to the greatest danger. For, according to the Scripture, if a young man get into a wrong path, even when he grows old, he will not retire from it.

Unhappily, in our times, indifference or hostility to religion is very prevalent, manifesting itself in private and public, and especially in the columns of a licentious press. In order to propagate this perverse spirit, efforts are made to banish the name of God, and of the Cross—the emblem of redemption—from the school, to limit instruction to the mere things of this world, to reduce education to a sort of paganism, and to leave children without any love of religion, and any knowledge of its sublime and consoling truths. Were the advocates of godless education and indifferentism to succeed in carrying out their projects, the world would be reduced to a state of chaos and confusion: in this life we should be left without a ray of light to guide our steps, abandoned at the same time to a hopeless despair in reference to our future state of existence.

To this evil spirit of the age, which tends to corrupt and degrade, religion opposes the maxims of the Gospel and the words of our divine Lord, who teaches us to prefer the interests of our souls to all earthly concerns. "Seek ye first," says He, "the kingdom of God and His justice, and all other things will be added to you." He also asks, "What doth it profit a

man to gain the whole world, if he lose his own soul?" And, again, he proclaims "that there is but one thing necessary"—that is, to serve God, to sanctify ourselves, and to work out our eternal salvation. Do not these maxims of divine truth distinctly demonstrate the folly and absurdity of those modern theorists, who pretend that youth should be brought up and matured, continually engaged in the study of mere earthly and material things, without acquiring any knowledge of spiritual matters, and never taking into account that period of existence which awaits us beyond the grave?

Impressed with the maxims of the Gospel, and attaching due importance to the salvation of those souls which have been purchased by the precious blood of Jesus Christ, you, Rev. Brethren, and your faithful flocks, have always zealously laboured in the cause of religious education, and you have made generous sacrifices (to say nothing of the lower classes of schools) in establishing and supporting a Catholic University in which the higher branches of science should be taught, and knowledge imparted under the hallowing influences of religion. This was a great and holy undertaking, which will ever reflect great honour on the Catholics of Ireland, and which will be recorded in heaven as most meritorious. Yet, though much has been done, we must still continue our exertions, and, having once put our hand to the plough, we cannot think of returning back. But in this matter, whilst expecting success from heaven, we must rely on our own exertions. Indeed, the events of the past months show us that, as far as our rulers are concerned, though they grant vast sums every year to support a godless system in the Queen's Colleges, and leave in the hands of a body, consisting principally of Protestant clergymen, for non-Catholic educational purposes, immense revenues, derived in great part from the confiscated property of Catholics, or from the public taxes of the country; yet, however they may be disposed, they are either unable or unwilling to give any grant to Catholics for the education of their children, or to make to them due reparation for the glaring acts of injustice and spoliation which they suffered in the past.

In these circumstances I need not exhort you to act with generosity towards the Catholic University; you have done so for the past, and I am sure you will display the same spirit in the future. By giving your contributions you assist a work of faith, aiding to uphold religion and its salubrious influences; you also assist a work that has been blessed by the successor of St. Peter, and which is dear to the heart of Pius IX., and is admired by the Catholics of the world as a miracle of the

courage and charity of Ireland. God will not leave your generous and charitable contributions without an ample reward.

Having invited your flocks to assist in providing for Catholic education, you will be pleased to remind them that Friday, the 14th November, will be the Feast of St. Laurence O'Toole, patron of this diocese, and to exhort them to celebrate that day with great devotion, begging of this glorious Saint to watch over the diocese which he fertilized by his labours, to preserve it from the ravages of infidelity and immorality, and to banish from among us the dreadful vice of drunkenness, the prolific source of innumerable evils. Point out to the people the firmness and vitality of the faith of St. Laurence, his extraordinary spirit of prayer, and his wonderful charity to the poor, which induced him, whilst spending nothing on himself, to devote the whole wealth of the See of Dublin to the relief of the suffering members of Jesus Christ.

In preparation for the approaching festival, I beg of you to celebrate in all the churches and chapels a devout Triduum in honour of the Saint, commencing on Tuesday, the 11th, and finishing on the 13th. Let the Rosary of the Blessed Virgin be said on these days, if the devotions be in the evening ; but if after Mass, the Rosary may be omitted ; in either case benediction shall be given each day, the Litany of the Blessed Virgin, with the *Tantum ergo*, having been previously chanted. A prayer in honour of St. Laurence is to be added to the Litany, and, if possible, a short exhortation should be delivered on the virtues of the Saint.

During the Triduum the faithful should not forget to pray for our Holy Father the Pope, who is still in prison, surrounded by difficulties and dangers, and insulted and misrepresented by the wicked and corrupt votaries of the world. Pray also for the Bishops and Priests, secular and regular, and for the communities of nuns, who, in many countries, are suffering exile or imprisonment, and persecutions equal in astute malice to those which were inflicted by Julian the Apostate on the Christians of the fourth century. We should at the same time thank God for the peace and tranquillity which we enjoy, and show our gratitude to Him by observing His commandments, and endeavouring to correspond to His graces.

In conclusion, it is meet that whilst a neighbouring great Catholic country, France, is passing through a dangerous crisis, we should offer up fervent prayers to God, begging of Him to restore to her a firm and permanent government, neither despotic nor licentious, but able to restrain the violence of revolution, to maintain the liberty of religion and education, to

uphold the just interests of the people, and to protect all the arts that render a country safe and prosperous. France welcomed St. Laurence to her shores, and afforded him an asylum in his last sickness. She also preserved his remains with pious care, exposing them in the town of Eu, where he died, to public devotion, in a magnificent shrine; and tens of thousands of faithful Christians visit his tomb every year, to pay a tribute of honor and respect to this Irish Saint, and to implore his intercession. Let us hope that he will obtain on his festival great blessings for the country which pays him so much honor, and that by his intercession the eldest daughter of the Catholic Church may, after so many misfortunes, recover her ancient glory and power, become again the right arm of the Apostolic See, and send out new Pepins and Charlemagnes to punish the insults offered to the successor of Saint Peter, and to restore the Vicar of Christ to the free exercise of his rights and privileges. We are now more bound than ever to pray for France, because her destinies are in the hands of a great warrior of Irish descent, filled with the same faith which animated his forefathers in the dark days of persecution.

The grace of our Lord Jesus Christ be with you all.

✠ PAUL CARD. CULLEN.

6th Nov., 1873.

III.

THE FOLLOWING LETTER HAS BEEN SENT TO THE CATHOLIC CLERGY OF IRELAND BY MONSIGNOR WOODLOCK, D.D., RECTOR OF THE CATHOLIC UNIVERSITY.

REV. DEAR SIR,

Some months ago, as you are aware, a scheme of University Education for Ireland was introduced into Parliament. In it the declarations of our Prelates, and our own oft-repeated profession of the necessity of Catholic Education for Catholics, were ignored, nay, openly set at nought. While the existing system was acknowledged to be "*miserably bad, scandalously bad*," it was sought to substitute for it a more gigantic scheme of godless education under the supreme control of the State. To the men who, during the last few years have done much to redress the numberless grievances of our country, and who

have so often promised to undo, as far as possible, the misgovernment of the past, we ought not to impute other motives than those avowed by them when introducing the Irish University Bill of last session. But, judging the measure on its own merits, we are compelled to say that it evinced a total ignorance of the wants, or disregard for the wishes, of Catholic Ireland. And if English statesmanship, even when swayed by feelings the most friendly to our country, can or will produce nothing better, it is time for Irish Catholics to look for the redress of their admitted grievances elsewhere than to those with whom false liberalism and the theories of *doctrinaires* prevail over the sacred convictions of a whole nation in a matter which is part of their religion.

Our Prelates, ever watchful for our spiritual welfare, and feeling that the question of University Education can no longer be left unsettled, have, by the resolutions adopted at the late meeting in Dublin, traced out for us the line of conduct we are to follow in order to secure for the youth of our country teaching in conformity with the principles of the Catholic Religion.

Having long looked in vain to our rulers for the establishment of an educational system not repugnant to our principles as Catholics, it is now full time for us to take the matter into our own hands, and use the means in our power to obtain a Catholic education, thus repudiating all attempts to force our consciences in this momentous matter. There are between 5,000 and 6,000 Catholic boys and youths in the classical schools and colleges of this county—a number quite sufficient to enable us to maintain a University of our own, with its subsidiary institutions. Many of our people have ample means for giving their sons the highest education in literature and science, and parents would confer upon them, and upon the country generally, the greatest advantages by allowing them to profit of a more extensive education, instead of removing them from school, as is now done but too frequently, some years before they are fit to enter on the busy career of life. Many fathers of families desire to secure for their sons advancement in some one of the honorable careers now open to all educated young men. And in the Catholic University and Catholic Colleges facilities for obtaining those advantages are offered to the youth of our country. In particular, the Prelates, by securing for our University the ablest men in the various departments of learning, will make it worthy to be the centre of thought, and of intellectual advancement for our Catholic people. The Catholic Church

of Ireland will do as the Church has done throughout Christendom.

The Sovereign Pontiff, from whom nearly all the Universities of Europe, including some of the most celebrated in England and Scotland, hold their academical privileges, has given our Catholic University the power of granting Degrees. This privilege will be used for the purpose of advancing learning in our Schools and Colleges. These institutions will be affiliated to the Catholic University. Exhibitions and other prizes will be established in them out of the proceeds of the Annual Collection in each diocese, and a uniform course of studies, arranged after the best models, will be prepared, so that the young men who study in those Colleges may, as far as possible, share in the advantages of the University, the examinations of which they will be invited to pass at stated times.

Steps are also being taken for setting up, in connection with the University, a training school for masters for our primary schools throughout Ireland. Our Prelates desire that the Catholic University, which, in accordance with the wishes of our Holy Father Pope Pius the Ninth, and supported by your liberal contributions, they have founded, should extend its benefits as far as possible for the advancement of Catholic Education in every class throughout the length and breadth of the land.

In order to give practical effect to their resolutions, our Bishops appeal to you, Rev. dear Sir, and to our brothers of the Clergy, and through you and them to our faithful people throughout Ireland, for the pecuniary means to carry out this glorious work, which of its nature is an expensive one, and in which the Government of the country, so liberal to non-Catholic Institutions, refuses to help Catholic Ireland. "We pledge ourselves," the Prelates say, "to have the prescribed Collection for the Catholic University made every year on the third Sunday of November, in every parish of our respective dioceses, giving it precedence of all local claims."

In accordance with this Resolution of their Lordships, allow me to beg your valuable co-operation, and the generous aid of your flock, for the Catholic University, on Sunday, the 16th November instant.

I have the honor to be, Rev. dear Sir, your faithful Servant,

BARTH. WOODLOCK, Rector.

Catholic University, Dublin, Feast of
St. Malachy of Armagh, Nov. 3, 1873.

[NEW SERIES.]

THE IRISH ECCLESIASTICAL RECORD.

DECEMBER, 1873.

THE IRISH MASSACRE OF 1641.

IN a former article we advanced some arguments in proof that the volumes of *Depositions* preserved in Trinity College, Dublin, are untrustworthy, whilst they set forth a scheme of a general massacre of the Protestant inhabitants of Ireland, premeditated and carried into execution by their Catholic neighbours in the eventful year of 1641. The testimony, indeed, registered in these volumes consists of little more than a series of contradictory statements and exaggerated hearsay reports, which would not be listened to for an instant as evidence in any court of justice in this kingdom. As, however, the traducers of our country, from Temple and Borlase in the seventeenth century, to Froude and his admirers at the present day, rest on this broken reed their charge of inhuman cruelty against our people, we propose in this article to test the truthfulness of the *Depositions* in regard to one or two particular counties; and we select their "testimony of blood" against the Catholics of Kilkenny and Tipperary for two reasons: first, because the accusations made against these counties are more definite and detailed than those made against most other districts; and, secondly, because when the exaggerations and falsehoods of the several deponents are set aside, a few scattered rays of truth still remain to cast some light on the first days of that Revolution which ushered in the great Kilkenny Confederation, undoubtedly one of the most important eras in the annals of our country.

The *Depositions* are most minute in the details which they present to us of the cruel treatment to which the Protestants of the county and city of Kilkenny were subjected by their Catholic countrymen.

Temple has published the evidence given by William Lucas,

of the city of Kilkenny, who, on the 16th of August, 1643, attested "that although he lived in the town till about five or six weeks past, during which time he is assured divers murders and cruel acts were committed, yet he durst not go abroad to see any of them; but he doth confidently believe that the rebels having brought seven Protestants' heads, whereof one was the head of Mr. Bingham, a Minister, they did then and there, as triumphs of their victory, set them upon the market-cross on a market-day, and that the rebels slashed, stabbed, and mangled those heads . . . and after they had so solaced themselves, threw those heads in a hole in St. James's Green." He adds the testimony of Dame Anne Butler, wife of Sir James Butler, of the county Carlow, who swore that, after being kept in prison with her husband and children for a fortnight in Leighlin-bridge, they were all "conveyed thence under a strict guard to Kilkenny before Lord Mountgarrett, where Walter Bagnal, of Dunleckney, and James Butler, brother of Lord Mountgarrett, used all possible means to induce the said Lord to put this deponent, her husband and family, to death and torture, alleging that they were rank Puritan Protestants, and desperately provoking, and used these words: *There is but one way for it, we or they*, meaning Papists or Protestants, *must perish*. To which malicious provocation the said Lord did not hearken. And this deponent further deposeth that she was credibly informed by Dorothy Renals, who had been several times an eyewitness of these lamentable spectacles, that she had seen to the number of five and thirty English going to execution, and that she had seen them when they were executed, their bodies exposed to devouring ravens, and not afforded as much as Christian burial . . . And this deponent saith that Sir Edward Butler did credibly inform her that James Butler, of Finyhinch, had hanged and put to death all the English that were at Gowran and Wells, and all thereabouts. And she further deposeth, that being in Kilkenny a prisoner, and having intelligence that some of her own cattle were brought thither by Walter Bagnal, she petitioned, being in great extremity, Lord Mountgarrett to procure her some of her own cattle for her relief; whereupon he recommended her suit to the Mayor and Corporation of Kilkenny, who concluded, because she and her family were Protestants, and would not turn to Mass, they should have no relief."

To all this evidence Temple adds the conjoint testimony of several witnesses who declared that "about Easter, 1642, Richard Philips and five others were, by the command of Lord Mountgarrett, hanged to death at the end of a house in Kilkenny, by that cruel and bloody rebel and provost-marshal, Thomas

Cantwell, of Cantwell-court, or some of his servants or soldiers in his presence : that Mr. Edmond Butler, eldest son of Lord Mountgarrett, Edward Butler, his second son, Captain Garrett Blanchfield, and divers others rebellious commanders and soldiers, to the number of six or seven hundred, a little before Michaelmas, 1642, marched from Ballyragget near to the iron forge of Ballinakill, and there met with Lieutenant Gilbert, William Alfry, Thomas Bingham the Minister, Robert Graves, Richard Bently, and about sixty more of the English soldiers, who though fighting valiantly and killing many rebels, and Captain Walter Butler among the rest, were at last so overcome, that the five above named, and two other English soldiers, were absolutely slain, and the heads of these seven were carried to Kilkenny by those rebels, their bag-pipes for joy playing before them on horse-back ; and on a market-day, which happened to be on the next day following, those heads, as trophies of their victories, were brought out and set upon the market-cross, where the rebels, but especially the women there, and amongst the rest Alice Butler, the daughter of the said Mountgarrett, stabbed, cut, and slashed at the face of the said William Alfry, and those that could but get a blow or stab at those heads seemed to account themselves happy : which heads, being said by the rebels to be the heads of heretics, were not afforded Christian burial, but buried without the city in a cross-highway all together in a hole, the buriers chopping and cutting the heads with their spades as they threw mould upon them : and to make the manner of their burial and the heads themselves more contemptible, the rebels, over the hole where the heads were laid, set up a long stick, whereto they fixed papers, that all may take notice of the place, and from that time the rebellious boys took up, and frequently used an oath : By the cross of the seven Devils' heads buried on St. James's Green. And further saith, that Ancil Grace and divers others rebels in Kilkenny, broke open the doors of the Cathedral Church there, and robbed the same church of the chalices, surplices, ornaments, books, records, and writings, and made gunpowder in St. Patrick's Church, and dug the tombs and graves in the churches in Kilkenny under pretence of getting up moulds whereon to make gunpowder. And these deponents have credibly heard and verily believe that the rebels at Gowran took twenty-five Protestants, men, women, and children, pretending and promising to them a convoy to Dungannon, but hanged them on the way : and that the rebels half-hanged five more Protestants at Ballyragget, by the command of the said Captain Edward Butler and the said Thomas Cantwell, the marshal, letting them down

again before they were dead, allowed them somewhat to recover, and then buried them alive: and as for one of those poor Protestants at Gowran, by name Tristram Robinson, the rebels hanged him twice, and thrust him through with darts, but as he still continued alive and speaking, they buried him alive. And further, that one English Protestant, who was a shepherd, whilst going with his wife towards Ballydownell, was hanged by the rebels," &c.

From all this evidence Temple concludes: "How did the inhabitants of Kilkenny, a city planted with old English, where civility and good manners seemed to flourish, solace and please themselves in abusing most unchristianly the heads of a minister and six other Protestants brought in a kind of triumph into that town. Certainly it is not to be imagined, much less expressed, with what scorn and derision they acted these great cruelties upon all British whom they had gotten into their power, with what joy and exultation their eyes did behold the sad spectacle of their miseries, what greedy delight and pleasure they took in their bloody executions, what malice and hatred they expressed towards them."

To many of our readers the most interesting portion of the above Depositions will be the items which regard the restoring of the old Cathedral and the other churches of Kilkenny to Catholic worship. This was done without violence, and even without opposition, and great was the enthusiasm of the whole population whilst the aged David Roothe, the Bishop of Ossory, accompanied by his clergy, went in solemn procession to restore to the hallowed rites of the Catholic religion these noble monuments of the piety of their fathers. One special incident of this wonderful change is mentioned in another Deposition. James Keegan, Vicar of Castlecomer, seeing how the Irish arms prospered, chose the better part, and became a Catholic. The Deposition adds: "he doth now exercise his skill and playing on the organ in St. Canice's Church."

This conversion was not a solitary case. Many Protestants in every part of the kingdom, no longer retained by the loaves and fishes of the Anglican Communion, embraced the Catholic faith, and many of them became true and devoted children of the Church. In the curious but invaluable MS. History of the Confederate War of 1641, entitled "*An Aphorismical Discovery of Treasonable Faction*," which I am happy to state is now being published by one of our ablest Irish Antiquarians, Mr. Gilbert, mention is made of the numbers of Protestants thus converted to the Catholic faith, and a motive of conversion is assigned, probably unique, in the annals of the Church. Thanks to the

kindness of the learned editor, I am able to insert in full the passage which refers to this matter :—

“I am confident a hundred English would not face ten Irish in those beginnings, for God did fight for them then, having religion their only object of warfare, and also the English were mightily discouraged seeing the multitude of Irish in each province, and how they thrived, so that they thought it strange, where were so many of them all the while past, and persuaded themselves that they rose from Purgatory, which until then they never believed, in so much that very many of the rankest Protestants, nay of their chief ministers, were very earnest for reconciliation to holy Church, and being received, showed extraordinary devotion.”—Chap. v.

To resume, however, the testimony of blood. There are several sworn Depositions in the original text which are omitted by Temple, and they principally dwell on the barbarous cruelty exercised in Castlecomer and Graiguenamanagh by Richard Butler and his associates. I give one sample of these depositions from the original MS. It will serve to set forth more clearly the true character of the witnesses, whilst it adds considerably to the vivid picture of the universal massacre as drawn by our opponents. On the 29th of May, 1645, John Mayne (who is described as a gentleman of the city of Kilkenny) attested as follows: “That he saw James Brenan, of Castlecomer, when with his sword he cleft a little English boy’s head, aged about six years, and afterwards dragged him in a rope, and hanged him on the gallows at Castlecomer; and he then and there also hanged another Englishman’s child of about the same age. The deponent also says that he has been credibly informed by divers English people of good credit, and by divers of the Irish also—and he has too great cause to believe their information to be true—that at the Graige or iron works belonging to Sir Richard Butler, divers rebels there murdered about three score men, women, and children, and buried so many of them alive that the very moulds or earth wherewith they were covered was seen to rise and fall after they were buried and put therein; and that they were nevertheless so kept and held in their graves with weight of earth, stones, and rubbish, that they were not able to get up nor go out of their graves, but there were smothered, famished, and died. And the rebels also, at Kilkenny, in most sacrilegious manner robbed the churches there, made gunpowder in some of them, and swore they would turn all the English that had been buried within twelve months before out of their graves; and William Lawless beat the pulpit in St. Mary’s church all to pieces.”

Notwithstanding all these grave charges, it is an incontrovertible fact—which indeed is sufficiently proved by some of the very Depositions to which our adversaries so confidently appeal—that the supposed general massacre of the Protestants in Kilkenny had no more reality than a mere dream of fancy.

Among those who appeared before Cromwell's Commissioners on the 29th of January, 1652, was an English officer named Captain Abel Warren. He tells us in his deposition that in the first days of the Revolution he had joined Lord Mountgarrett, when that nobleman (in virtue of a commission from the Lords Justices) undertook to raise a regiment in defence of the Crown, but subsequently he chose rather to share the fortunes of his brother Protestants. He then gives the following important testimony — sufficiently severe indeed—against Lord Mountgarrett and his family, but absolutely conclusive against the supposition of any general massacre of the Kilkenny Protestants. "On December 23rd, 1641," he says, "after the English and Protestants in Kilkenny were preserved by the care and industry of the Countess of Ormond in her castle, neither she nor they being longer able to subsist, there being near 300 Protestants with her, she prevailed on her cousin, Edward Butler, of Urlingford, second son to the Lord Mountgarrett, for a certain sum of money to convey them to the water side at Waterford, and so send them safe into that city. According to agreement, the money (which I suppose was £60), was paid beforehand, for the said Edward Butler would not stir without it, and we marched that night to Knocktopher, where the next morning the said Captain Butler (for so he was then called) pretended to have a tooth-ache, and thereupon he did perfidiously forsake his charge of them contrary to his agreement with the Countess of Ormond, and did not restore one penny of the money, that therewith they might have provided another guard for themselves; by which breach of trust there was one of the English murdered by the way, and all the rest in very great hazard of being lost; and that very night, being the 24th of December, the said Protestants were all robbed of their monies by one of Captain Edward Butler's complices. The examinant further saith that the said Captain Butler was with his father, Mountgarrett, at the plundering of the Protestants in Kilkenny, and where some of them, through the cruelty of their followers, did most miserably perish—being stripped naked in a very frosty season, and all men forbidden to give them the least relief of bread or water."

Thus, then, the Protestants of Kilkenny at least were not the victims of any general premeditated scheme of massacre.

One only murder is referred to; but even the Cromwellian Commissioners seem to have judged that this supposed murder was a mere matter of hearsay, and not to be registered among sober facts. A note is added to the original deposition of Captain Warren, that, by order of the Commissioners, Mrs. West, "wife to Mr. West, the deceased minister," should be sent for and interrogated regarding this murder; and this being done, the Secretary further adds that Mrs. West, having been duly interrogated, "*knows nothing of any murder.*"

Richard Butler, of Graiguenamanagh, was one of those who were most incriminated in the Depositions, as the promoter and perpetrator of cold-blooded murders in Castlecomer and Graigue. It is cheering, however, to find that in the long series of such exaggerated, self-condemning tales, there is one courageous truthful statement, which is carefully passed over by Temple and the other traducers of our country. In the MS. volume "Carlow and Kilkenny," we find the following short deposition, which was duly made on the 29th of October, 1652, by Henry Fisher, a Protestant, and an aged man. He attests "that he lived near Castlecumber when it was besieged, and that he heard that one Lewis Davis was killed; and he further saith that Richard Butler saved this deponent and his brother's life, and the lives of many others; and he also saith that divers Englishmen were prisoners in Kilkenny, and that the said Richard Butler became bound to the Lord Mountgarrett for them, and they were set at liberty."

In the Carte MSS. there is a letter of Richard Butler, found among the Gormanstown Papers, which were seized and presented at the Council Board in 1643. It is a private letter addressed to a friend, and is dated from Castlecomer, 21st December (old style), 1641. He states in it that he had just come from Kilkenny. There is not one word referring to any massacre; but he informs us "that Lord Mountgarrett was there with great forces, and had sent thence all the Protestants." Even Cox, in his "History of Ireland," published in 1689, though he accepts the tales of massacre throughout Ireland as so many sober facts, yet has no accusation against Kilkenny, except that of plundering the Protestants. "At Kilkenny, the Lord Mountgarrett, and the mayor and aldermen, and 300 citizens in arms, stood by whilst the Protestants were plundered in that city."—(Vol. ii., p. 73).

But we have further conclusive proof registered in the Carte MSS., that the Depositions regarding the massacres in Kilkenny were nothing more than wicked inventions or idle rumours. In vol. ii., p. 39, is preserved a narrative of the "Insurrection in the Counties of Kilkenny and Tipperary," by

James Kearney, of Fethard, a confidential agent of the Duke of Ormond. He had before him the tales of blood sworn to before the Cromwellian Commissioners, nevertheless he thus writes: "In the month of December, 1641, the English in the towns of Clonmel and Carrick were preserved, and no blood was spilt or plunder suffered; and so was Waterford, Dungarvan, Kilkenny, Callan, and Gowran—only that some of the rabble fell to plunder at Kilkenny; but when Lord Mountgarrett heard it he rushed among them, and shot one Richard Cantwell to death, which stopped their fury." And then he adds, with express reference to the matter before us: "In the collection of murders and massacres, many Protestants are alleged to have been murdered at Kilkenny in a barbarous manner, and seventy Protestants to have been murdered at Graigue, in the county of Kilkenny, with most horrible circumstances; whereas there was at Kilkenny but one woman smothered in a tumult, in 1641, for which Lord Mountgarrett shot Cantwell dead, and at Graigue there was not anyone murdered during the Rebellion: the truth of both which matters is so confidently averred by persons of honour and quality, that they are content to allow the whole abstract of English murders for truth, if any Protestant was murdered in either of the said places but the said one woman." Mr. Kearney having thus disposed of what Froude has been pleased to style "the eternal witness of blood" against the Irish Catholics, preserves to us one item from the Depositions, which forms a singular contrast with the general tenor of their sanguinary tales: "That in the county of Galway, all the war time, several Protestant ministers, viz., Dean York, Mr. Carrogh, Mr. Nelly, and other ministers, had their Protestant flocks and meetings without interruption, living among the Irish."

We have dwelt on the minute details of the narrative regarding the supposed massacre in Kilkenny, thus to illustrate the exaggeration and falsehood of the tales which are registered in the volumes of Depositions, and which, nevertheless, so many persons, even in our own days, persist in setting forth as an authentic record of genuine history. A mob incited to plunder, and one poor woman smothered in the tumult which ensued, are the facts which hearsay report, combined with the fancy, or the malice of the various deponents, swelled into a narrative of innumerable victims who were hanged and cut in pieces, or buried alive, or put to death with other attendant circumstances of unheard of barbarity.

The stern justice exercised by Lord Mountgarrett, who, to restore order in the case of tumult just referred to, shot on the spot the ringleader of the riotous mob, is of itself a clear proof

that the leaders of the Irish Catholics are unjustly accused of urging on the excited populace to an indiscriminate massacre of unoffending Protestants.

We will find several similar instances of this exercise of rigorous justice by the Catholic leaders, in the Depositions connected with the adjoining county of Tipperary. We have seen, in our former article on this subject, how the city of Cashel was seized on by a body of Irish, the 31st of December, 1641. All the incidents of that eventful day are minutely set forth in the volumes of Depositions; how the gates were closed against the Irish, and how Alexander Boyton, an alderman of the city, gave a saw to the assailants by which they were enabled to cut down the gates and take possession of the city at eight o'clock in the morning: and, again, how the English were "drawn up in arms within the town, but fired only powder without bullets." The deponent being asked by what means he had become aware of this last particular fact, replied: "His cause of knowledge is that he was present and saw none of the enemy wounded." The gates being cut down, one of the citizens, named Patrick Sall, cried out for quarter, whereupon the Mayor withdrew and surrendered the keys of the city to the leader of the Irish. An order was at once issued that the chattels and other property of the English should be brought for safety sake to Mr. Beane's house, and it is remarkable, that though the city was thus entirely in their power, no bloodshed on the part of the Irish is set down for that last day of December, with the exception of the solitary murder of Mr. Beane. We will give the account of this murder in the words of Ulick Burke, who, being sworn on the 11th of November, 1652, stated that "the gate being broken open with a hatchet, one Beane, an inn-keeper of Cashel, spake aloud to the inhabitants of Cashel that it was by their means the Irish were suffered to come in, and that they would now plunder and kill the English, and withal ran into the cellar within his house for refuge: and one Nicholas Sall, of Cashel, said that if they suffered the said Beane to live, he would hereafter make foul work with them, and thereupon Philip Magrath, of Bleane, went into said cellar and fought with him, and brought him into the street and killed him." This Philip Magrath, who is thus put down as the perpetrator of this wicked deed, seems to have made himself particularly remarkable on the present occasion, for another witness declared, that Philip Magrath was one of the leaders, and that he "broke the pair of wind instruments which lay at the house of Dr. Pullen," the Protestant Chancellor of Cashel. However, as regards the murder of Mr. Beane,

the evidence of the several witnesses is quite contradictory, for there is a sworn Deposition made by Simon Sall, one of the leading citizens of Cashel, that the murder of Mr. Beane was perpetrated by "the sons of Linsy Philip Mac Shane," whilst two other witnesses, examined on the 26th of August, 1652, attested that he was murdered by "one James Roach, a tailor." The next morning, being the 1st of January, was unhappily saddened by some additional outrages, and it is stated that ten of the English residents fell victims to the rage of the Irish soldiers. Six of the Irish officers had themselves remained on watch that night in order to prevent such disorders, but having retired to rest at four o'clock in the morning, some of their followers, whose friends had been a little before cruelly murdered in cold blood by the English forces, availed themselves of the opportunity thus afforded to them, and indulged in this horrid retaliation. One of the deponents, however, observes, that to prevent the recurrence of such scenes, Philip O'Dwyer, the commander on this occasion, led away his troops from Cashel, and before his departure hanged one of his followers who had been found guilty of taking part in these murders.

As regards the other Protestant residents, they were guarded by the Catholic citizens and treated with every kindness, till, at their own request, they were conveyed under convoy to Clonmel. Whilst, however, they were thus marching to Clonmel, one of the party, a Protestant maid, was reported to have been killed by a cow-boy named Donogh O'Dwyer. We find, however, the Deposition of Patrick Boyton, who had acted as one of the guards on that occasion; and on the 6th November, 1652, attested before the Cromwellian Commissioners, that "he had neither seen nor heard of any such murder till his return to Cashel;" and he further added, that the said Donogh O'Dwyer was subsequently committed by Edward Sall, Mayor of Cashel, to stand his trial on that charge; and though the jury brought in a verdict of guilty, the Justice of Assize ordered him to be discharged, there being nothing but hearsay evidence produced against him.

One of the deponents, named William Banks, sworn on 31st April, 1642, gives us the key to the terrible fury of the Irish on this and some similar occasions, viz.:—they were exasperated by the cold-blooded massacre of their friends, perpetrated a few weeks before by Sir William St. Leger, the Lord President of Munster. He had heard a rebel say (he thus declares), "that this deponent, and the rest of the English there, might thank the Lord President of Munster

for the sad plight they were in on account of his Lordship having killed so many honest men in the country."

A few weeks later, the small castle of Goellen-bridge (*i.e.*, Golden), three miles from Cashel, was besieged by the Irish. They offered quarter to the garrison, but Hooker, the commander, refused to surrender. When provisions at length failed, the defenders stole away by night, and sought safety by flight. Many of the fugitives were overtaken on the hills, and a few of them fell victims to the fury of the troops that pursued them. The deponent, John Dan, who gives these particulars regarding this siege of Golden, adds: that he himself was one of the garrison, but escaped to Cashel, and became a Catholic there; and he found ten others who "heretofore were reputed Protestants, but then turned Papists," and lived tranquilly among the citizens. They were, so far, more fortunate than their companions in the county of Fermanagh; for another deponent attests that "he heard it credibly reported among the rebels," that a priest, named Hugh Mac O'Degan, in the parish of Ganally in that county, having converted about fifty of the English and Scotch, "demanded of them whether Christ's Body was in the Sacrament or no?—and they said, yea. And then he demanded further, whether they held the Pope to be supreme Head of the Church?—they likewise answered, he was. And thereupon he presently told them, they were in good faith, and for fear they should fall from it, and turn heretics, he and the rest that were with him cut all their throats." Such are the foolish stories which were circulated at the time to swell the number of the Protestant sufferers, and which are now retailed to the Protestant British public as genuine history.

I have said that the Irish in Cashel were incited to individual deeds of retaliation by the horrid barbarity of the Lord President of Munster. To prove this, I need only refer to the narrative of Carte, of which the principal passages are the following:—"It was the middle of December before any one gentleman in the province of Munster appeared to favour the rebellion: many of them had shown themselves zealous to oppose it, and had tendered their service for that end. Nor did any signs of uneasiness or disaffection appear among the gentry, till Sir William St. Leger came to Clonmel, which was on the first of December. There had been, a few days before, some robberies committed in the county of Tipperary by a rabble of the common sort, and a parcel of idle young fellows who, as soon as they got their prey, divided it, and retired to their several parishes. Among other English

who thus suffered, a great number of cows and sheep were taken away from Mr. W. Kingsmill, of Ballyowen, brother-in-law to the Lord President. Sir W. St. Leger, upon notice thereof, came with two troops of horse to Ballyowen, and being informed that the cattle were driven into Eliogarty, he marched that way. Not far off at Grange he killed or hanged four innocent labourers, at Bally O'Murrin six others, and at Ballygalburt eight, and burned several houses. Nor was it without great importunity and intercession that he spared the life of Mr. Morris Magrath, grandson to Miler, Archbishop of Cashel in Queen Elizabeth's time, it being plainly proved that he had no hand in the prey, notwithstanding which proof he still kept that gentleman in prison. From thence Captain Peisley (one of his captains), marching to Armaile, killed there seven or eight poor men and women whom he found standing in the streets near their own doors inoffensively; and passing over the river Suir early in the morning, he marched to Clonoulta, where, meeting Philip Ryan, the chief farmer of the place, a very honest and able man, not at all concerned in any of the robberies, he, without any inquiry, either gave orders for, or connived at, his being killed, as appeared by his cherishing the murderer. From thence he went to Golden, where he killed and hanged seven or eight of Dr. Gerald Fennel's tenants, honest inhabitants of the place, and burned several houses in the town, the cattle of the country people which he met in his march being all taken up by him, and sent in great numbers into the county of Cork. The captain went thence to meet the Lord President, where several of the nobility and gentry of the country, being surprised at these rash and cruel proceedings, waited upon his Lordship with their complaints, which were rejected, whilst the captain was applauded for what he had done. These gentlemen observed to the Lord President how generally the people were exasperated by those inconsiderate cruelties, running distractedly from house to house, and that they were on the point of gathering together in great numbers, not knowing what they had to trust to, or what was likely to be their fate. They told him that they waited upon his Lordship to be informed how affairs stood, and that they desired nothing more than to serve his Majesty, and to preserve the peace. The President did not receive their representation and offer in the manner they expected, but in a hasty furious manner answered them that they were all rebels, and he would not trust one soul of them, but thought it more prudent to hang the best of them. This made them all withdraw, and return to their houses, much

resenting his rudeness and severity, as well as very uncertain about their own safety. From Clonmel, Sir W. St. Leger¹ marched into the county of Waterford, and his soldiers in the way killed several harmless poor people, not at all concerned in the rebellion or in the plunder of the country." These were the deeds of cruelty which provoked a few individual cases of revenge on the part of the outraged peasantry of Tipperary.

This paper has been devoted to the first beginnings of the disturbances in Kilkenny and Tipperary, and I trust sufficient has been said to convince any unbiassed reader that it is difficult to conceive any more malignant perversion of historic truth than to affirm that the Irish Catholics in these two counties had, in 1641, premeditated any scheme for a general massacre of the Protestant inhabitants.

Among the Depositions there is one which is entered in the volume E 3, 6, and refers to both the counties of which we have been treating, and I will conclude the present article with it, as it affords a specimen of the silliness and credulity which pervade the greater part of the Depositions referring to this period. The deponent, the Rev. R. Bourke, is described as a Bachelor in Divinity, and a Minister of God's Word, and his Deposition is dated the 12th July, 1643. He states that "in the beginning of the present rebellion, and by means thereof, he was deprived, robbed, or otherwise despoiled of his goods and chattels, consisting of cattle, household goods, rents, debts, and other things, of the value, and to his present loss, of nine hundred pounds." And he then continues: "There is a prophecy among the Irish of the destruction of Kilkenny, to the effect, that O'Callaghan's horse-boy, taking his bridle off his horse in the cathedral place of Kilkenny, shall there ask, where was the Church of Kilkenny. There is another prophecy among them that Ross shall be destroyed, and left without either stick or stake. And this deponent further saith, that he credibly heard from several, and believeth, that one of the Kennedys, a bloody rebel, and his company, murdered, at the Silvermines, county of Tipperary, twenty-four Englishmen after they were turned to Mass; and afterwards he drowned himself because he was not suffered to go on and exercise the like cruelty against the other English, as this deponent hath also credibly heard."

¹ The ferocity of this Lord President was censured even by the leaders of the English forces. Lord Upper Ossory, writing to the Earl of Ormond, says—"he was so cruel and merciless that he caused men and women to be most execrably executed;" he adds an instance of a mother and three infants brutally murdered by him, "which act puts many into a sort of desperation."—(Carte's *Ormond*, iii., 51.)

THE CHURCH AND MODERN THOUGHT.—IV.

IN our last paper we remarked that the source of every error in the whole round of "Modern Thought" is to be found in that pervading Naturalism that seems to have taken possession of the world, and develops itself in science and in art, in literature and in politics, in the speculative theories of the student, and in the wily intrigues of the unscrupulous statesman ; and we entered into an engagement to explain what this "Naturalism" really meant. Our explanations, in this matter as in others, must necessarily be brief, but we hope they will be accurate as well. To draw out in full detail what we may call the natural history of Naturalism—to examine its foundations thoroughly—to discuss its details with anything like fulness—would require, not a paper, but a treatise ; and that a treatise which would embrace in its ample scope every vital question that has ever presented itself for solution to the mind of man. While, however, we disclaim any competence on our own part to deal thus exhaustively with the subject, we hope to be able to present such a general view of it as will satisfy any general requirement—and will, at the same time, indicate the directions in which the developments of "Naturalism" may be profitably investigated in detail.

There can, we think, be no question that the thesis of modern times may be expressed under the general formula, "the Natural *versus* the Supernatural." The days have gone when the controversies between those inside the Church and those outside, were conversant with what were supposed to be mere matters of detail, and proceeded upon the common acceptance of certain general principles which were called "Christian," as distinguished from "Catholic" on the one hand, and "Protestant" on the other. On all sides it seems to be admitted, by those whose intellectual pre-eminence gives weight to their words, that the Catholic Church is, on the one hand, the real and the only Church of Christianity ; and on the other, that it is the only Church that can offer any effectual opposition to the unchristian development of "modern thought." Professor Huxley cannot be suspected of any undue bias in favor of the Catholic Church, and yet even he speaks after this manner : "Our great antagonist (I speak as a man of science) the Roman Catholic Church—the one great spiritual organization *which is able to resist*, and must as a matter of life and death resist, the progress of science and modern civilization, manages her affairs much better."—"Lay Sermons," p. 68).

The Catholic Church, then, is the recognised exponent of

whatever real Christianity exists in the world ; and when she is represented as the deadly antagonist of what Professor Huxley is pleased to call "science and modern civilization," the representation is true, so far as "science and modern civilization" (as pursued and cultivated by a certain class, however large or influential, still only a class) are based on "Naturalism."

That the controversy between faith and unbelief joins issue on this broad thesis—that details that often served merely to obscure larger issues have been eliminated—that all the logical acumen and intellectual power that was really formidable have betaken themselves to this last stronghold—all this we regard as highly favorable to the interests of truth, and consequently to the Catholic Church. However straggling parties may sustain desultory conflicts in various parts of the great field of controversy, the main army has marched off—not without sounding beat of drum and shrill blare of trumpet—and entrenched itself in what it deems an impregnable fortress ; and on the banner that waves above its battlements is emblazoned the name of—Naturalism. What, then, is Naturalism ?

To the total aggregate of finite entities we give the name of "Nature." The whole finite universe, the entire collection of things created—everything, in short, that is not itself "necessary being"—is, by the very fact, natural. In strict metaphysical language, the *nature* of any individual being is but its essence—its formal constitutive—considered under a certain aspect ; but when, instead of considering any individual apart, to whatever order of creation it may belong, we take the whole created universe and give it the general title of Nature, the distinctive mark of that "Nature" is, that it is contingent, finite, limited. Nature, from this most general point of view, includes every order of created being, from the invisible atoms of material substance to the noblest spirit of the angelic host. We take this general view of nature because we wish, at the very outset, to remark that any person who admits "contingent" existence *as such*—who believes that second causes had a first and necessary cause, without which they could never have existed—cannot, however much he may wish it, rank himself amongst the disciples of pure Naturalism. Admitting a first cause separate from nature, and above nature, he has already (in spite of himself) admitted the supernatural. The only persons who can lay claim to the name of "pure naturalists," are, on the one hand, the pure sceptic who can never construct a system that has even a *prima facie* claim—we do not say to refutation, but even to a hearing at all ; and, on the other hand, the pure pantheist—who gets so entangled in the meshes of the contingent and the necessary,

the finite and the infinite—that, wherever he appears in the domain of modern speculation, he is compelled to declare that whatever he himself does not know is, *eo ipso*, unknowable. We may set these aside for the present, and direct our attention to those among modern philosophers who, admitting, however unconsciously to themselves, yet decidedly admitting the supernatural, by the recognition of a first cause necessary and superior to nature, refuse, nevertheless, to recognise the supernatural anywhere in creation except at its origin.

Their theory is, that Nature was created for an end which it is quite capable of attaining by the mere development of those qualities, which, once supposing the first cause to have determined to create it, belong to it of right. In other words, that the creative act expended, as it were, all its force in impressing upon creation the nature that belongs to it; and that, as the destiny of this creation is to be found in the unfolding of all the natural powers originally lodged in it by the creative act, so, once this creation, to which we give the general name of "nature," has been set going on the plane of existence, there is not, and cannot be, any interference on the part of the Creator to change or to modify the operation of those second causes on which, once for all, at their origin, He impressed a motion according to their kind.

That this view is entertained by a large number of intellectual men at the present day, may be seen, not from isolated passages, but from the whole tone of the writings of such men as Professor Huxley and Professor Tyndall, especially where it comes in their way to speak of the Christian doctrine of prayer and miracles. Prayer, in their minds, is an ignorant absurdity—miracles an utter impossibility; and even where, in deference to public opinion, as yet not utterly unchristianized, they shrink from any express limitation of the power of God, it is very characteristic of the mental condition of such men, that they calmly declare their incompetence to answer any direct question about the power of God over His creation, without the faintest suspicion that it is their duty to rid themselves, as soon as possible, of any such incompetence. "If you ask me," says Professor Tyndall, "who is to limit the outgoings of Almighty power, my answer is, not I. If you should urge that if the Builder and the Maker of this universe chose to stop the rotation of the earth, or to take the form of a burning bush—there is nothing to prevent you from doing so—I am not prepared to contradict you. I neither agree with you, nor differ from you, for it is a subject of which I know nothing."—("Fragments of Science," second edition, page 448.) Now, it would be only due to the belief of generations that

included believers fully as able as Professor Tyndall, that he should endeavour to rid himself of the ignorance which he so complacently acknowledges. But it is painfully evident, that under the guise of modest ignorance lurks the conviction of superior knowledge, and that Professor Tyndall really considers the miracles he mentions as utter impossibilities.

From these principles of naturalism already laid down, several important consecutaries follow:—The Creator cannot interfere with creation except at its origin. That moment of origin once past, He must leave things to their natural operation. Let us remark incidentally, in this place, that irreverent as such propositions sound, it is not precisely on the score of their irreverence that we hold them up to reprobation. In the hypothesis—sufficiently tenable as a hypothesis—that God had created a universe, the end of which was to be a purely natural end, such propositions would cease to be irreverent. It is not, then, on the score of the irreverence of which they smack that we condemn them, but because they are based on a profoundly erroneous view as to the destiny of creation. That it is a view profoundly erroneous we hope to be able to show hereafter, but our present business is, to pursue into somewhat of detail the developments of a principle so prolific of error.

Highest among things created is Intellect, or intelligent nature. Let us apply the principle of Naturalism to this intelligent nature. Once intelligent nature has been created, it contains within itself the germs of its own sufficient development—it is consequently able to attain, by natural means, to all knowledge necessary to it in the prosecution of its ultimate end. Hence, according to this system, the notion of a superadded revelation is not only unnecessary to the completion of any scientific theory of natural intelligence, but, wherever it exists, and so far as it exists, is the impertinent intrusion of men who may take their choice of epithets between crafty impostor and visionary enthusiast.

We have already seen how calmly Professor Tyndall sets aside the testimony of the inspired books: let the quotation already given, and the general tenor of the works of modern scientific men bear witness, that in the above paragraph our charge against the tendency of modern thought to reject the very idea of a divine revelation, is neither overstrained nor unsustained by melancholy proof.

Let us next apply this principle to the material world. If the Creator could only interfere at the beginning by giving to second causes, in their origin, a power to develop themselves in a succession of effects according to the laws of their own

nature—if, this once done—after-interference, either by way of change or modification, became unnecessary and impossible—then, clearly, there would be no place in the human mind for the idea—which nevertheless human language, the instrument of the human mind, has made live upon the lips of every people—the idea of a miracle. And what of prophecy? Well, prophecy, in the old religious sense of the term, must share the fate of the miracle. But it is the fondest dream of the naturalist of the period, that at some undefined time everything is to be so reduced to strict science, that even the human actions of which history is made will be subjects of scientific prediction.

Again, if this principle were true, what possible effect could prayer have, except the purely natural effect of so intensifying a man's desire for the object of his prayer as to stimulate his intellect to the discovery of natural means calculated to secure its attainment.

To put the statement of the matter once more into the able hands of Professor Tyndall :—"Granting the power of Free Will in man . . . and assuming the efficacy of free prayer to produce changes in external nature, it necessarily follows that natural laws are more or less at the mercy of man's volition, and no conclusion founded on the assumed permanence of these laws would be worthy of confidence."—"Fragments of Science," page 36). Passing by, for the time being, a number of fallacious assumptions contained in the above sentence—assumptions with which we may hereafter have occasion to deal—we quote the above passage as a proof, and it is only one of many, that Mr. Tyndall (in this the representative of a certain class), considers the ordinary Christian doctrine on the subject of prayer to be untenable. Here, then, Divine revelation, miracles, prayer, all that has been considered as of the very essence of religion, is devoured by this insatiable theory. But then, perhaps, it may be remarked that, in ages past, men were ignorant of the discovery of Mr. Tyndall, that "real religion is an affair of the heart," with which, consequently, pure intellect like his has never had, and never need have, anything to do.

Having thus deprived man of his religion, this naturalism proceeds to remodel society. In this matter, as in all others, there is no divine interference, direct or indirect. Society develops itself according to natural laws, which it is folly to ignore, and with which it is as impious to tamper as anything can be impious in a purely secular system. Hence, a divinely instituted society in the world claiming influence over human society is not to be tolerated. Even human authority has no

divine sanction, and may be set at defiance whenever it is possible so to deal with it. In other words, men may do as they like so long as they are strong enough to do it; and if they are not strong enough, they are justified in the use of any means by which they may become so. Here then is Revolution in its widest form.

But Revolution cannot permanently dominate society; for if it did, society in no long time would cease to exist. There must be some constituted authority for any time being; but (and mark how extremes meet), since the natural order of things is the only order, authority in the natural order is supreme in its power for the attainment of natural ends. Hence the State takes charge of its citizens, body and soul, gives them "religion" with the State brand upon it, warranted not to interfere unduly with the keen pursuit of worldly ends—gives them a philosophy which does not transcend the "intelligible" in a system where nothing is intelligible that does not appeal to the senses as an ultimate tribunal—gives them a "history" which men of any religion, or of none, can swallow and digest—gives them, in short, a complete "secular education." Extremes as we have remarked, meet in this matter as in others. Revolution that begins by aiming at the very life of the State, ends by handing over to the State the bodies and souls of its insensate dupes—" *Mentita est iniquitas sibi.*"

In reading over this meagre detail of the developments of Naturalism, we seem to be but listening to the echoes of voices that are loud and vehement in the world of our time. Reason without revelation, intellect without faith, will without grace, society without the Church, humanity without the Incarnation, the world without God—these are the only logical issues of the Naturalism of "Modern Thought." And some one may ask—it was one of the first questions that occurred to ourselves—what do these "philosophers" substitute for those hopes of future bliss which nourished, of old time, the hearts of men, and lightened the burden of their worldly toil? Well, let the answer come from the pen of a man of considerable name—a man who is editor of a leading review, who has thrown the light of "Modern Thought" upon the life of Voltaire—and, later still, has been the biographer of Rousseau. John Morley, in his "Life of Voltaire" (p. 278), speaking of a man who, like himself, has shaken off the old beliefs of humanity, writes thus: "There are new solutions for him, if the old have fallen dumb. If he no longer believes death to be a stroke from the sword of God's justice, but the leaden footfall of an inflexible law of matter, the humility of his awe is deepened, and the tenderness of his pity made holier, that creatures who can love

so much should have their days so shut around with a wall of darkness. The purifying anguish of remorse will be stronger, not weaker, when he has trained himself to look upon every wrong in thought, every duty omitted from act, each infringement of the inner spiritual law which humanity is constantly perfecting for its own guidance and advantage, less as the breach of the decrees of an unseen tribunal than as an ungrateful infection, weakening and corrupting the future of his brothers; and he will be less effectually raised from inmost prostration of soul by a doubtful subjective reconciliation so meanly comfortable to his own individuality, than by hearing full in the ear the sound of the cry of humanity craving sleepless succour from her children. That swelling consciousness of height and freedom with which the old legends of an omnipotent Divine Majesty fill the breast, may still remain; for how shall the universe ever cease to be a sovereign wonder of overwhelming power and superhuman fixedness of law? And a man will be already in no mean paradise if, at the hour of sunset, a good hope can fall upon him like harmonies of music, that the earth shall still be fair, and the happiness of every feeling creature still receive a constant augmentation, and each good cause yet find worthy defenders, when the memory of his own poor name and personality has long been blotted out of the brief recollection of man for ever." It is a long passage, but it is worth quoting, if only to show what the "naturalist" of modern society has to substitute for the Christian hope which he endeavours to undermine. Taken as the deliberate conclusion of one who is evidently a man of culture, it is one of the most melancholy utterances we have ever met with.

We repeat, then, that the fundamental error of modern Naturalism is an error concerning the origin and (especially) the destiny of created things. We have portrayed this error in a very general form, and we will now proceed to indicate the lines of an equally general reply. The whole theory of Naturalism rests upon this maxim—that the Creator acts directly on creation only at its origin, and must afterwards act through second causes in a direct line of succession. Now, be it remarked, this assertion is the merest assumption. It has never been proved; it never can be proved. And be it further remarked, that Naturalism, as a philosophic system, is bound to offer proof of its fundamental principle before it can proceed a single step, for the supernatural is already in possession. It is a clever artifice, no doubt, by which modern naturalists ignore the existence of the supernatural, and its possession of all the past history of the human race, and endeavour to put it on its trial, as if it were as recent a system as their own; it

is a clever artifice, but it is nothing better than an artifice, which can mislead no one except those—and there are such—who seek to be misled.

That the idea of the supernatural has not only existed in the world from the earliest time of which there is any record, but has also more largely influenced the evolution of human history than any other idea whatsoever, is a matter of indisputable fact. That it has not lost its force even in modern society—that it is in vigorous operation amongst over two hundred millions of Catholics, including in their number men as sincere, as able, as intellectual, as can be found in any other aggregate of human beings—that it operates in a greater or lesser, but still in some degree, amongst those who are outside the Church—that it has held its ground against “science,” “progress,” “civilization,” and other vaguely splendid generalities—all this is capable of being ascertained by any one who will take the trouble to ascertain it. Now, if the fundamental thesis of Naturalism be true—if nature were made sufficient for its own needs and its own end—then it is as obvious to ask as it is impossible to answer: Whence came this idea into a universe, that was so constituted as to have no place for it? Can a belief, confessedly universal, have been, after all, a delusion—and has it been reserved for a few men of science (so called)—apostles without credentials, and with no authenticated mission—to bring back the human race from the blind by-paths into which the human race has so persistently wandered? Surely, if a miracle be at all within even the absolute power of God, then, if ever a miracle were indispensable, it would be indispensable to the apostles of such a purpose. But the simple truth is that any system, the first principle of which must assume the persistent existence of a universal delusion, has already fallen under the ban of the common sense of mankind.

HARMONY OF THE PASSION.—V.

DISSERTATION 2.

ON THE ORDER OF EVENTS AT THE LAST SUPPER.

IN attempting to construct a consecutive history of the Last Supper, from the several Gospel narratives, it is necessary, at the outset, to determine First, what the events of the Last Supper were, and Secondly, what was the order in which they

occurred. But these are questions which have given rise to much difference of opinion, and involve more than one complicated and puzzling controversy. We have, therefore, thought it well to discuss them apart, in a special Dissertation.

As regards the events themselves, we showed in a former Dissertation that our Lord, at his Last Supper, kept the Jewish Pasch with his Apostles. Furthermore, it is admitted by all, as apparent on the very face of the Sacred Text, that He instituted the Eucharistic rite, and disclosed the treachery of Judas, as related by Saint Matthew, Saint Mark, and Saint Luke. But it is a disputed point whether, in addition to these three events, the Washing of the Feet, described in the thirteenth chapter of Saint John, should be also referred to the same occasion. Lightfoot¹ and, after him, some modern critics, chiefly of the German school,² maintain that it should not. According to them, the supper spoken of by Saint John, at which Jesus washed his Apostles' feet, was not the Last Supper at all, but an ordinary supper, held in Bethania one or two evenings before. It is, however, far more commonly held, as well by the Fathers of the Church as by Commentators, that the two suppers were, in reality, one and the same: though Saint John, writing after the other Evangelists, passes over some things that they relate, and dwells on those incidents which were omitted or less minutely described by them. This opinion seems to us much to be preferred, not only on the ground of authority, but because it is plainly indicated by the Gospel text itself. We purpose, therefore, briefly to set forth the evidence, in its favour, and to answer, so far as we may be able, the arguments that have been advanced against it.

Let us compare, in the first place, the narrative of Saint John with those of the other Evangelists, and see what are the points of identity between the supper at which our Lord washed the feet of his Apostles, and that at which He kept the Paschal rite. In both, there is the same solemn announcement, that one of the twelve would betray Him. Saint Matthew and Saint Mark record it thus: "Amen, I say to you, that one of you shall betray me."³ Saint John writes: "Amen, amen, I say to you, one of you shall betray me."⁴ Again, in both accounts, we have the same surprise of the Apostles, the same wondering who the traitor could be. The words of Saint Luke are: "They began to inquire among themselves, which of them it was that should do this thing."⁵ While Saint John

¹ *Harmonia et Chronica Nov. Test.* §. lxxx.; also *Horæ Heb. et Talmud.* in *Matt.* xxvi. 6; and *Dissertatio Posthuma in Joan.* xiii. 27-30.

² Bynäus, Wichelhaus, Röpe, Döllinger, Kaiser; see *Langen, die Letzten Lebensstage Jesu*, p. 100; *Tischendorf, Synopsis Evangelica*, p. xlv. Leipzig, 1871.

³ *Matt.* xxvi. 21; *Mark.* xiv. 18.

⁴ *John.* xiii. 21.

⁵ *Luke.* xxii. 23.

tells us, just in the same strain, that "the disciples looked one upon another, doubting of whom He spoke." And, a little further on, he adds, that Simon Peter beckoned to John, and said to him, "Who is it of whom he speaketh?"¹ Furthermore, our Lord, according to both accounts, dwelt especially on the circumstance that the traitor was his familiar friend, who sat at table with Him, and shared in his food. He said, at his Last Supper, according to Saint Matthew, "He that dippeth his hand with me in the dish, the same shall betray me."² On the other hand, when He washed his Apostles' feet, Saint John relates that He applied to Himself the words of Scripture: "He that eateth bread with me, shall lift up his heel against me."³ Lastly, immediately after the supper described by Saint John, our Lord predicted the fall of Peter: "Amen, amen, I say to thee, the cock shall not crow, till thou deny me thrice." And the same prediction, almost in the same words, is recorded by Saint Luke on the occasion of the Last Supper: "I say to thee, Peter, the cock shall not crow this day, till thou thrice deniest that thou knowest me."⁴ The supper, therefore, of Saint John exhibits, in certain prominent features, a striking resemblance to the Paschal Supper: and this resemblance begets a strong presumption that it is, in fact, the same supper, and not, as Lightfoot contends, a totally different meal, held in Bethania two days before.

But there is further evidence in favour of this conclusion. Whatever may be thought about the other Apostles, we can hardly doubt that Saint John knew who the traitor was, before the end of the supper at which the Washing of the Feet took place. He tells us himself, that, leaning upon the bosom of his Divine Master, he asked Him, "Lord, who is it?" And Jesus answered, "He it is to whom I shall give a morsel of bread when I have dipped it." And when He had dipped the bread, He gave it to Judas Iscariot.⁵ After this, Saint John must have known that Judas was the traitor. But it is plain, from the other Evangelists, that the Apostles generally did not know it, at the time of the Paschal Supper. Hence if the supper described by Saint John, were not the Paschal Supper, but took place on some previous evening, we must suppose that Saint John kept this momentous revelation locked up in his bosom, for at least a whole day, although during the greater part of that time, he was in close and friendly intercourse with the other Apostles, and even with Judas himself. Such a supposition seems to us highly improbable. How could he

¹ John, xiii. 22, 24. ² Matt. xxvi. 23. ³ John, xiii. 18. ⁴ John, xiii. 38; Luke, xxii. 34. ⁵ John, xiii. 25, 26.

evade the eager curiosity of Peter, at whose suggestion he had asked our Lord who it was that would betray Him?¹ Or how could he refuse to relieve the dreadful anxiety of his nearest and dearest friends, who knew that the traitor was amongst them, and must have been wondering and guessing who it could be. A third argument is suggested by the words of Jesus, when He foretold the fall of Peter as recorded by Saint John: "Amen, amen, I say to thee, *the cock shall not crow*, till thou deny me thrice."² This prediction makes it plain that Saint Peter's denial of his Master took place on the same night as the supper described by Saint John. But the account of the event itself, in all four Gospels, puts it on the night of the Passion; and therefore, on the night of the Last Supper. Hence it follows that the two suppers took place on the same night, and were, in fact, not two, but one and the same.

The chief objections urged by Lightfoot against this opinion, are taken from certain passages of Saint John, which seem to show that the supper he speaks of took place before the evening of the Paschal rite. These passages have been fully discussed in another Dissertation,³ and the views we have there endeavoured to establish, will be found, we should hope, quite sufficient for the solution of the present difficulty. Lightfoot holds with us, that our Lord, at his Last Supper, kept the Jewish Pasch, as prescribed by the Mosaic Law. From this he infers, and rightly as we think, that the Last Supper was celebrated on the fourteenth day of the month Nisan, at evening. But, on the same evening, the Festival of the Pasch began: because the Jews counted their festival days from evening to evening. Therefore, the Last Supper was celebrated *on* the Festival of the Pasch. Now Saint John tells us, that the supper he speaks of took place "before the Festival of the Pasch:"⁴ and consequently, it was not the Last Supper.⁵

In reply, it must be admitted that, at the time of the Last Supper, the Festival of the Pasch had already begun, according to the technical mode of computing festival days in the Jewish religion. But Saint John, addressing the whole world, sixty years after the Jewish religion had been abolished, was more likely to choose his words, in conformity with the common use of language among the Greeks and Romans, than in conformity with a certain technical use of language among the Jews. And thus, seeing that Friday, the fifteenth, was the festival day, he would naturally speak of the supper on

¹ John, xiii. 24.

² John, xiii. 38.

³ I. E. R., vol. ix. pp. 450 and foll.

⁴ John, xiii. 1.

⁵ *Locis citatis.*

Thursday evening as "before the feast of the Pasch." Nay, this way of speaking seems quite consistent with the popular use of language even among the Jews themselves. For we find that the festival day is always spoken of as the *fifteenth*, while the Keeping of the Pasch is referred to the *fourteenth*:¹ therefore, in popular language, the Pasch was kept the day before the feast; although, in a certain technical sense, the feast began with the Keeping of the Pasch.²

Next, Lightfoot argues from the conjecture of the Apostles, when Judas went forth from the supper room: "Some thought, because Judas had the purse, that Jesus had said to him, Buy those things that we have need of for the festival day."³ On this Lightfoot exclaims:⁴ For what festival? Not for the Paschal Supper: for that, according to the supposition, was already over. Was it then for the feast of the next day? If so, how unseasonable, to send Judas out in the middle of the night! Besides, the shops would not be open, and no traffic was allowed by law, as the festival had already begun. From these difficulties, according to Lightfoot, there is no escape, so long as we hold that the meal described by Saint John was the Paschal Supper: if we give up that idea, the difficulties vanish.

Now, we will not deny, that it was an unseasonable hour for Judas to be sent out to make purchases. But surely, if the hour was unseasonable on the night of the Paschal Supper, it would have been equally unseasonable on any other night. This difficulty does not arise from our interpretation, but is inherent in the sacred narrative itself. It is no argument against any one interpretation, because it is common to all interpretations. There is more force in the point, that if the festival day had already begun, it was unlawful to buy or sell: and the Apostles would not suppose that Judas was sent out by our Lord to do what was unlawful. But we must remember that the prohibition of servile works was not quite the same for the Festival of the Pasch, as for the Sabbath day. On the Sabbath day, every kind of servile work was forbidden without any exception. But as regards the Paschal Festival, though Moses says, "You shall do no work," he adds, "except those things that belong to eating."⁵ From this it may be inferred, that it was lawful, on this Feast, to buy what was wanted for food. At all events, there is clear evidence in the Talmud, that, at the time of our Lord, the Jews believed

¹ See, for example, Levit. xxiii. 5, 6; Numb. xxviii. 16, 17.

² See I. E. R., vol. ix. p. 452.

³ John, xiii. 29.

⁴ In Matt. xxvi. 6.

⁵ Exod. xii. 16.

it to be lawful, provided the price was not paid until after the Feast.¹

There is nothing, therefore, in the passage under consideration, which forbids us to hold that the supper of Saint John's Gospel was the Paschal Supper; and that one of the conjectures which flashed across the minds of the Apostles, on the sudden departure of Judas, was that Jesus had sent him to buy what food was wanted for the festival day. It needs but one word more, to show how this very passage tells in favour of the opinion we are defending. If the supper described by Saint John was not the Paschal Supper, then it must be referred to some previous evening; and consequently, between it and the Festival, an interval of at least one entire day must have elapsed. In this supposition, there would have been abundance of time to procure, in the ordinary way, all that was needed for the Feast. How then could the Apostles have supposed that Judas was sent out in the dead of night, with the special injunction, "What thou dost do quickly," to buy what could have been got, with perfect facility, at any time on the following day.

Among several other objections, of less importance, there is one which deserves perhaps a passing notice. Towards the end of the supper, it is recorded by Saint John, that Jesus gave to Judas a morsel of bread which He had dipped; and that, "after the morsel, *Satan entered into him.*"² Now, the same thing is recorded of Judas, by Saint Luke,³ who plainly conveys, by the sequence of his narrative, that it took place before the evening of the Paschal meal. Therefore, the supper at which it occurred, that is to say, the supper described by Saint John, cannot have been the Paschal Supper.⁴ This argument assumes that Satan can have entered into Judas once only; and that therefore, the two Evangelists must be understood to speak of the same occasion. But such an assumption will appear utterly groundless, if we attend to the true meaning of the phrase, which is here evidently used in a figurative sense. The Evangelists do not mean to say that Satan took physical possession of Judas; but rather, according to the common interpretation of Fathers and Theologians, that he took possession of him morally, by leading him into a grievous crime. In this sense the phrase might well be applied to Judas, at different periods of his career. Saint Luke might say that Satan entered into him, when, before the Paschal meal, he went and offered to betray his Divine Master, for thirty pieces

¹ Patrizzi, De Evang. Diss. l. nn. 7, 26.

² John, xiii. 27.

³ Luke, xxii. 3.

⁴ Lightfoot, loco citato.

of silver: and Saint John might say that Satan entered into him, when, after the Paschal meal, he went forth from the supper hall to fulfil his guilty compact.

But, in truth, Saint John notices the very fact recorded by Saint Luke, and speaks of it as already past when the supper began. He tells us, in the opening verses of the thirteenth chapter, that "the devil had already put into the heart of Judas Iscariot, the son of Simon, to betray Jesus."¹ Saint Luke, on the other hand, says: "Satan entered into Judas, who was surnamed Iscariot, one of the twelve; and he went, and discoursed with the chief priests and the magistrates, how he might betray Him to them."² When we compare these passages together, we can hardly doubt that the two Evangelists are speaking of the same thing; and that Satan entered into Judas, when he put into his heart to betray his Divine Master. It follows that we must distinguish two occasions on which Satan is said to have entered into Judas: one, before the supper, recorded by Saint Luke and Saint John; one, after the supper, recorded by Saint John alone.

The Last Supper, then, comprises four leading events, (1) The Paschal Rite, (2) The Institution of the Eucharist, (3) The Disclosure of the Traitor, (4) The Washing of the Feet. It remains to inquire, in what order these events occurred. And first, it will be interesting to consider, in a succinct form, the various modes of arrangement which have been adopted by the most eminent Commentators and Biblical scholars.

JANSENIUS GANDAVENSIS.³

Paschal Rite.
Washing of the Feet.
Institution of the Eucharist.
Disclosure of the Traitor.

PATRIZZI.⁵

Paschal Rite.
Disclosure of the Traitor (First, A, B).
Institution of the Eucharist.
Disclosure of the Traitor (Second, C).
Washing of the Feet.
Disclosure of the Traitor (Third, D).

ROBINSON.⁴

Paschal Rite.
Washing of the Feet.
Disclosure of the Traitor.
Institution of the Eucharist.

GRESWELL.⁶

Paschal Rite.
Washing of the Feet.
Institution of the Eucharist (Bread).
Disclosure of the Traitor.
Institution of the Eucharist (Wine).

¹ John, xiii. 2. ² Luke, xxii. 3, 4.

³ Concord. in Evangel. The same arrangement is adopted by A Lapide, Janse-
nius Yprensis, Arnauld, Mauduit.

⁴ Harmony of the four Gospels. The same arrangement is adopted by Langen,
Die Letzten Lebenstage Jesu, and by Father Coleridge. Vita Vitæ Nostræ.

⁵ De Evangeliiis. He divides the discourse about Judas into three parts; placing
first, what is related by Saint Matthew and Saint Mark (A, B); second, what is
related by Saint Luke (C); and last, what is related by Saint John (D).

⁶ Harmonia Evangelica. Greswell separates the consecration of the bread and
wine, placing the Disclosure of the Traitor between.

LAMY.¹

Supper—no Paschal Rite.
 Washing of the Feet.
 Disclosure of the Traitor.
 Institution of the Eucharist.

CALMET.²

Disclosure of the Traitor (First, A, B).
 Supper—no Paschal Rite.
 Institution of the Eucharist.
 Washing of the Feet.
 Disclosure of the Traitor (Second, C, D).

LIGHTFOOT.³

Paschal Rite.
 Disclosure of the Traitor (First, A, B).
 Institution of the Eucharist.
 Disclosure of the Traitor (Second, C.)

TISCHENDORF.⁴

Supper—no Paschal Rite.
 Washing of the Feet.
 Disclosure of the Traitor.
 Institution of the Eucharist.

We will not weary our readers with the numerous and puzzling arguments, for and against these several systems of arrangement ; but content ourselves with a few brief notes, which may help to make them intelligible. In the first place, it should be observed that, besides the four events immediately under consideration, there are other incidents, of no small importance, which must be referred to the same occasion. There is the contention for pre-eminence among the Apostles,⁵ the charge imposed on Peter, to confirm his brethren,⁶ the "new commandment" to love one another,⁷ the prediction of Peter's fall.⁸ Some of the writers whose views we have set forth, interpose one or more of these incidents among the other events : but we have omitted them from our tables ; partly, to avoid needless complication ; and partly, because we purpose to confine ourselves, in the present Dissertation, to the four leading events already before the reader. If we succeed in arranging these among themselves, the remaining incidents will present no serious difficulty.

Next, to avoid misunderstanding, it is necessary to remember that the Paschal meal was a long ceremony, and that the Evangelists tell us very little about it. Hence the title, Paschal Rite, in our tables, must not be taken to represent the whole Paschal meal, which may have been interrupted and afterwards resumed, but only that part of it which is described in the Gospel narrative. Thus, for example, in Greswell's arrange-

¹ *Harmonia quatuor Evangel.* He denies that our Lord kept the Paschal Rite at his Last Supper.

² *Commentarius in Matt. xxvi. 21, Luke, xxii. 7-15* ; see also, *Harmonia quat. Evang.*, prefixed to the Commentary on the Gospels. Calmet supposes two distinct manifestations of the traitor, besides the allusion during the Washing of the Feet ; one at the very beginning of the supper, recorded by Saint Matthew and Saint Mark ; the other at the end, recorded by Saint Luke and Saint John. He holds also, with Lamy, that the Paschal Rite was not celebrated at the Last Supper.

³ *Harmonia Novi Testamenti.* Lightfoot excludes from the Last Supper all the events of the thirteenth chapter of Saint John, and refers them to a supper held in Bethania, two days before the Pasch.

⁴ *Synopsis Evangelica*, Leipzig, 1871. ⁵ Luke, xxii. 24-30. ⁶ Luke, xxii. 31, 32. ⁷ John, xiii. 34, 35. ⁸ Luke, xxii. 34 ; John, xiii. 38.

ment, the Paschal Rite comes before the Washing of the Feet. But this writer, nevertheless, conjectures that the Paschal meal was *continued after* the Washing of the Feet; though of this continuation no special mention is made in the Sacred Record. The reader will understand, therefore, that by the title, Paschal Rite, in the various systems above set forth, is meant precisely the Paschal Rite so far as it is described in the text of the Evangelists.

Again, it may be noticed that some of our authorities are influenced by peculiar views which we have already considered and refuted. Thus Lightfoot excludes the Washing of the Feet, which he maintains took place at an ordinary supper in Bethania, two days before. And others—Calmet, Lamy, Tischendorf—refuse to recognise the Last Supper as a true Paschal meal. Nevertheless, we have thought it right to give these distinguished scholars a place on our list: for however we differ from them, we cannot but acknowledge that they have devoted immense learning and much patient application to the study of the Sacred Text.

Lastly, it is worth observing carefully the wonderful variety of opinion that prevails about the discourse, or colloquy, in which the treachery of Judas is revealed. By some it is regarded as one continuous event, variously related by the several Evangelists. While others break it up into two or three parts, and refer the different accounts to different periods of the Supper. Moreover, it has been placed in almost every possible position, as regards the historical sequence of events. For convenience sake, we have used the letters A, B, C, D, to represent respectively the four Evangelists, Matthew, Mark, Luke, John; and the letters attached to any title, indicate the Evangelists whose account of the event is referred to that position by the author in question.

So much for the various opinions of eminent Commentators. For ourselves, we are inclined to adopt the system of arrangement that stands first in our table; not only because it is better supported by authority, but also because it seems to us more consistent with the intrinsic evidence of the Sacred Text.

There seems to be no reasonable doubt that the Paschal Rite should be placed before the Institution of the Eucharist: for, in fact, the Supper began with the one, and ended with the other. This is sufficiently plain from the first three Gospels; especially from the Gospel of St. Luke. He tells us that Jesus sent his Apostles before Him into Jerusalem, "to prepare the Pasch." And they went, and they found all things as He had said to them, "and they made ready the

Pasch." And when the hour was come, He sat down, and the twelve Apostles with Him. And He said to them, "With desire I have desired to eat this Pasch with you, before I suffer."¹ The general tenor of this narrative conveys, that the professed object of going to table was to eat the Pasch; that it was there ready prepared; and that when they sat down, they began to eat it. Not less explicit is the Evangelist on the second point, that the Last Supper ended with the Institution of the Eucharist. For, speaking of the consecration of the wine, he says, that Jesus took the chalice, "after supper"—*μετὰ τὸ δεῖπνῆσαι*.² And it is worthy of note that the very same form of expression is used by Saint Paul, in his first Epistle to the Corinthians.³

The Paschal Rite, therefore, went first, and the Institution of the Eucharist followed afterwards. On this point Commentators, ancient and modern, are pretty well agreed. But it is a question much discussed, whether the Washing of the Feet should be placed before or after the Institution of the Eucharist. The opinion which puts it before the Eucharist is the more common, and may, we think, be fairly established by a close analysis of the Sacred Text. Saint John tells us that Jesus *rose up from supper*, and that after washing his Apostles' feet, He *sat down again*.⁴ We can hardly doubt that He sat down again *to supper*; for we find Him afterwards dipping a morsel of bread in the sauce, and giving it to Judas.⁵ This implies, at least, that they were sitting *at the supper table*, and that the food was still there.⁶ Moreover, after they had sat down a second time, Saint John is recorded to have leaned on the bosom of Jesus:⁷ and when this circumstance is referred to, in a subsequent chapter, it is represented as taking place *at the supper*—*ἐν τῷ δεῖπνῳ*.⁸ It follows, that the supper must have been resumed when the Washing of the Feet was over. But Saint Luke and Saint Paul, both testify that the consecration was at the very end of supper, *μετὰ τὸ δεῖπνῆσαι*.⁹ Therefore it must have come after, and not before, the Washing of the Feet.

One difficulty yet remains to be considered. We have assumed that the consecration of the chalice followed the consecration of the bread, without any break of continuity. And this is certainly the impression conveyed by each of their Gospel narratives, considered in itself. But a doubt is at once suggested, if we compare the account of Saint Matthew and Saint Mark, on the one hand, with that of Saint Luke and Saint Paul, on the other. Saint Matthew and Saint Mark

¹ Luke, xxii. 8-15² Luke, xxii. 20.³ I Cor. xi. 25.⁴ John, xiii. 4, 12.⁵ Id. xiii. 26.⁶ See Greswell, Dissert. vol. iii. p. 176.⁷ John, xiii. 23, 25.⁸ Id. xxi. 20.⁹ Luke, xxii. 20. I Cor. xi. 25.

tell us, that Jesus consecrated the bread *whilst they were eating*—ἐσθιοντων αὐτῶν; whereas Saint Luke and Saint Paul say that He consecrated the chalice *after supper*—μετὰ τὸ δεῖπνῆσαι. This contrast would seem to imply, that the action was not continuous, but that an interval elapsed between the consecration of the bread, *during supper*, and the consecration of the wine, *after supper*. Accordingly, the distinguished Protestant harmonist, Greswell, interposes the whole discourse about Judas, between the consecration of the bread and the consecration of the wine.

But, in fact, there is no contrast set up, in the Gospel narrative, between one consecration *during supper*, and another *after supper*: because the two forms of expression are used, not in the same account, but in different accounts by different writers, each recording the event in his own way. In one account, the time of the consecration of the bread is fixed by the phrase; ἐσθιοντων αὐτῶν which may fairly be rendered, “whilst they were at supper; in the other, the consecration of the wine is said to have taken place “after supper.” But this does not prove that an interval elapsed between the two consecrations. What was done at the very close of the meal, whilst the guests were still at table, may be truly described, by one writer, as done “while they were at supper:” and yet, not less correctly, may another writer, with the same fact before his mind, speak of it as occurring “after they had supper.”¹

From the conclusions we have established it would appear that the Last Supper was divided, as it were, into two parts, by the Washing of the Feet. In the first part, the Paschal Rite was kept; in the second, the Eucharist was instituted. It will help us to understand the full significance of this division, if we bear in mind that the Paschal Lamb did not always afford a sufficient meal, for those who were assembled to eat it. Hence it was usual with the Jews, after the Paschal meal, to introduce an ordinary supper of various kinds of food, using, however, always unleavened bread.² This was probably done at the Last Supper. If so, it seems not unlikely that the Paschal meal, properly so called, was finished before the Washing of the Feet; and that, after the Washing of the Feet, our Lord and his Apostles sat down to a supplementary supper, at the close of which the Holy Eucharist was instituted.

At the same time, we must say, that this particular explanation has no claim to be regarded as anything more than a probable conjecture. What we maintain as fairly established

¹ See this question well discussed by Langen, *Die Letzten Lebenstage Jesu*, pp. 178-181. ² A Lapide, *Matt. xxvi. 26*; Mald. *ib.*

is this only, that the Paschal Rite, so far as it is described in the Sacred Text, went before the Washing of the Feet ; and that the Institution of the Eucharist followed the Washing of the Feet. It may be, as some writers have maintained, that the Paschal Rite was not *completed*, when our Lord first stood up from table, and that the meal to which He sat down again, after washing his Apostles' feet, was not an ordinary supper, as we have supposed, but the continuation of the Paschal meal.¹

The able and learned Roman Commentator, Patrizzi, maintains, with some vehemence, that the Washing of the Feet did not precede, but followed, the Institution of the Eucharist.² He does not deny that his opinion is against the great weight of ancient and even modern authority : but he contends that the intrinsic evidence in its favour is conclusive. The Washing of the Feet is introduced by Saint John with the phrase, *when supper was done*—*cœnâ factâ*.³ From this, Patrizzi infers that supper was over before the Washing of the Feet began. But the consecration of the bread and wine took place *while they were still at supper*—*cœnantibus eis*.⁴ Therefore it must have gone before the Washing of the Feet.

This argument, which at first sight looks very plausible, rests entirely on the phrase, "*cœnâ factâ*," which is translated in our English version, "when supper was done." If, by these words, Saint John meant to say that *supper was ended* when our Lord stood up to wash his Apostles' feet, then, we think, the argument is convincing. If he did not mean this, there is literally no argument at all. Now, turning to the Greek text, we find that the words which Saint John actually wrote, *δέπνον γενομένου*, convey nothing of the kind. The radical meaning of the Greek verb, *γινομαι*, is, *to come into being*.⁵ Hence the phrase, *δέπνον γενομένου*, would literally mean, *supper having come into existence*, that is, *having already begun*. This would be quite consistent with our supposition, that our Lord stood up, not when supper was ended, but while supper was going on. A little further on, in the same Gospel, we meet the phrase, *πρωίας γενομένης*,⁶ which plainly means, as it is rendered in our English version, *when morning was come*, not *when morning was ended*. In like manner, we read in Saint Mark, *γενομένου σαββάτου*,⁷ by which words the writer certainly does not mean that *the Sabbath was over*, but that it *had begun*.

¹ See Greswell, Dissert. vol. iii., pp. 175-177 ; Kitto, Cyclop. Bib. Lit., *passover*, p. 427. ² De Evang. Lib. ii., Adnot. clx. ³ John, xiii. 2. ⁴ Matt. xxvi. 26.

⁵ Liddell and Scott, in voce ; also Robinson, Greek and English Lexicon of the New Testament. ⁶ John, xxi. 4. ⁷ Mark, vi. 2.

Hitherto I have argued only that the phrase used by Saint John, does not, of necessity, convey that the supper was over, when our Lord first stood up. But it is worthy of note that some ancient manuscripts, of high authority, give the participle, not in the past tense, *γενομένου*, but in the present, *γινόμενου*. This reading, which Tischendorf prefers, on purely critical grounds, would plainly imply that the supper was *not* over, at the time, but was still going on. Lastly, we may remind the reader that evidence has been already adduced, from Saint John's own narrative, to show that the meal was resumed after our Lord and his Apostles sat down for the second time.

We now come to the Disclosure of the Traitor. This event is recorded, with more or less fulness, by all the four Evangelists : and it will be interesting, at the outset, to consider in what points their several accounts coincide, and in what points they differ. First, as regards the order of arrangement. In the Gospels of Saint Matthew and Saint Mark, the discourse about the treachery of Judas occurs immediately before, while in the Gospel of Saint Luke, it occurs immediately after, the Institution of the Eucharist. Saint John makes no mention of the Eucharist : but in his narrative, the treachery of Judas is first alluded to during the Washing of the Feet, and afterwards fully revealed, when our Lord and his Apostles had again taken their seats at the supper table.

Next, when we turn to examine the incidents recorded, we find many striking points of resemblance between the four accounts. All represent our Lord as announcing, in substance at least, that one of the twelve would betray Him. All notice the trouble of the Apostles at this announcement, and the doubt who the traitor could be. All agree, too, in recording that our Lord marked the traitor as one who had a share with Him at table, and partook of the same dish,

But there are certain circumstances special to particular Evangelists. Saint John does not notice the denunciation of Judas, which is recorded, in such solemn words, by Saint Matthew, Saint Mark, and Saint Luke : "The Son of Man, indeed, goeth, as it is written of him ; but woe to that man by whom the Son of Man shall be betrayed."¹ Again, Saint Matthew alone gives the impudent question of Judas, "Is it I, Rabbi ?" and the gentle answer, "Thou hast said it."² And Saint John is the only one that relates the incident of the sop, and the departure of Judas from the supper room.³

Now, whether we refer these various incidents to different

¹ Matt. xxvi. 24 ; Mark, xiv. 21 ; Luke, xxii. 22.

² Matt. xxvi. 25.

³ John, xiii. 23-30.

periods of the Supper, or whether we regard them as occurring in one unbroken series, it is certain that the whole subject came to an end, when Judas received the morsel of dipped bread, and left the supper hall. Let us try then, in the first place, to fix the time of his departure. It was certainly after the Washing of the Feet. For during that ceremony, Jesus said to his Apostles, "You are clean, but not all:"¹ and the Evangelist adds, that He said this because He knew who it was that would betray Him.²

Judas, therefore, was present at the Washing of the Feet. But was he present at the Institution of the Eucharist, which, as we have seen, came after the Washing of the Feet? This is a question of great interest, and one which has been much discussed in modern times. The German critics, for the most part, maintain that he left before the Eucharist.³ But this opinion is opposed to the almost unanimous testimony of the Fathers,⁴ and is rejected by the great majority of our best Commentators.⁵ It is at variance also, as we think, with the Sacred Text itself, which affords no slight indications that Judas was present at the Eucharistic rite.

The general tenor of the narrative, in the first three Gospels, pretty clearly conveys, that our Lord distributed the Blessed Eucharist, not to eleven only of his Apostles, but to the whole twelve. It is remarkable that, in all three narratives, we have a distinct statement that Jesus sat down to supper with his *twelve* Apostles.⁶ Then, in the space of a very few verses, without any break in the narrative, without the faintest indication that there was any change in the company, we read again that, "while *they* were at supper," He took bread, and blessed it, and "gave it to *them*," saying, "This is my body." Furthermore, He took the chalice and "gave it to *them* saying, Drink ye *all* of this:" and Saint Mark adds, "*they all* drank of it." The sequence of this history seems plainly to imply, that our Lord distributed the Eucharist to those with whom He had sat down to table. But those with whom He sat down are described, in a very marked way as

¹ John, xiii. 10. ² Ib. 11.

³ See Kössing, *De Suprema Christi Cœna*, p. 20; Friedlieb, *Archäologie der Leidensgeschichte*, p. 64; Langen, *Die Letzten Lebenstage Jesu*, pp. 165, et seqq. This last writer represents the opinion as held "by almost all Commentators of the present day." He means, of course, *German* Commentators: but he speaks, like many of his countrymen, as if Germany was the whole world.

⁴ Origen, Cyprian, Cyril, Ambrose, Augustine, Jerome, Chrysostom, Leo, Theodoret. See Suarez, part 3, quæst. 73, art. 5, disp. 41, § 3. The only great authority quoted on the other side, is Saint Hilary.

⁵ See, for example, Jans. Gand. Concord. cap. cxxxi.; A Lapide in Matt. xxvi. 20; Maldonatus, ib.; Estius, in Joan. xiii. 26; Calmet in Matt. xiii. 23; Suarez, loc. cit.; Patrizzi, de Evangeliiis, sect. clvii.

⁶ Matt. xxvi. 20; Mark, xiv. 17; Luke, xxii. 14.

his *twelve* Apostles. Therefore Judas was present with the rest, at the distribution of the Eucharist.

This argument gains new strength from the consideration that Judas is specially referred to in the narrative. It is not merely said that Jesus sat down to table, with his twelve Apostles, and whilst they were at supper, gave them his body and blood; but, in all three Gospels, the denunciation of the traitor is placed side by side with the Institution of the Eucharist. Therefore the Evangelists, in describing the Eucharistic rite, had distinctly before their minds the treachery of Judas. If, then, Judas had been dismissed before this great ceremony, it is hard to conceive how so important a change in the character of the assembled guests, should have been left altogether unnoticed.

Lastly, Saint Luke furnishes distinct evidence that Judas was still present, after the Eucharistic rite had been completed. For not only does he place the discourse about Judas, after that event, in the arrangement of his narrative, but he makes our Lord contrast the ingratitude of the traitor with his own love in the Eucharist. "This chalice is the New Testament in my blood, which shall be shed for you. *But behold*, the hand of him that betrayeth me is with me on the table."¹ Now these words, "But behold"—*πλὴν ἰδοὺ*—cannot be fairly explained, as it seems to us, unless in reference to the Eucharistic rite, which immediately precedes them in the text.

We maintain, then, that Judas was present at the Eucharistic rite; and that the whole of the incident about the morsel of dipped bread, as well as the denunciation of the traitor recorded by Saint Luke, must have followed the Institution of the Eucharist. But the question remains, whether the other incidents of our Lord's discourse about Judas, should be referred to the same period, or whether they should not rather be placed before the Eucharist, in accordance with the position they occupy in the narrative of Saint Matthew and Saint Mark. This question has given rise to much difference of opinion, and the intrinsic evidence on the point is by no means conclusive. On the whole, we are inclined to think that a portion, at least, of what Saint Matthew and Saint Mark relate, took place before the Institution of the Eucharist. We do not lay much stress, if any, on the arrangement of the narrative; because we know that the order of events is often inverted by the Evangelists. But Saint Mark writes: "Whilst they were sitting at table, *and eating*—*ἀνακειμένων αὐτῶν καὶ ἐσθιόντων*—Jesus saith, Amen I say to you, one of you that eateth with me, shall betray me."² As they were not only

¹ Luke, xxii. 21.

² Mark, xiv.

sitting at table, but eating, it is plain *supper was still going on*, when the announcement was made. But, according to Saint Luke and Saint Paul, the consecration of the chalice took place *after supper*. Therefore it must have followed the announcement recorded by Saint Mark.

Further than this we have no clear evidence to guide us. The sequence of the narrative in Saint Matthew and Saint Mark, is not, we think, a sufficient reason for placing before the Eucharist *all* the incidents that they relate. For it is quite possible, that having once introduced the subject, these Evangelists may have wished to set forth, without interruption, all they had to say about it: and thus they may have blended together, into one narrative, incidents which belonged to different periods of the supper. Hence though we regard the discourse of our Lord, about the treachery of Judas, as having probably been interrupted by the Institution of the Eucharist, we cannot, with anything like certainty, refer the various incidents of the discourse to their true place in the order of events. In these circumstances we have thought it best, for the purpose of our Harmony, to string them all together into a consecutive narrative: partly, because we do not like to break up the Sacred Text on mere conjecture; and partly, because it seems no small advantage to be able to contemplate all the details of this memorable scene, in one complete picture.

It remains only to bring this discussion to a close by setting forth, in a distinct form, the results at which we have arrived, and presenting to the reader the full Inspired Text of the great events of the Last Supper, arranged in sections according to the order of time.

KEEPING THE PASCH.

MATT. xxvi. 17-20, 29.—And on the first day of the Azymes, the disciples came to Jesus, saying: Where wilt thou that we prepare for thee to eat the pasch? (18). But Jesus said: Go ye into the city to a certain man, and say to him: The master saith, My time is near at hand; with thee I make the pasch with my disciples. (19). And the disciples did as Jesus appointed to them, and they prepared the pasch. (20). But when it was evening, he sat down with his twelve disciples. [(29). And I say to you, I will not drink from henceforth of this fruit of the vine, until that day when I shall drink it with you new, in the kingdom of my Father.]

MARK, xiv. 12-17, 25.—Now on the first day of the unleavened bread, when they sacrificed the pasch, the disciples say to him: Whither wilt thou that we go, and prepare for thee to eat the pasch? (13). And he sendeth two of his disciples, and saith to them: Go ye into the city: and there shall meet you a man carrying a pitcher of water, follow him; (14). And whithersoever he shall go in, say to the master

of the house : The master saith, Where is my refectory, where I may eat the pasch with my disciples? (15). And he will shew you a large dining-room furnished; and there prepare ye for us. (16). And his disciples went their way, and came into the city; and they found as he had told them, and they prepared the pasch. (17). And when evening was come, he cometh with the twelve. [(25). Amen I say to you, that I will drink no more of the fruit of the vine, until that day when I shall drink it new, in the kingdom of God.]

LUKE, xxii. 7-18.—And the day of the unleavened bread came, on which it was necessary that the pasch should be killed. (8). And he sent Peter and John, saying : Go and prepare for us the pasch, that we may eat. (9). But they said : Where wilt thou that we prepare? (10). And he said to them : Behold, as you go into the city, there shall meet you a man carrying a pitcher of water : follow him into the house where he entereth in. (11). And you shall say to the good-man of the house : The master saith to thee, Where is the guest-chamber, where I may eat the pasch with my disciples? (12). And he will shew you a large dining room, furnished, and there prepare. (13). And they going, found as he had said to them, and made ready the pasch. (14). And when the hour was come, he sat down, and the twelve apostles with him. (15). And he said to them : With desire I have desired to eat this pasch with you, before I suffer. (16). For I say to you, that from this time I will not eat it, till it be fulfilled in the kingdom of God. (17). And having taken the chalice, he gave thanks, and said : Take, and divide it among you. (18). For I say to you, that I will not drink of the fruit of the vine, till the kingdom of God come.

THE WASHING OF THE FEET.

JOHN, xiii. 1-20.—Before the festival day of the pasch, Jesus knowing that his hour was come, that he should pass out of this world to the Father : having loved his own who were in the world, he loved them unto the end. (2). And when supper was done, (the devil having now put into the heart of Judas Iscariot, the son of Simon, to betray him). (3). Knowing that the Father had given him all things into his hands, and that he came from God, and goeth to God; (4). He riseth from supper, and layeth aside his garments, and having taken a towel, girded himself. (5). After that, he putteth water into a basin, and began to wash the feet of his disciples, and to wipe them with the towel wherewith he was girded. (6). He cometh therefore to Simon Peter. And Peter saith to him : Lord, dost thou wash my feet? (7). Jesus answered, and said to him : What I do, thou knowest not now; but thou shalt know hereafter. (8). Peter saith to him : Thou shalt never wash my feet. Jesus answered him : If I wash thee not, thou shalt have no part with me. (9). Simon Peter saith to him : Lord, not only my feet, but also my hands and my head. (10). Jesus saith to him : He that is washed, needeth not but to wash his feet, but is clean wholly. And you are clean, but not all. (11). For he knew who he was that would betray him; therefore he said : You are not all clean. (12). Then after he had washed their feet, and taken his garments, being sat down again, he said to them : Know you what I have done to you? (13). You call me Master, and Lord; and you say well; for so I am. (14). If then I, being your

Lord and Master, have washed your feet ; you also ought to wash one another's feet. (15). For I have given you an example, that as I have done to you, so you do also. (16). Amen, amen, I say to you : The servant is not greater than his lord ; neither is the apostle greater than he that sent him. (17). If you know these things, you shall be blessed if you do them. (18). I speak not of you all ; I know whom I have chosen ; but that the scripture may be fulfilled : He that eateth bread with me, shall lift up his heel against me. (19). At present I tell you, before it come to pass : that when it shall come to pass, you may believe that I am he. (20). Amen, amen, I say to you, he that receiveth whomsoever I send, receiveth me ; and he that receiveth me, receiveth him that sent me.

INSTITUTION OF THE EUCHARIST.

MATT. xxvi. 26-28.—And whilst they were at supper, Jesus took bread, and blessed, and broke, and gave to his disciples, and said : Take ye, and eat : This is my body. (27). And taking the chalice he gave thanks, and gave to them, saying : Drink ye all of this. (28). For this is my blood of the new testament, which shall be shed for many unto remission of sins.

MARK, xiv. 22-24.—And whilst they were eating, Jesus took bread, and blessing, broke, and gave to them, and said : Take ye, This is my body. (23). And having taken the chalice, giving thanks, he gave it to them. And they all drank of it. (24). And he saith to them : This is my blood of the new testament, which shall be shed for many.

LUKE, xxii. 19, 20.—And taking bread, he gave thanks, and brake, and gave to them, saying : This is my body, which is given for you. Do this for a commemoration of me. (20). In like manner the chalice also, after he had supped, saying : This is the chalice, the new testament in my blood, which shall be shed for you.

DISCLOSURE OF THE TRAITOR.

MATT. xxvi. 21-25.—And whilst they were eating, he said : Amen I say to you, that one of you is about to betray me. (22). And they being very much troubled, began every one to say : Is it I, Lord ? (23). But he answering said : He that dippeth his hand with me in the dish, he shall betray me. (24). The son of man indeed goeth, as it is written of him : but woe to that man, by whom the son of man shall be betrayed ! It were better for him, if that man had not been born. (25). And Judas that betrayed him, answering said : Is it I, Rabbi ? He saith to him : Thou hast said it.

MARK, xiv. 18-21.—And when they were at table and eating, Jesus saith : Amen I say to you, one of you that eateth with me shall betray me. (19). But they began to be sorrowful, and to say to him one by one : Is it I ? (20). Who saith to them : One of the twelve, who dippeth with me his hand in the dish. (21). And the son of man indeed goeth, as it is written of him : but woe to that man by whom the son of man shall be betrayed ! It were better for him, if that man had not been born.

LUKE, xxii. 21-23.—But yet behold, the hand of him that betrayeth me is with me on the table. (22). And the son of man indeed goeth, according to that which is determined : but yet, woe to that man by whom he shall be betrayed ! (23). And they began to inquire among themselves, which of them it was that should do this thing.

JOHN, xiii. 21-32—When Jesus had said these things, he was troubled in spirit ; and he testified, and said : Amen, amen, I say to you, one of you shall betray me. (22). The disciples therefore looked one upon another, doubting of whom he spoke. (23). Now there was leaning on Jesus's bosom one of his disciples, whom Jesus loved. (24). Simon Peter therefore beckoned to him, and said to him : Who is it of whom he speaketh ? (25). He therefore leaning on the breast of Jesus, saith to him : Lord, who is it ? (26). Jesus answered : He it is to whom I shall reach bread dipped. And when he had dipped the bread, he gave it to Judas Iscariot, the son of Simon. (27). And after the morsel, Satan entered into him. And Jesus said to him : That which thou dost, do quickly. (28). Now no man at the table knew to what purpose he said this unto him. (29). For some thought, because Judas had the purse, that Jesus had said to him : Buy those things which we have need of for the festival day ; or that he should give something to the poor. (30). He therefore having received the morsel, went out immediately. And it was night. (31). When he therefore was gone out, Jesus said : Now is the son of man glorified, and God is glorified in him. (32). If God be glorified in him, God also will glorify him in himself ; and immediately will he glorify him.

[The writer of these papers on the Harmony of the Passion, having undertaken new duties, which must absorb, for some years at least, all his time and energies, finds himself reluctantly obliged to stop in the very midst of the task he had marked out for himself. But he trusts that even those fragments which have appeared, up to the present, will not have been without some value to the readers of the RECORD : and he looks forward to a time when he may find leisure to return to a subject, which, whatever changes may come in human knowledge, whatever sciences may shine forth with a passing splendour, or fade away into darkness, must remain for ever the one grand event in the world's history, the one grand object of abiding contemplation and of abiding love.]

DOCUMENTS.

PIUS PP. IX.

Venerabiles Fratres Salutem et Apostolicam Benedictionem.

ETSI multa luctuosa et acerba pati ex ipsis diuturni Nostri Pontificatus exordiis Nobis contigerit variis de causis, quas in litteris encyclicis crebro ad Vos datis explicavimus ; adeo tamen postremis hisce annis crevit aerumnarum moles, ut ea paene obrueremur, nisi Nos divina benignitas sustentaret. Imo vero modo res eo devenit, ut mors ipsa vitae tot fluctibus excitatae praestare videatur, et elatis in caelum oculis exclamare

cogamur interdum: *melius est nos mori, quam videre mala sanctorum*.¹ Scilicet ex quo alma haec Urbs Nostra, permitte Deo, armorum vi capta, hominumque regimini subacta fuit contemptorum iuris, religionis hostium, quibus humana omnia et divina promiscua sunt, nulla ferme dies transiit, quin aliis atque aliis iniuriis atque vexationibus cordi Nostro iam saucio novum aliquod vulnus infligeretur. Personant adhuc ad aures Nostras questus et gemitus virorum et virginum e religiosis familiis, quae a suis sedibus exturbatae et egentes, hostili more profligantur ac disiiciuntur, quemadmodum in iis locis fieri solet ubicumque ea factio dominatur, quae ad socialem ordinem pervertendum intendit; quippe velut, Athanasio teste, magnus inquebat Antonius, omnes quidem christianos diabolus odit, sed probos monachos, Christique virgines tolerare nullo modo potest. Illud etiam nuper vidimus quod nunquam futurum suspicabamur, sublatam et abolitam Universitatem Nostram Gregorianam ideo institutam, ut ad eam (iuxta veteris auctoris effatum de Romana Anglo-saxonum schola scribentis) iuniores clerici e longinquis etiam regionibus in doctrina et fide catholica erudiendi venirent, ne quid in suis ecclesiis sinistrum, aut catholicae unitati contrarium doceretur, et sic in fide stabili roborati ad propria remearent. Ita dum per nefarias artes paulatim omnia Nobis subducuntur praesidia et instrumenta, quibus Ecclesiam universam regere ac moderari valeamus, luculenter patet, quantopere a veritate abhorreat quod affirmatum fuit, nihil esse imminutum, urbe Nobis adempta, de libertate Romani Pontificis in exercitio spiritualis ministerii et in iis agendis quae ad catholicum pertinent orbem; simulque manifestius quotidie evincitur quam vere ac merito declaratum toties a Nobis et inculcatum fuerit, sacrilegam ditionis Nostrae usurpationem eo praesertim spectasse ut Pontificii Primatus vis et efficacia frangeretur, ipsaque tandem catholica religio, si fieri posset, plane deleteretur.

Verum non hoc Nobis potissime constitutum est ut de iis malis ad Vos scriberemus, quibus Urbs haec Nostra et universa simul divexatur Italia; imo angores hosce Nostros moesto fortasse premeremus silentio, si divina daretur clementia, lenire Nos posse dolores acerrimos, quibus tot Venerabiles Fratres sacrorum Antistites eorumque Clerus et populus in aliis regionibus cruciantur.

Vos enimvero non latet, Venerabiles Fratres, quosdam ex Helveticae foederationis Pagis, non tam ab heterodoxis compulsos, quorum imo nonnulli facinus reprobarunt, quam ab actuosis sectarum asseclis hodie passim rerum potitis, omnem pervertisse ordinem, ipsaque suffodisse constitutionis Ecclesiae

¹ I Machab. iii., 59.

Christi fundamenta non modo contra quamlibet iustitiae rationisque normam, sed obstante etiam data publice fide; quum ex solemnibus pactis, suffragio et auctoritate quoque legum foederationis munitis, sartam tectam catholicis manere oporteret religiosam libertatem. Deploravimus equidem in Allocutione Nostra habita die 23 Decembris anni praeteriti illatam religiosae rei vim ab illorum Pagorum Guberniis "sive decernendo de dogmatibus catholicae fidei, sive favendo apostatis, sive exercitium intercipiendo episcopalis potestatis." At vero iustissimae querelae Nostrae, exhibitae etiam mandantibus Nobis foederali Consilio a Nostro Negotiorum Gestore, neglectae plane fuerunt, nec aequior ratio habita fuit expostulationum a catholicis cuiusvis ordinis, et ab Helvetico Episcopatu iterum atque iterum editarum; quin imo irrogatae pridem iniuriae novis et gravioribus cumulatae sunt.

Nam post violentam eiectionem Venerabilis Fratris Gasparis Episcopi Hebronensis et Vicarii Apostolici Gebennensis, quae tam decora et gloriosa patienti, quam foeda et indecora mandantibus atque exequentibus extitit, Gebennense Gubernium diebus 23 Martii et 27 Augusti huius anni duas promulgavit leges plane consentaneas edicto proposito mense Octobri superioris anni, quod in memorata Allocutione fuerat a Nobis improbatum. Nimirum idem Gubernium sibi ius arrogavit refingendi in eo Pago constitutionem Ecclesiae catholicae, eamque exigendi ad democraticam formam, subiiciens Episcopum cum quoad exercitium propriae iurisdictionis et administrationis, tum quoad potestatis suae delegationem auctoritati civili; vetans ne in Pago illo domicilium haberet; definiens paroeciarum numerum et limites; proponens formam et condiciones electionis parochorum et vicariorum, casusque et modum revocationis eorum aut suspensionis ab officio; tribuens laicis hominibus ius illos nominandi, laicis item credens temporalem cultus administrationem, eosque, inspectorum instar, rei ecclesiasticae generatim praeficiens. Cautum praeterea his legibus, ut sine Gubernii venia, et hac quidem revocabili, parochi et vicarii functiones nullas exercerent, nullas dignitates acciperent illis ampliores quam per populi electionem essent adepti, iidemque a potestate civili ad iusiurandum adigerentur in ea verba quibus veri nominis apostasia continetur. Nemo non videt huiusmodi leges non solum irritas et nullius roboris esse ex omnimodo potestatis defectu in legislatoribus laicis et ut plurimum heterodoxis; sed etiam in iis quae praecipunt sic adversari catholicae fidei dogmatibus, et ecclesiasticae disciplinae per oecumenicam Synodum Tridentinam et Pontificias constitutiones sancitae, ut eas omnino a Nobis improbari damnarique oporteat.

Nos itaque ex officii Nostri debito, auctoritate Nostra Apostolica eas solemniter reprobamus et condemnamus; declarantes simul, illicitum esse ac plane sacrilegum iuramentum ab ipsis indictum; eosque propterea omnes, qui in Gebennensi tractu aut alibi iuxta earundem legum decreta aut non absimili modo, suffragante populo et confirmante civili potestate electi, audeant obire munia ecclesiastici ministerii, ipso facto incurrere in excommunicationem maiorem peculiariter reservatam huic Sanctae Sedi aliasque poenas canonicas: adeoque eos omnes fugiendos esse a fidelibus, iuxta divinum monitum, tamquam alienos et fures qui non veniunt nisi ut furentur, mactent et perdant.¹

Tristia quidem et funesta haec sunt, quae hactenus commemoravimus, sed funestiora etiam contigerunt in quinque ex septem Pagis, quibus constat Basileensis Dioecesis, nempe Soloduri, Bernae, Basileae-campestres, Argoviae, Turegi. Ibi quoque de paroeciis, deque parochorum atque vicariorum electione et revocatione leges latae sunt Ecclesiae regimen, divinamque constitutionem evertentes, ecclesiasticum ministerium saeculari dominationi subiicientes et omnino schismatice; quas proinde, eamque nominatim, quae lata est a Gubernio Solodurensi die 23 Decembris anno 1872, reprobamus et damnamus, et tamquam reprobatae et damnatae perpetuo habendas decernimus, Quum porro Ven. Frater Eugenius Episcopus Basileensis iusta indignatione et Apostolica constantia reiecisset articulos quosdam in conciliabulo seu *conferentia*, ut aiunt, *dioecesana*, ad quam convenerant Delegati quinque Pagorum supra dictorum, constitutos, sibi que propositos, et omnino necessariam haberet reiiciendi causam, quod episcopalem auctoritatem laederent, regimen hierarchicum subverterent, et haeresi faverent aperte; ob eam rem ab Episcopatu deiectus, a suis aedibus abstractus et in exilium violenter actus fuit. Tum nullum fraudis aut vexationis genus omissum, ut in quinque Pagis praedictis clerus et populus in schisma induceretur; interdictum clero a quolibet commercii oculo Pastore exulante, iussumque datum cathedrali Capitulo Basileensi, ut ad electionem Vicarii Capitularis vel Administratoris conveniret, perinde ac si Sedes episcopalis reapse vacaret; quod facinus indignum strenue Capitulum edita protestatione ab se reiecit. Interim decreto et sententia Magistratuum civilium Bernensium novem et sexaginta parochis territorii Iurensis primo indictum est ne ministerii sui functiones obierent, dein vero abdicatum officium, hac una de causa quod palam testati essent, sese legitimum Episcopum et Pastorem Ven. Fratrem Eugenium unice ag-

¹ Ioan. x., 5, 10.

noscere, seu nolle se turpiter ab unitate catholica desciscere. Quo factum est, ut totum illud territorium quod catholicam fidem constanter retinuerat, et Bernensi Pago iampridem iunctum fuerat ea lege pactoque ut religionis suae liberum atque inviolatum exercitium haberet, paroecialibus concionibus solemnibus baptismatis, nuptiarum et funerum privaretur, conquerente frustra et reclamante fidelium multitudine iam per summam iniuriam in hoc discrimen adducta, ut vel schismaticos haereticosque pastores politica auctoritate intrusos récipere, vel quocumque sacerdotum auxilio et ministerio destitui cogatur.

Nos utique Deo benedicimus qui eadem gratia, qua martyres olim erigebat et confirmabat, sustentat modo ac roborat eam partem electam catholici gregis, quae viriliter sequitur Episcopum suum opponentem murum pro domo Israel ut stet in praelio in die Domini,¹ et nescia formidinis vestigiis ingreditur ipsius Capitis Martyrum Iesu Christi, dum agni mansuetudinem ferociae luporum obiiciens fidem suam alacriter constanterque propugnat.

Nobilem hanc Helvetiorum fidelium constantiam aemulatur haud minori commendatione clerus populusque fidelis in Germania, qui et ipse sequitur exempla illustria Praesulum suorum. Hi enimvero spectaculum facti sunt mundo et angelis et hominibus, qui eosdem indutos catholicae lorica veritatis et galea salutis praelia Domini strenue praeliari undique circumspiciunt, eorumque animi fortitudinem invictamque constantiam eo magis admirantur et eximiis laudibus extollunt, quo magis in dies invalescit acerrima persecutio adversus eos commota in Germanico Imperio ac potissimum in Borussia.

Praeter multas et graves iniurias catholicae Ecclesiae superiori anno irrogatas, Gubernium Borussicum durissimis et iniquissimis perlatis legibus a pristino more prorsus alienis universam Clericorum institutionem et educationem laicae potestati ita subiecit, ut ad hanc pertineat inquirere ac decernere, quomodo clerici erudiendi ac fingendi sint ad sacerdotalem vitam et pastorem; atque ulterius progrediens eidem potestati ius tribuit cognoscendi et iudicandi de collatione cuiusvis officii et beneficii ecclesiastici, atque etiam sacros pastores officio et beneficio privandi. Praeterea quo celerius et plenius ecclesiasticum regimen et hierarchicae subiectionis ordo ab ipso Christo Domino constitutus subverteretur, plura ab iisdem legibus iniecta sunt impedimenta Episcopis quominus per censuras poenasque canonicas sive animarum saluti, sive sanitati doctrinae in scholis catholicis, sive obsequio sibi a clericis debito opportune prospiciant; non aliter enim per eas leges fas est Episcopis haec agere, quam iuxta placitum civilis aucto-

¹ Ezech. xiii. 5.

ritatis et ad normam ab ipsa propositam. Demum ne quid deesset quo catholica Ecclesia penitus opprimeretur, regium tribunal pro ecclesiasticis negotiis institutum fuit, quo vocari possint Episcopi sacrique Pastores cum a privatis hominibus qui iis subsunt, tum a publicis magistratibus, ut reorum instar iudicium sustineant, et in exercitio spiritualis muneris coerceantur.

Sic Ecclesia Christi sanctissima, cui solemnibus etiam iteratisque supremorum Principum sponsionibus, publicisque pactis conventis asserta fuerat necessaria et plena religionis libertas, nunc luget in iis locis omni suo spoliata iure, et infestis obnoxia viribus quae extremum illi minantur excidium; novae enim leges eo pertinent ne amplius possit existere. Nil mirum igitur quod religiosa tranquillitas pristina graviter eo in Imperio perturbata fuerit ab huiusmodi legibus aliisque Borussici Gubernii consiliis et actibus Ecclesiae infensissimis. At perturbationis huius culpam perperam omnino coniicere quis vellet in Germanici Imperii Catholicos. Nam si istis vitio vertendum est, quod legibus illis non acquiescant, quibus salva conscientia acquiescere nequeunt, pari de causa parique modo taxandi essent Iesu Christi Apostoli et Martyres qui atrocissima quaeque supplicia et mortem ipsam subire maluerunt, quam proprium prodere officium sanctissimaeque suae religionis iura violare, impiis obsequendo persecutorum Principum mandatis. Sane, Venerabiles Fratres, si praeter leges civilis imperii aliae nullae extarent, et hae quidem sublimioris ordinis, quas agnoscere oportet, violare nefas; si propterea civiles eadem leges supremam constituerent conscientiae normam, sicut impie iuxta et absurde quidam contendunt, reprehensione potius quam honore et laude digni forent primaevi martyres et qui deinceps eos sequuti sunt dum pro Christi fide et Ecclesiae libertate sanguinem fuderunt; imo vero ne licuisset quidem obstantibus legibus invitisque principibus christianam tradere et propagare religionem, Ecclesiamque fundare. Fides tamen docet, et humana ratio demonstrat, duplicem existere rerum ordinem, simulque binas distinguendas esse potestates in terris, alteram naturalem quae humanae societatis tranquillitati et saecularibus negotiis prospiciat, alteram vero, cuius origo supra naturam est, quae praeest civitati Dei, nimirum Ecclesiae Christi ad pacem animarum et salutem aeternam divinitus instituta. Haec autem duplicis potestatis officia sapientissime ordinata sunt, ut reddantur quae sunt Dei Deo, et propter Deum quae sunt Caesaris Caesari: qui ideo magnus est, quia caelo minor est; illius enim est ipse, cuius caelum est et omnis creatura.¹ A quo certe divino mandato nunquam deflexit Ecclesia, quae semper et ubique fidelium suorum animis

¹ Tertull. apolog. cap. 30.

ingerere contendit obsequium, quod inviolabiliter servare debent erga supremos Principes, eorumque iura quoad saecularia ; docuitque cum Apostolo, esse Principes non timori boni operis sed mali, iubens fideles subditos esse non solum propter iram, quia Princeps gladium portat vindex in iram ei qui malum agit, sed etiam propter conscientiam, quia in officio suo Dei minister est.¹ Hunc autem Principum metum ipsa cohibuit ad opera mala, eundem plane excludens a divinae legis observantia, memor eius quod fideles docuit beatus Petrus : *nemo vestrum patiatur ut homicida, aut fur, aut maledicus, aut alienorum appetitor ; si autem' ut christianus, non erubescat, glori-ficet autem Deum in isto nomine.*²

Quae cum ita sint, facile intelligetis, Venerabiles Fratres, quanto animi dolore Nos affici oportuerit legentes in epistola nuper ad Nos data ab ipso Germanico Imperatore criminationem non minus atrocem quam insperatam adversus partem, ut ipse ait, catholicorum sibi subditorum, praesertim vero adversus catholicum Germaniae Clerum et Episcopos. Cuius criminationis ea causa est quod hi nec vincula et tribulationes verentes nec facientes animam suam pretiosicrem quam se,³ parere recusent commemoratis legibus, eadem constantia, qua priusquam illae iuberentur, protestati fuerant denunciantes earum vitia, expostulationibus explicata gravibus, luculentis, solidissimis, quas toto plaudente orbe catholico et non paucis etiam ex heterodoxis, Principi, Administris eius, atque ipsis supremis Regni Comitibus exhibuerant. Ob eam rem nunc ipsi perduellionis crimine insimulantur, quasi in unum consentiant et conspirent cum iis qui omnes humanae societatis ordines perturbare nituntur, posthabitis innumeris, praeclarisque argumentis, quae inconcussam eorum fidem et observantiam in Principem, studiumque incensum erga patriam evidenter testantur. Imo Nos ipsi rogamur, ut catholicos illos et sacros Pastores adhortemur ad earum legum observantiam, quod eo valet ut Nostram Ipsi operam gregi Christi opprimendo et dispergendo conferamus. Verum Deo freti confidimus, serenissimum Imperatorem, rebus melius compertis ac perpensis, reiecturum suspicionem tam inanem atque incredibilem erga subditos fidelissimos conceptam, neque passurum diutius, ut eorum honor tam foeda discerpatur obtrectatione, et immerita adversus illos perduret insectatio. Ceterum Imperialem hanc epistolam ultro praeteriissemus hoc loco, nisi, Nobis plane insciis et more certe insueto, vulgata fuisset ab officiali Berolini ephemeride una cum alia manu Nostra exarata, qua serenissimi Imperatoris iustitiam pro Ecclesia catholica in Borussia appellavimus.

Haec quae hucusque recensuimus, ante omnium oculos posita sunt : quare dum coenobitae et Deo devotae virgines

¹ Rom. xiii., 3. seqq.

² I Petr. iv., 14, 15.

³ Act. xx., 24.

communi omnium civium libertate privantur et immani asperitate eiiciuntur, dum publicae scholae, in quibus catholica iuventus instituitur, a salutarī Ecclesiae magisterio ac vigilantia quotidie magis eximuntur, dum sodalitia ad pietatem fovendam instituta ipsaque Clericorum Seminaria dissolvuntur, dum libertas intercipitur evangelicae predicationis, dum elementa religiosae institutionis in nonnullis regni partibus materna lingua tradi prohibentur, dum a suis abstrahuntur paroeciis Curiones quos iisdem Episcopi praefecerunt, dum praesules ipsi redditibus privantur, coercentur multis, carceris comminatione terrentur, dum catholici omnigenis vexationibus exagitantur; fierine potest ut in animum inducamus quod Nobis subiicitur, neque religionem Iesu Christi neque veritatem in causam vocari?

Neque hic finis iniuriarum quae catholicae Ecclesiae inferuntur. Nam accedit etiam patrociniū a Borussico, aliisque Guberniis Germanici Imperii aperte susceptum pro novis illis haereticis, qui se *Veteres-catholicos* dicunt per eiusmodi nominis abusionem, quae ridicula plane foret, nisi tot errores monstrosi istius sectae adversus praecipua catholicae fidei principia, tot sacrilegia in re divina conficienda et in sacramentorum administratione, tot gravissima scandala, tanta demum animarum Christi sanguine redemptarum perniciēs vim lacrymarum potius ab oculis exprimerent.

Et sane quid moliantur ac spectent miserrimi isti perditionis filii, luculenter patet tum ex aliis eorum scriptis tum maxime ex impio illo et impudentissimo quod nuper ab eo vulgatum fuit, quem ipsi modo pseudo episcopum sibi constituerunt. Quandoquidem inficiantur ac pervertunt veram iurisdictionis potestatem in Romano Pontifice et Episcopis beati Petri et Apostolorum successoribus, eamque ad plebem seu, ut aiunt, ad communitatem transferunt; reiiciunt prae fracte et oppugnant magisterium infallibile cum Romani Pontificis, tum totius Ecclesiae docentis; et adversus Spiritum Sanctum a Christo promissum Ecclesiae ut in ea maneret in aeternum, ausu incredibili affirmant, Romanum Pontificem, nec non universos Episcopos, sacerdotes et populos unitate fidei et communionis cum eo coniunctos in haeresim incidisse, quum definitiones oecumenici Concilii Vaticani sanxerunt et professi sunt. Eapropter denegant etiam indefectibilitatem Ecclesiae, blasphemantes ipsam in toto periisse mundo, proindeque visibile eius Caput et Episcopos defecisse: ex quo sibi ferunt necessitatem impositam legitimi episcopatus instaurandi in suo pseudo-episcopo, qui non per ostium sed aliunde ascendens, uti fur et latro, in suum ipse caput Christi damnationem convertit.

Nihilosecius infelices isti, qui catholicae religionis fundamenta suffodiunt, qui notas eius omnes et proprietates everunt, qui tam foedos et multiplices commenti sunt errores, seu

potius depromptos e veteri haereticorum penu et simul collectos in medium protulerunt, minime erubescunt se catholicos dicere, et *veteres-catholicos*, dum doctrina, novitate et numero suo utramque a se vetustatis et catholicitatis notam quam maxime abiudicant. Potiori certe iure adversus istos quam olim per Augustinum contra Donatianos, exurgit Ecclesia in omnes diffusa gentes, quam Christus Filius Dei vivi aedificavit super petram; adversus quam portae inferi non praevalerunt; et quacum Ipse, cui data est omnis potestas in caelo et in terra, se esse dixit omnibus diebus usque ad consummationem saeculi. "Clamat Ecclesia ad sponsum suum aeternum: quid est, quod nescio qui recedentes a me murmurant contra me? Quid est quod perdit me periisse contendunt? Annuntia mihi exiguitatem dierum meorum: quamdiu ero in hoc saeculo? Annuntia mihi propter illos, qui dicunt: fuit et iam non est; propter illos, qui dicunt: impletae sunt scripturae, crediderunt omnes gentes, sed apostatavit et periit Ecclesia de omnibus gentibus. Et annuntiavit, nec vacua fuit vox ista. Quomodo annuntiavit? *Ecce ego vobiscum sum usque in consummationem saeculi*. Mota vocibus vestris et falsis opinionibus vestris quaerit a Deo, ut exiguitatem dierum suorum annuntiet sibi; et invenit, Dominum dixisse: *Ecce ego vobiscum sum usque in consummationem saeculi*. Hic vos dicitis: De nobis dixit; nos sumus et erimus usque in consummationem saeculi. Interrogetur ipse Christus: *Et praedicabitur, inquit, hoc Evangelium in universo orbe, in testimonium omnibus gentibus, et tunc veniet finis*. Ergo usque in finem saeculi Ecclesia in omnibus gentibus. Pereant haeretici, pereant quod sunt, et inveniantur ut sint quod non sunt."¹

Sed homines isti per iniquitatis et perditionis viam audacius progressi, uti iusto Dei iudicio haereticorum sectis usuvenit, hierarchiam quoque sibi fingere voluerunt, sicuti innuimus, ac notorium quemdam a catholica fide apostatam Iosephum Hubertum Reinkens pseudo-episcopum sibi elegerunt et constituerunt; atque ut nihil impudentiae deesset, pro consecratione eius ad illos confugerunt Ultraiectenses Iansenianos, quos ipsi, antequam ab Ecclesia desciscerent, haereticos et schismaticos ducebant una cum ceteris catholicis. Iosephus tamen ille Hubertus audet se dicere episcopum, et, quod fidem excedit, tanquam episcopus catholicus, edito decreto, agnoscitur et nominatur a serenissimo Germaniae Imperatore, ac iusti episcopi loco habendus et observandus subditis universis proponitur. Atqui vel ipsa catholicae doctrinae rudimenta declarant, nullum posse legitimum Episcopum haberi qui fidei et caritatis communione non iungatur Petrae, super quam una aedificata est Ecclesia Christi; qui supremo non adhaereat Pastori, cui omnes Christi oves pascentiae commis-

¹ August. in Psalm. 101 enarrat. 2 num. 8, 9.

sae sunt; qui non devinciatur confirmatori fraternitatis, quae in mundo est. Et sane "ad Petrum locutus est Dominus; ad unum ideo, ut unitatem fundaret ex uno;"¹ Petro "magnum et mirabile consortium potentiae suae tribuit divina dignatio, et si quid cum eo commune ceteris voluit esse principibus, nunquam, nisi per ipsum, dedit quod aliis non negavit."² Hinc est, quod ab hac Apostolica Sede, ubi beatus Petrus "vivit et praesidet et praestat quaerentibus fidei veritatem,"³ in omnes venerandae communionis iura dimanant;⁴ et hanc eandem sedem "ecclesiis toto orbe diffusis velut caput suorum certum est esse membrorum, a qua se quisquis abscidit, fit christianae religionis extorris, cum in eadem non coeperit esse compage."⁵

Hinc sanctus martyr Cyprianus de schismatico disserens pseudo-episcopo Novatiano ipsam ei negavit *christiani* appellationem, utpote seiuncto et abscisso ab Ecclesia Christi. "Quisquis ille est, inquit, et qualiscumque est, christianus non est qui in Christi Ecclesia non est. Iactet se licet, et philosophiam vel eloquentiam suam superbis vocibus praedicet; qui nec fraternam caritatem, nec ecclesiasticam unitatem retinuit, etiam quod prius fuit amisit. Cum sit a Christo una Ecclesia per totum mundum in multa membra divisa, item episcopatus unus episcoporum multorum concordie numerositate diffusus, ille post Dei traditionem, post connexam et ubique coniunctam catholicae Ecclesiae unitatem, humanam conatur ecclesiam facere. Qui ergo nec unitatem spiritus, nec coniunctionem pacis observat, et se ab Ecclesiae vinculo et a sacerdotum collegio separat, episcopi nec potestatem potest habere, nec honorem, qui episcopatus nec unitatem voluit tenere, nec pacem."⁶

Nos igitur qui in suprema hac Petri cathedra ad custodiam fidei catholicae et ad servandam ac tuendam universalis Ecclesiae unitatem, licet immerentes, constituti sumus, Decessorum Nostrorum sacrarumque legum morem atque exemplum sequuti, tradita Nobis a caelo potestate, non solum electionem memorati Iosephi Huberti Reinkens, contra sacrorum canonum sanctionem factam, illicitam, inanem et omnino nullam, eiusque consecrationem sacrilegam declaramus, reiicimus ac detestamur; sed et ipsum Iosephum Hubertum, et qui eum eligere attentarunt, et qui sacrilegae consecrationi operam commodarunt, et quicumque iisdem adhaeserint, eorumque partes sequuti opem, favorem, auxilium, aut consensum praeberint, auctoritate Omnipotentis Dei excommunicamus et

¹ Pacianus ad Sympron. ep. 3. n. II. Cyprian. de unit. Eccl. Optat. contra Parmen. lib. 7. n. 3. Siricius ep. 5. ad Episcopos. Afr. Innoc. I. epp. ad Victric. ad conc. Carthag. et Milev.

² Leo M. serm. 3 in sua assumpt. Optat. lib. 2. n. 2.

³ Petr. Chrys. ep. ad Eutich. ⁴ Concil. Aquil. inter. epp. Ambros. ep. II num. 4.

Hieron. epp. 14 et 16 ad Damas. ⁵ Bonif. I. ep. 14. ad Episcopos Thessal.

⁶ Cyprian. contra Novatian. ep. 52. ad Antonian.

anathematizamus, atque ab Ecclesiae communione segregatos et in eorum numero habendos esse, a quorum consuetudine congressuque sic omnibus Christifidelibus interdixit Apostolus, ut nec ave illis dicere praeceperit,¹ declaramus, edicimus et mandamus.

Ex his quae deplorando magis quam enarrando attigimus, Venerabiles Fratres, satis vobis perspectum est, quam tristis et periculo plena sit in iis quas significavimus Europae regionibus Catholicorum conditio. Neque vero commodius res agitur, aut pacatiora sunt tempora in America, cuius regiones nonnullae ita Catholicis infestae sunt, ut earum Gubernia factis negare videantur catholicam quam profitentur fidem. Ibi enim aliquot abhinc annis bellum asperrimum contra Ecclesiam, eiusque institutiones et iura huius Apostolicae Sedis coepit commoveri. Haec si prosequeremur, Nobis non deesset oratio ; cum autem propter rerum gravitatem obiter perstringi non possint, de illis alias fusius agemus.

Mirabitur fortasse quispiam ex Vobis, Venerabiles Fratres, tam late patere bellum quod aetate nostra Ecclesiae catholicae infertur. Verum quisquis probe noverit indolem, studia, propositum sectarum, sive masonicae dicantur, sive alio quovis nomine veniant, eaque conferat cum indole, ratione, amplitudine huius concertationis, qua ferme ubique terrarum Ecclesia impetitur, ambigere non poterit, quin praesens calamitas fraudibus et machinationibus earundem sectarum potissimum accepta referenda sit. Ex his namque coalescit synagoga Sataanae quae contra Ecclesiam Christi suas instruit copias, infert signa, et manum conserit. Hasce iampridem ab ipsis exordiis Praedecessores Nostri, vigiles in Israel, regibus et gentibus denunciarunt, has deinde iterum iterumque damnationibus suis perculerunt ; neque Nos ipsi huic officio defuimus. Utinam supremis Ecclesia Pastoribus maior habita fuisset fides ab iis, qui pestem tam exitiosam potuissent avertere ! At illa per sinuosos anfractus irrepens, opere nunquam intermisso, versutis fraudibus multos decipiens, eo tandem devenit, ut e latebris suis erumperet, seque iam potentem dominamque iactaret. Aucta in immensum adlectorum turba, putant nefarii illi coetus se voti iam compotes factos ac metam praestitutam tantum non attigisse. Id assequuti aliquando, quod tamdiu inhiaverant, ut pluribus in locis rerum summae praeesent, comparata sibi virium et auctoritatis praesidia eo convertunt audacter, ut Ecclesiam Dei durissimo mancipient servitio, fundamenta convellant quibus innititur, divinas conentur depravare notas quae praefulget insignis : quid multa ? ipsam crebris concussam ictibus, collapsam, eversam, si fieri possit, ex orbe penitus deleant. Quae cum ita sint, Venerabiles Fratres, omnem adhibete operam muniendis adversus

harum sectarum insidias et contagionem fidelibus curae vestrae commissis, illisque qui nomen infauste dederint iisdem sectis, a perditione retrahendis. Eorum vero praesertim ostendite et oppugnete errorem, qui dolum sive passi sive molientes non verentur adhuc asserere socialem tantum utilitatem ac progressum mutuaeque beneficentiae exercitium spectari a tenebrosis hisce conventiculis. Exponite iis saepe, et altius animis defigite Pontificias hac de re constitutiones et edocete, non unos ab iis percelli masonicos coetus in Europa institutos, sed omnes quotquot in America, aliisque totius orbis plagis habentur.

Ceterum, Venerabiles Fratres, quoniam in haec tempora incidimus, quibus multa quidem patiendi sed et merendi instat occasio, illud curemus praepriis tamquam Christi milites boni, ne animum despondeamus, imo in ipsa qua iactamur procella certam spem nacti tranquillitatis futurae, et clarioris in Ecclesia serenitatis, nos ipsos et laborantem clerum et populum erigamus divino auxilio confisi et nobilissimo illa excitati Chrysostomi commentatione: "Multi fluctus instant, gravesque procellae; sed non timemus ne submergamur; nam in petra consistimus. Saeviat mare, petram dissolvere nequis; insurgant fluctus, Iesu navigium demergere non possunt. Nihil Ecclesia potentius. Ecclesiae est ipso caelo fortior. *Caelum et terra transibunt, verba autem mea non transibunt.* Quae verba? *Tu es Petrus et super hanc petram aedificabo Ecclesiam meam et portae inferi non praevallebunt adversus eam.* Si non credis verbo, rebus crede. Quot tyranni Ecclesiam opprimere tentaverunt! Quot sartagine, quot fornaces, ferarum dentes, gladii acuti! nihilque perfecerunt. Ubinam sunt hostes illi? Silentio et oblivioni traditi sunt. Ubinam Ecclesia? Plusquam sol splendescit. Quae illorum erant, extincta sunt; quae ad illam spectant, sunt immortalia. Si cum pauci erant Christiani, non victi sunt; quando orbis totus pia religione plenus est, quomodo illos vincere possis? *Caelum et terra transibunt, verba autem mea non transibunt.*"¹ Nullo itaque commoti periculo et nihil haesitantes perseveremus in oratione, idque assequi contendamus, ut universi caelestem iram flagitiis hominum provocatam placare nitamur; quo tandem in sua misericordia exurgat Omnipotens, imperet ventis et faciat tranquillitatem.

Interim benedictionem Apostolicam precipuae nostrae benevolentiae testem Vobis omnibus, Venerabiles Fratres, Cleroque et populo universo singulorum curae commisso peramanter impertimus.

Datum Romae apud S. Petrum die XXI Novembris anno Domini MDCCCLXXIII. Pontificatus Nostri vicesimoctavo.

PIVS PP. IX.

¹ Hom. ante exil. n. 1. et 2.

DECRETUM ROTHOMAGEN.

Beatificationis et Canonizationis Venerabilis Servi Dei Joannis Baptistae De-la-Salle Institutoris Scholarum Christianarum.

VENERABILIS Dei Servus Joannes Baptista De-la-Salle Rhemis ex nobilibus piisque parentibus in lucem prodiit. Innocens manibus et mundo corde adolescentiam transegit, et studiorum curricula emensus est. Inter Canonicos Metropolitanae Ecclesiae Rhemensis cooptatus, et Sacerdotio auctus, exemplum fuit fidelium in verbo, in conversatione, in charitate, in fide, in castitate. Verum divinae Sapientiae verba secum recogitans *Venite filii, audite me, timorem Domini docebo vos*, simulque illud Christi monitum *Sinite parvulos venire ad me, talium est enim regnum caelorum*, adolescentes inopes et pervagantes colligere coepit, eosque pietatis officia, et litterarum rudimenta sedulo edocebat. Attamen ut tam arduum opus ad illud perduceret incrementum quo uberes fructus suppeditaret, ad se accivit pios laicos viros, quos, salutaribus traditis praescriptionibus, suos effecit cooperatores in novo instituendo Scholarum Christianarum Sodalitio. Et quoniam tunc gliscebant per Gallias Janseniana lues ut Catholicam dissolveret unitatem, Dei Servus arctiori se nexu Cathedrae Petri devincire satagit; misitque Romam quemdam e suis fratribus, qui a Summo Pontifice Clemente XI. sa. me. strenuo haereticae hujus pravitatis eversore, Sodalitii confirmationem impetraret, et sub ejus oculis in Urbe Scholam ad puerorum bonum aperiret. At vaferrimi Jansenianae haeresis sectatores damnum praesentientes, quod eis eventurum erat in plebe ex hac sana ac pia adolescentium institutione, ita eum probris, calumniis et vexationibus usque ad extremam vitae horam insectati sunt, ut ipse inter eorum saevitias Sacramentis Ecclesiae reffectus, et Christi passionibus patientissime communicans efflaverit animam septimo Nonas Aprilis Feria VI. in Parasceve anni MDCCXIX.

Post obitum adeo diffusa est ejus sanctitatis fama, ut vel ipsi inimici, qui eum viventem divexaverant, virum justum et sanctum conclamaverint. Ob Gallicas perturbationes Processus Auctoritate Ordinaria tardius instrui coeperunt Rhemis, Parisiis, et Rothomagi; quibus ad Urbem perlatis, riteque perpensis, Gregorius XVI. sa. me. Commissionem Introductionis Causae sua manu signavit octavo Nonas Majas anni MDCCCXXXIX. Inde litterae remissoriales ad Archiepiscopos Parisiensem, Rhemensem, et Rothomagensensem directae sunt ut auctoritate Apostolica iterum inquirerent de Venera-

bilis Joannis Baptistae fama Sanctitatis, virtutibus et miraculis. Inquisitione ad exitum perducta et Processibus huc delatis de eorum validitate Sacrorum Rituum Congregatio sententiam dixit pridie Idus Septembris anni MDCCCXLV. Postea de Virtutibus heroicis Venerabilis Servi Dei judicium agitatum est in eadem Sacrorum Rituum Congregatione. Et primo in Antepreparatorio Conventu penes Reverendissimum Cardinalem Joannem Baptistam Pitra Causae Relatorem decimo septimo Kalendas Julii anni MDCCCLXIX. coacto. Secundo in Praeparatorio coetu ad Palatium Vaticanum collecto pridie Nonas Junii anni MDCCCLXXII. Tertio demum in Comitibus Generalibus coram SS. Domino Nostro Pio IX. Pontifice Maximo ad easdem Vaticanas aedes habitis sexto Idus Julii anni MDCCCLXXIII. In quibus cum Reverendissimus Cardinalis Causae Relator discutiendum proposuisset Dubium "*An constet de Virtutibus Theologalibus Fide, Spe, Charitate in Deum et in Proximum, necnon de Cardinalibus Prudentia, Justitia, Fortitudine, Temperantia, earumque adnexis in gradu heroico, in casu, et ad effectum de quo agitur?*" omnes tum Reverendissimi Patres Cardinales Sacris tuendis Ritibus praepositi, tum Patres Consultores ex ordine protulere sententiam. Sed Sanctissimus Dominus Noster distulit suam aperire mentem, et interim admonuit suffragatores ut secum funderent preces ad impetrandum a Divina Sapientia lumen et consilium.

Tandem, Deo favente, hanc selegit diem Sanctorum Omnium meritis celebrandis sacram in qua supremum pronunciarerit judicium. Quamobrem Beatissimus Pater Eucharistico prius oblato Sacrificio in privato Pontificalium Aedium Sacello, hanc nobilem ingressus Aulam, ad se accersivit Reverendissimum Cardinalem Constantinum Patrizi Episcopum Ostiensem et Veliternensem, Sacri Collegii Decanum, et Sacrorum Rituum Congregationi Praefectum; simulque Reverendissimum Cardinalem Joannem Baptistam Pitra Causae Relatorem; una cum R. P. Laurentio Salvati Sanctae Fidei Promotoris Coadjutore, et me infrascripto Secretario; iisque adstantibus solemniter edixit: "*Ita constare de virtutibus Theologalibus Fide, Spe, Charitate in Deum et Proximum, necnon de Cardinalibus Prudentia, Justitia, Fortitudine, Temperantia earumque adnexis Venerabilis Servi Dei Joannis Baptistae De-la-Salle in gradu heroico, ut procedi possit ad discussionem quatuor Miraculorum.*"

Hujusmodi Decretum publici juris fieri, et in Sacrorum Rituum Congregationis acta referri mandavit Kalendis Novembris anni MDCCCLXXIII.

Constantinus Episcopus Ostien. et Veliternen. Card. Patrizi S. R. C. Praefectus.

DOMINICUS BARTOLINI S. R. C. SECRETARIUS.

Loco ✠ Signi.

[NEW SERIES.]

THE IRISH ECCLESIASTICAL RECORD.

JANUARY, 1874.

OSSORY ARCHÆOLOGICAL SOCIETY.

[INAUGURAL ADDRESS delivered by the RIGHT REV. DR. MORAN, Bishop of Ossory, at the first Meeting of the Ossory Archæological Society, 7th January, 1874.]

REV. MEMBERS OF THE ARCHÆOLOGICAL SOCIETY,

Whilst your Diocesan Archæological Society enters to-day on its mission, which is full of hope and promise for this Diocese, you will permit me to give expression to my heartiest wish that its course may be prosperous, and that it may produce the happiest fruits not only for Ossory but for Ireland; and though I am unwilling to trespass on your attention, as many interesting subjects await your consideration, you will bear with me, I trust, whilst I endeavour to sketch in rough outline the field of your future labours, and to review, as briefly as the matter will allow, a few of the chief points which will engage your attention.

I will ask you to take for your motto the words NOSCE PATRIAM, for as love of country and love of religion are inseparably united in the Irish heart, so the sacred memories of the past, and the heroic deeds of Ireland's history, are at the same time the true glory of our country and the glory of our Church: they won for Ireland, in early ages, the bright aureola of "Insula Sanctorum," and in latter times, they merited the distinctive badge of "the Martyr Island of Holy Church."

Foremost among the subjects to engage your attention will be the lives of the patron saints of this diocese. It was thus that St. Jerome, St. Augustine, St. Cyprian, and so many other great ornaments of the Church applied themselves to record the lives of the holy men who went before them in

the paths of faith ; and who will say that your labour will be fruitless whilst you preserve the memory of your fathers who enriched our country with the inheritance of divine faith, and left the bright examples of their piety to mark out for their children the paths to heaven ? Since history, as Cicero defines it, is “ *Magistra vitæ*,” surely the lives of the saints must be the noblest branch of history, for they point out the heroism of Christian life, and are the most instructive school of the Gospel virtues.

The life of our chief patron, St. Kieran, leads us back to the “ *Preparatio Evangelica*,” so to say, of our nation, and to the first dawn of the Christian faith in this country.

In the mysterious ways of Providence, the first gifts of this Celtic nation were offered to the Cross of Christ upon the shores of the sister-island. When the Roman general, Maximus, withdrew his legions from Britain in 383, to win by the sword the imperial diadem of the West, its provinces were left defenceless, and became an easy prey to Irish and Pictish adventurers. Modern research has placed it beyond the reach of controversy, that towards the close of the fourth and the commencement of the fifth century, many Irish settlements were made on the coasts of the present Cumberland and Lancashire, whilst at the same time the greater part of Wales became an Irish colony. The brave British chieftain, Cunedda, indeed, soon freed North Wales from the dominion of the intruders, but in the south the Irish continued to hold sway ; and we find the son of an Irish chieftain, named Brecan (known as Brychan in the Welsh annals), whose name still remains attached to Brecknockshire, ruling there with undisputed sovereignty from 410 to about 450.

St. Ninian was the apostle of these Irish colonists. They proved docile to the sweet yoke of Christ, and many famous monasteries sprung up amongst them, one of which, in after times, was known as “ the Glastonbury of the Irish.” Prince Brecan, of whom I have just spoken, is styled a saint in the Welsh Triads, and twenty-four of his children, or grandchildren, received the same honours. We should not be deceived by the title of “ *Apostle of the Picts*,” which from early times has been awarded to St. Ninian, as if that would restrict his labours to the inhabitants of North Britain, for we must hold in mind that the name given by British writers to the Irish settlers at this time was *Gwddyl Ffichti*, i.e., “ the Gaelic Picts.”

A close intercourse was for a time maintained between these Irish colonists and the parent country, and we must not be surprised to find frequent mention in the lives of our early saints of

British families scattered through our island, and such ancient names as Bally-Breathnach, or Ballynabranna, point to places where these families made peaceable settlements amongst us. Through them, and still more through the preaching of St. Palladius, the Christian name became known among our people, and from that Celtic colony in South Wales St. Patrick was able to choose many of his associates who laboured with him in the apostolate of our nation.

I will not discuss the merits of the various theories which have been advanced regarding the chronology of St. Kieran's life. No one at the present day will seriously maintain that he lived to an age of three hundred years, or that for one hundred and fifty years he discharged the duties of the episcopate in this island. To me it seems sufficiently proved, that it was through the preaching of St. Palladius that our Saint, when he had attained the age of manhood, was awakened to the knowledge of Christian truth, and it seems equally certain that it was in the year 432 that he proceeded to Rome, and received there the saving waters of baptism. As we read in his ancient Life, "Kieran set out for Rome of Letha, for it was made known to him by heaven, that it was there he would receive divine instruction, and be promoted to the highest dignity, because Rome was the fountain of the faith."—(MSS. British Museum, *Egerton*, 91).

This same ancient record further attests that he remained in Rome for thirty years, leading a life of heroic sanctity, and emulating in that corrupt capital of the decaying empire, the virtues and austerities of the fathers of the desert. How eventful were these thirty years for the Christian world! St. Sixtus III., and, after him, the Great St. Leo, ruled the Church of God. With what joyous acclamations was the news received in Rome, that the Council of Chalcedon had restored peace to Christendom! Terror and dismay took the place of joy, when it became known that Attila, with his countless hordes of Huns, had crossed the Rhine, and vowed the destruction of the empire. And how must the degenerate citizens have trembled, whilst the venerable Pontiff, arrayed in his sacred robes, went forth from the defenceless capital to confront their merciless enemy! But with what triumph did they welcome him, on his return from the banks of the Ticino, when his words of peace had rolled back the tide of invasion, and saved themselves from utter ruin! It is probable that St. Kieran left Rome early in the year 461. It was in that year that Genseric, with his Vandal army, pillaged the city, and led away its noblest families into slavery, and it was only through the prayers of St. Leo that the Basilicas were honoured as

inviolable sanctuaries, and that the lives of the citizens were spared.

St. Kieran received the episcopal consecration at the hands of that great Pontiff, and returning to Ireland, hastened to the territory of Eliach,¹ where he erected for himself a cell in a dense wood, on the brink of a spring-fountain which was called *Saiger*. There his sanctity and miracles soon gathered a large number of disciples around him, and in the presence, and with the blessing of St. Patrick, he, in 462, laid the foundations of his great monastery, which continued for centuries a centre of learning and piety, and diffused throughout Munster and Leinster the blessings of religion. The reader of the Saint's life will be, perhaps, surprised to find recorded in it many things performed by the badger and the wolf and other wild animals. We owe to a distinguished antiquarian among our citizens the suggestion, that these were merely the names borne by some of the religious brethren of our Saint's monastery; and this suggestion is confirmed by the fact, that similar names were at the same period familiar in the monasteries of Gaul and Italy. In the letters of St. Paulinus of Nola, and other cotemporary records, we meet at every page with bishops and monks called *Ursus*, *Aper*, *Lupus*, and so forth, such names being chosen for humility sake by some of the brightest ornaments of the continental monasteries.

The labours of St. Kieran were not confined to Ireland. He passed several years on the western coast of Britain, and, as we learn from Blight's "Churches in West Cornwall," his memory is still cherished there. Four ancient Cornish parochial churches bear his name: these are Perran-zabuloe, or St. Piran-in-the-sand; Perran-arworthal; Perran-uthnoe, situated near the coast opposite St. Michael's Mount, and styled in the taxation of Pope Nicholas "*Ecclesia de Lanudno*;" and St. Kevern, or Pieran, which in Domesday-book is called Lanachebran. St. Kieran's holy well is also pointed out on the northern coast of Perran-zabuloe. The parish church of St. Keverne stands in the district called *Meneage*, which terminates at the Lizard Point, the southernmost land of England. The name *Meneage* is supposed to mean, in the old Cornish dialect, "the deaf stone," and the reason given for it is, that though there are several mineral veins or lodes

¹ In the Latin texts this territory is called *Eile* or *Hole*. In later times it was known as Ely O'Carroll. It originally belonged to Munster, and all the ancient documents connected with our Saint place his great Monastery in Munster. Two of its baronies, viz.:—Clonlisk and Ballybritt, were, however, allotted to the King's County, and hence at present belong to Leinster. It was in the last-named barony that Saiger was situated, and that the cell and Monastery of St. Kieran were erected.

in the district, on trial they have been found to be of no value, and hence are called *deaf* or useless. Tradition tells that St. Kieran inflicted on the inhabitants, as a punishment for their irreligion, that the mineral veins of the district would be unproductive, and the old proverb is still handed down, "No metal will run within the sound of St. Kieran's bell."

Penitential austerities were the characteristic virtue of St. Kieran; though the richest gifts were made to him, all were distributed among the poor. His only meal each day was at sunset, and consisted of a little barley bread and undressed herbs. His drink was from the fountain; the bare ground was his bed; and skins and sackcloth were his only garments.

There is not in the whole range of Irish hagiology a sweeter scene than that of the Saint's death, as described in the ancient Irish documents. Knowing that the time was come for St. Kieran's repose, St. Finnian, of Clonard, hastened to be with him in his last moments; for, although our Saint in his declining years had enrolled himself among the disciples of St. Finnian,¹ yet it was from him that St. Finnian had learned the first lessons of heavenly wisdom. Thirty bishops also came to Saigher, all of whom had been trained by St. Kieran in piety, and had received the sacerdotal ordination at his hands. These being assembled around him, he said to them: "'My brethren, pray with me to God that I may not stand alone before His judgment seat, but that His holy saints and angels may be with me; and pray that my path unto the King may not be through darkness, and that His smile may welcome me.' And turning to his religious, he blessed them, and bequeathed them to God and to Mochuda: he exhorted them to uphold piety, to love their monastery, and to guard themselves against the son of malediction, that their days of blessing might not be shortened." And then raising his eyes to heaven, he prophetically added: "For a time will come when evils shall prevail, and the churches shall be demolished, and the monasteries be reduced to a wilderness, and sacred truth shall be corrupted into falsehood, and holy Baptism be tinged with corruption, and each one will seek not what is his own, but what does not belong to him."

"He then went at their head into the *Regles*, or church of the monastery, where he was wont to celebrate, and there at the altar he offered the holy sacrifice, and having partaken of the Body and Blood of Christ, and received the last sacrament of Extreme Unction, he asked the brethren to inter his body

¹ "Cum enim ipse erat senex sapiens et benedictus Pontifex, dignatus est discere sub genu alterius, propter humilitatem suam et amorem sapientiae."—*Latin Life*, chap. 34. *Colgan*, Acta, 463.

in a secret place, which none but themselves should know, close to the spot which was hallowed by the relics of St. Martin, and where the remains of the holy men who preceded him had been laid. And now, having perfected his victory of abstinence and penance, and attained his triumph over the demons and the world, the choirs of angels came to meet the soul of Kieran, to give to him the greetings of heaven, and to conduct him to God. At midnight he breathed his last, but so many were the lights that burned around him, that night seemed changed into day. His remains were wrapped in precious linen, and for seven days hymns and canticles were chanted in thanksgiving to God for the mercy shown to him, and earth seemed to breathe the fragrance of heaven; but his soul was in bliss, in the company of St. Patrick and St. Martin and the other saints of God."

St. Cainneach,¹ who, from the Latin form of his name, is generally styled St. Canice, holds the next rank as patron of this city and diocese, and his Life is one of those most clearly traced in the Calendar of Irish Saints.

Though born at Glengiven, the valley of the roe, in the present barony of Keenaght, county of Londonderry, his family had come from Inis-Uladh, now Little Island, situated in the river Suir, between Waterford and the ocean. His parents were poor, but his father, *Lughaydh Lethdhearg*, being a distinguished bard, was chosen tutor or foster-father of a princely child who bore the questionable name of *Gael Bregach*, i.e., "Gael the liar," and who in after times became chieftain of Hy-Many. The mother of our Saint was Mella, who attained an eminent degree of sanctity, and in this city received the honours of the altar. In a MS. catalogue of Irish Saints, drawn up from ancient sources in the beginning of the seventeenth century, and preserved in the Irish College of Salamanca, her name is entered thus: "*Sancta Malla, vel Maula, mater Sancti Cannici, celebris Kilkenniae*": and in Hanmer's Chronicle we read that—"About the same time that St. Kennie's church was built, a church was erected (where St. Maul's cemetery now lies) over against the east side of the Nore, in honour of St. Maula, the mother of St. Kenny."²

At an early age St. Canice resolved to devote himself to the study of sacred truth, and proceeding to the monastery of Lllancarvan, situated in Glamorganshire, on the banks of the Severn, placed himself under the care of its holy abbot, St.

¹ The early English form of this name, i.e., *St. Kenny*, comes very close to the due pronunciation of the Irish *Caindeach* or *Cainneach*.

² In the Red Book of Ossory, in a list of about the year 1487, the name of her church appears as "*Capella Sanctae Malle, Kilkenniae*."

Cadoc, surnamed *the Wise*, who at this time enjoyed a wide-spread fame for sanctity and miracles. St. Cadoc was himself third in descent from Breacan, the great Irish chieftain of South Wales, of whom we have already spoken; his mother also is said to have been Irish: he had been trained to piety by holy men from Ireland; and he himself had visited this country the better to imbibe the full spirit of Irish devotion. Among the exercises to which Canice applied himself under the guidance of this holy abbot, we find specially mentioned the transcribing of the sacred Scriptures; and it is also commemorated that, though he was remarkable for the practice of all virtues, yet he was particularly endeared to the venerable Cadoc for the promptness of his obedience. One day, we are told, whilst engaged in copying, the monastery bell summoned him to another task. The obedient Canice left half-finished the letter *o* at which he was engaged, in order to hasten at once to the duties to which obedience called him. "Thenceforward," adds the biographer, "the abbot loved Canice exceedingly."

Having received the holy order of priesthood, he asked the permission of St. Cadoc to proceed to Rome, that the blessing of the Vicar of Christ might be given to his future missionary labours. This permission was readily accorded. And here a strange anachronism seems at first sight to occur in the Life of our Saint. Though he had sought permission to visit Rome, and expressed such a desire to receive the blessing of the successor of St. Peter, yet the subsequent narrative makes mention only of his proceeding to the north of Italy, and of his deeds there, and is wholly silent as to Rome. When, however, we examine the circumstances of the time, we find that we could not perhaps desire a clearer proof than this of the accuracy and truthfulness of the writer of this Life. St. Canice was born in the year 515.¹ The disciplinary canons of the old Irish Church required thirty years as the age for the priesthood: and thus we find our Saint setting out for Rome towards the close of 545, or the beginning of 546. Now, we know from the Italian annalists, that it was precisely at this time that Totila, being chosen leader of the Goths, marched his army along the eastern Italian coasts of the Mediterranean, and having captured Naples, and devastated the southern provinces of Italy, at length, in the spring-time of 546, laid siege to Rome. On the 17th of December

¹ The Annals of the Four Masters place his death in the year 598, but their chronology is invariably antedated by at least one year. The Annals of Ulster having marked his death in 598 'according to the Book of Cuana,' repeat the entry at A.D. 599, which is the correct date: "The repose of the holy Cainneach." The Martyrology of Donegal and Tighernach expressly state that "he died at the age of 84 years." In this the Annals of the Four Masters concur.

following the barbarians were masters of the seven hills. The Pope was at this time in Sicily, and we are told by Procopius that when he returned once more to Rome in the month of June, 547, there remained in the city only five or six hundred wretched inhabitants, and even these, famishing with hunger, seemed more like skeletons than men, scarcely able to drag themselves through the smouldering ruins of the once proud capital of the world.

It cannot then surprise us that St. Canice advanced no farther than the north of Italy. These circumstances of the times also enable us to understand the full meaning of the facts which are mentioned in his Life in connection with this journey. The triumph of the barbarians in Italy had loosened every social bond, and that garden of paradise had become little better than a desolate wilderness. The people were reduced to utter misery, and each petty leader of a bandit troop plundered at will, and became master of the town or district that he had strength enough to occupy. The monasteries were closed; the religious were compelled to conceal themselves, or to seek safety in flight; the bishops and priests were put to the sword, and all was one scene of sadness and desolation. The events which at the present hour occur in that chosen portion of Christ's fold, enable us to form to ourselves some picture of those earlier lawless times. The enemies of the Church at present employ the more refined weapons of statecraft to attain their ends: her assailants of old used the ruder violence of the sword. As St. Canice journeyed on near some town in North Italy, a poor man asked him for an alms, and the Saint gave to him the only piece of gold that he possessed. The local tyrant having heard that a stranger had been seen with gold, summoned him before him, and as St. Canice had no more gold to offer, ordered him to be thrown into the fire. Our Saint was freed from this terrible death by a miracle; but then the tyrant commanded him to be cast into the sea. A second time, however, St. Canice was preserved by the power of God, and then the wicked man, opening his eyes to the sinfulness of his career, paid due honour to the holy pilgrim, and did penance for his crimes. He besought St. Canice to remain for some time to convert and instruct his followers. He also granted a monastery to our Saint, and leading him to an eminence, bestowed on his monastery all the territory as far as the eye could reach. The Life of St. Canice, which bears intrinsic evidence of being written in the eighth century, further states, that this chieftain in after times became a holy bishop, and it adds that the monastery bestowed upon our Saint was still flourishing, and

"the name of St. Canice is celebrated and honoured there to this day." It is strange to find an Irish saint thus honoured in the favoured land of Italy. But St. Canice is not the only son of Erin who received the like honours. St. Cataldus is still the patron of Taranto, St. Emilian of Faenza, St. Donatus of Fiesole, Saints Columban and Cummean will not be soon forgotten in Bobio, nor St. Andrew, and his sister St. Bridget, at Mensola, in the suburbs of Florence, nor Saints Silas and Frigidian in Lucca. Even at much later times, another Irishman, the blessed Machar received the honours of a saint in Ivrea. The biographer does not tell us in what district of Italy St. Canice's monastery was situated, but I may be permitted to hazard the conjecture that it was in Lucca, for that territory was on the high-road of Irish pilgrims to Rome, and in addition to the saints whom I have mentioned, more than one other Irish saint is still honoured there whose name is forgotten, and who is entered on their roll of patrons with the generic designation of "*Sanctus Peregrinus Scotus*."

It is not necessary for me to dwell on the details of the missionary career of St. Canice in Ireland. These have already been sketched by one of whom this diocese is justly proud, the late learned Dr. Kelly, of St. Patrick's College, Maynooth. I will merely glean a few characteristic facts from the Saint's life. He was of small stature, and on one occasion, by those who would speak slightly of him, he is styled "*parvulus baculatus*," i.e., "the little man with the pastoral staff." He was remarkable for his eloquence, and hence he was likened by our fathers to the Apostle St. Philip, who was traditionally honoured in our early Church as the most eloquent of the Apostles. One day as Canice preached to the religious of Bangor, all were moved to tears. "Never before," said St. Comgall, "have I seen so great fruit from a sermon." "The Son of the Virgin knows," replied St. Canice, "that if their hearts were moved, it is His work, not mine, and what I announced to them was taught to me on yesterday by the good angel of God." A love of holy solitude was one of his special virtues. Even after he had founded the great monastery of Aghabhoe, he loved to retire to his lonely cell in Inis-Cree. This was a solitary spot in a marshy bog called Lough-Cree, situated between Borris-in-Ossory and Roscrea: it became in after times a famous resort for pilgrims, and it was popularly known as *Monahincha*, or "*Insula viventium*." More than once St. Canice here kept a rigorous fast for forty days: here also he transcribed the Gospels, and wrote a commentary on them known as *Glass-Canneche*, which at the time that his Life was written, was still preserved and held in the

greatest veneration. Some robbers came to this island in the absence of the Saint, and finding no booty to repay their visit, they set fire to his cell. Everything in it was consumed except the books of Canice, which remained unharmed by the fire.

In Scotland St. Canice is honoured under the name of Kenneth. The learned Dr. Forbes, Bishop of Brechin, writes that "next to St. Bridget and St. Columba, if we may measure popularity by dedications, St. Kenneth is the favorite Irish Saint in Scotland;"¹ and then he gives us the names of twelve ancient churches and abbeys of Scotland and the Scottish islands which bore the name of our Saint, and honoured him as their patron.

Of our other diocesan patrons much might be said. In our statutes published last year, we endeavoured to present as complete a list of these patrons as our present imperfect knowledge of the ancient Irish documents would permit. Each year's research will, I am sure, render that list more perfect, and it will be at all times, I trust, one of the chief objects of this Society to complete the series of our diocesan patrons, and to illustrate, as far as possible, their memories. At the same time, the list which we published will be found a useful guide in our inquiries. You have often seen it stated during the past years that the parish of Naas, in the diocese of Kildare, was the only one in Ireland dedicated to St. David of Menevia. Our list presents us with five ancient parochial churches in this diocese alone which honoured that Saint as patron. Colgan, too, in his "*Trias Thaumaturga*," registers only two churches in Ossory dedicated to St. Bridget. The list in our statutes gives us at least seven such dedications. And, as I mentioned St. Bridget's name, allow me to add, that much has still to be done to render due honour to this great patron of our island, for I regret to say that few of our early saints have received less attention from our modern hagiologists. There is one special fact recorded in her Irish Life which I would wish to mention in the interest of our students, and it is, that in the golden era of our country, St. Bridget was revered in the Irish Church as the special patron of ecclesiastical students.

To take now an instance from our local parochial patrons, I may refer to the life of St. Scuithin, or Scothin, patron of Tescoffin, which possesses many peculiar charms. To the Rev. John O'Hanlon we are indebted for an interesting sketch of the district which was hallowed by the virtues and penitential exercises of this Saint, and I regret that his limits did not allow

¹ "*Kalendars of Scottish Saints*," p. 297.

him to enter more fully into the particulars of his life. Like St. Canice, St. Scothin proceeded to Wales to perfect himself in religious learning, and at Menevia he had the great St. David for his master. About the year 540 he returned to Ireland, and chose for himself a lonely cell on the slopes of Slievemargie. Many disciples soon gathered around him, and that district became known in popular tradition as Tescothin, or Tescoffin, that is, "St. Scothin's cell." He enjoyed a close friendship with St. Finbarr of Cork, St. Brendan, St. Columbkille, St. Aidan of Ferns, St. Modomnoc of Tipraghny, and many other great saints who adorned our country at this period. St. Ængus marks his festival on the 2nd of January, and styles him "*Scioithine mmo Mairge*." These words were translated by O'Curry for Dr. Mat. Kelly, "*Scuithin, the diadem of Mairge*."¹ In the complete MS. translation of St. Ængus's Festology, made by O'Curry for Dr. Todd, we read, "*Scuithin, the ornament of Mairge*," and in the notes, the metaphor being laid aside, it is explained as being equivalent to "*Scuithin, the Doctor of Mairge*." In a translation kindly made for me by Mr. Crowe, the passage is given "*Scuithin, the gem of Mairge*." I need not add that these translations fully correspond with the meaning of the Irish word *mmo* as it is explained in our Irish dictionaries. One of St. Scothin's austerities is specially mentioned. Each night he plunged into the stream that flows by Tescoffin, and remained immersed in it whilst he recited the penitential psalms. It is also recorded that, by a privilege only granted to the greatest saints, he was free from temptations, and being asked by St. Brendan how he was preserved from them, he replied that whenever he reposed, two heavenly virgins, *i.e.*, divine hope and charity,² kept watch by his side to guard him from the attacks of the evil one. He was so spiritualized by his continual penance, and so indifferent to all things in the world around him, that he is said to have walked on the sea as if it were dry land. On one occasion, meeting with St. Finbarr, as the legend tells us, between Ireland and Wales, he stretched his hand to the sea and plucked from it a *scuithin*, *i.e.*, a variegated flower, and threw it to Finbarr, saying, "See how, by the mercy of God, it is in a flowery meadow that we are journeying." Finbarr replied: "This is not a flowery meadow, but the sea;" and

¹ "Martyrology of Tallaght," 159.

² Such figurative forms of expression were frequently used by the early Irish writers. Thus, in MacConglinny's "Vision" in the *Leabhar Breac*: "Three females have attacked thee—that is, scarcity and death and famine, with sharp beaks of hunger." See Translation of this "Vision" by Mr. Hennessy in *Fraser's Magazine*, Sept. 1873, page 319.

dipping his hand in the water, he took from it a salmon which he threw to Scuithin, saying: "See how richly it is supplied by God to minister to our wants." The note in the *Felire* of St. Ængus adds, that it was on account of that variegated flower that our Saint received his name of *Scuithin*.

St. Scothin often proceeded to Wales to visit his venerable master St. David, and in the life of this great patron of Wales many facts are mentioned connected with our Saint. A short sentence which incidentally occurs in one of the texts of St. David's Life, published by Rees in his "*Lives of the Cambro-British Saints*," is of considerable importance as illustrating the life of St. Scothin. Having told how, on a certain Easter Day, our Saint visited Menevia, it adds that "St. Scuithin had also another name, *i.e.*, Scolan," and on the spot where he conversed with St. David, an oratory was erected which in after times was called *Bed-y-Scolan*, *i.e.*, "St. Scuithin's cell." This leads us to an interesting discovery. Three short poems, some of the most ancient Gaelic remains among the Cymri, bear the name of Scolan. This unknown name was hitherto a puzzle and a stumbling-block to antiquarians, and in the last generation the opinion was generally adopted that Scolan was merely a corruption of the name of St. Columba, and that it was to this Apostle of Scotland that these poems should be referred. The distinguished Celtic scholar, Skene, however, in his "*Four Ancient Books of Wales*," (Edinburgh, 1868), has clearly shown the fallacy of this opinion, and has proved that it is to St. Scothin that this name refers. The first poem dwells on some penitential exercises which should be performed for sins, and as examples of the most heinous crimes, it mentions the burning of a church, destroying the property of a school, and doing injury to a book. The second poem is a sort of Lorica, or invocation of God, for protection in his journey to Rome. The third lays down the maxims which lead to heaven, and is as follows:—

"I asked the aged priests,
 Their bishops and their judges,
 What is the best thing for the soul?
 The 'Our Father,' the consecrated host,
 The blessed Creed: he who offers them for his soul
 Until the judgment day: these are the best things.
 Smooth the path that thou goest, and cultivate peace,
 And to thee there shall be no end of mercy.
 Give food to the hungry and clothe the naked,
 And perform thy devotions;
 Thus from the presence of demons wilt thou escape.
 The proud and the idle shall have pain in their flesh,

The penalty for indulging in excess;
 Let there be no sifting of what is not pure;
 Excess of sleep, and drunkenness,
 Too much mead, and too much submission to the flesh,
 Are six bitter things for the judgment day.
 For perjury in respect to land, and the betrayal of a lord,
 And insult to the bounteous,
 Let there be repentance before the judgment.
 By rising to matins and nocturns,
 By watching, and by the intercession of the saints,
 Shall every Christian obtain forgiveness."

The Felire of St. Ængus tells us that St. Scothin was also honoured in another oratory, which is described as situated opposite the territory of Fir-n-Arda (*i.e.*, Ferrard, in the county Louth), and it is added that this *duirthach* or oratory was on the sea shore, and that the waves of the sea dashed against its gable wall.

I feel I have already trespassed too long on your kind attention, and yet I have barely touched on one of the many subjects which will merit the most careful study of your Society. Indeed, were this Society to propose to itself solely to illustrate the lives of our parochial patrons, it would have a sufficiently wide field for its researches for many years. For each fact connected with these saints is full of the deepest interest, and in the whole range of our hagiology it would be difficult to find more attractive details than those presented in the lives of St. Brëndan, patron of Aghavillar; St. Luchair of Kilkeasy; St. Columba of Inistioge; St. Senanus of Kilmacow; and St. Fintan of Durrow.

But it is not only the saints' lives that we must illustrate. Each parochial history has to be written, each parochial monument preserved, each parochial tradition registered. I need not tell you, for you know it far better than I do, how rich this diocese is in the ruins of those churches, and oratories, and monasteries which, in the ages of faith, were erected by our fathers to the glory of God. The round towers of St. Canice, Tullaherin, Kilree, Aghavillar, and Ferta: the noble Celtic crosses of Dunnamaggan, Kilree, Killkieran, and Killamery: the priceless architectural remains of Mullinakill, Rathbeagh, Clonamery, Kilmacavoge, Kilcolumb, Freshford, and so many others, each of which has its own history, and each will, I trust, be illustrated by your Society.

And what shall I say of the Anglo-Norman period? From the invasion in Henry the Second's reign to the apostacy of Henry VIII., the history of Kilkenny is in great part the

history of Ireland. The ruins of Kells and Jerpoint, and the noble Cathedral of St. Canice, attest the splendour and magnificence attained in our religious structures, and the munificence of the noblemen who, if they bore armour of steel, yet had Catholic hearts, in those ages of chivalry. It was in this period that the so-called "Statutes of Kilkenny" gave an unenviable notoriety to this "faire cittie." These statutes, enacted by strangers amongst us, are however of great importance. They teach us the difficulties with which the Church had to contend in those days, and they disclose to us the true animus of the Norman settlers, who regarded the Irish chieftains and our fathers as outlaws, and treated them with much less respect than is shown by the British soldiers of to-day to King Coffee and his Ashantees.

One calumny has been uttered connected with this period which I cannot pass over in silence. It has been often repeated that the Holy See approved of these barbarous Anglo-Norman enactments, and even the late Dr. Todd, whom we all respected so much on account of the wonderful impulse which he gave to Celtic studies, lent the weight of his name to this calumny, and endeavoured to systematize it, laying down with all formality, in his *Introduction to the Life of St. Patrick*, that almost for four hundred years (from 1170 to 1540) Rome was always ready to sanction the unjust legislation of the invaders (page 243). To disprove this assertion I will merely read for you two short letters of Pope Honorius the Third, which I copied some years ago, and which are preserved in the *Regesta* of that Pontiff in the Vatican archives. The first is addressed to the Irish clergy (*Clero Hibernensi*), and after premising that as it is meet that the Apostolic See should confirm those things which are conformable to order and justice, so it is necessary that it should condemn such things as are rashly and unjustly enacted, lest perchance in the course of time prescription might seem to lend to them the force of law, the Pontiff thus continues: "It has been repeatedly intimated to us that the English, with unprecedented and presumptuous temerity, have enacted that no Irish ecclesiastic, no matter how virtuous and learned, shall be promoted to any ecclesiastical dignity. We cannot allow such an excess of temerity and injustice to pass unnoticed, and by our own authority we declare that that statute, as contrary to law and morals, is null and void, and we prohibit any one to act on it, or to presume to make any regulations conformable to it."

"Sicut ea quae rite ac laudabiliter fiunt decet per Sedem Apostolicam roborari ut in sui roboris firmitate consistant sic ea quae temere ac illicite praesumuntur infirmari convenit per

eamdem ne processu temporis robur indignae firmitatis assumant. Sane nostris est jam frequenter auribus intimatum quosdam Anglicos inauditae temeritatis audacia statuisset ut nullus clericus de Hibernia quantumcumque honestus et literatus existat, ad aliquam dignitatem Ecclesiasticam assumatur. Nolentes igitur tantaepresumptionis et iniquitatis abusum sub dissimulatione transire, statutum hujusmodi omnis Iuris et Honestatis auxilio destitutum, propria auctoritate decernimus irritum et inane, inhibentes ne quis vel inhaerere illi, vel de eodem simile attentare praesumat," &c. Datum Romae 6to, Kal. Maii, anno 8vo (Ex Regest. Honorii 3ⁱⁱⁱ, *epist.* 468).

The second letter is addressed to the collector of the Papal taxes, then representing the Holy See in Ireland. It sets forth that repeated complaints had been made to Rome by the Archbishop of Cashel to the effect, that in any questions which arose between the English and the Irish, every favor was shown to the former, whilst the latter were treated with the most manifest injustice by the royal tribunals, and then it continues: "As unequal measures and uneven justice are an odious crime before God, we peremptorily command you, no matter what custom may be pretended for such things, which cannot be a lawful custom, but is rather an intolerable abuse that must be abolished, to direct the aforesaid English to abandon this iniquitous course, and to prohibit them from attempting such injustice in future."

"Ven. Fr. Noster Archiepus. Cassellensis exposuit eoram nobis quod in Provincia sua detestandae consuetudinis vitium per anglorum insolentiam inolevit, quod videlicet si Anglicus aliquid de suis amittit et putat illud ab aliquo Hibernensi furtim sibi esse surreptum sex Anglicis juramentis firmantibus quod credant ejus verum existere juramentum, Hiberni, licet innocentes sint et bonae opinionis et vitae suamque super objecto crimine innocentiam per trigintatres testes vel plures sint purgare parati, ad restitutionem coguntur nihilominus tamquam fures. Si vero aliquid Hibernienses amittunt et pro certo sciunt quod Anglicus surripuit illud, idque suis velint adstruere juramentis, Angli eorum juramenta recipere contradicunt et sic utroque casu conculcata justitia, Ecclesiis ac eorum hominibus grave praejudicium generatur. Cum igitur pondus et pondus, mensura et mensura vitium sit abominabile apud Dominum, districte Tibi, non obstante praefata consuetudine vel potius corruptela, quam censemus penitus esse abolendam, dictis Anglicis expresse inhibeat ne talia de caetero attentare praesumant sed prorsus ab hujusmodi perversitate cessent," &c.

A letter of similar import was subsequently written by Pope

Innocent IV., which may be seen in Rymer's "Foedera," and there are several other Papal documents which breathe the same spirit.

The era of religious persecution which, with but momentary interruption, extends from the reign of Henry VIII. to the present century, also merits your most attentive study. If the bright ages of Faith made our country an "Island of Saints," three centuries of persecution have enriched our Church with countless martyrs, and thus for her eternal crown, in the words of St. Cyprian, "*nec rosae nec lilia desunt.*" Each name of those who suffered for the Faith should be inscribed on our diptychs, and the heroism of our fathers which preserved the Faith to us should be handed down as a priceless heirloom to waken true sentiments of devotedness and reverence for religion in the breasts of the sons of Ireland in future ages.

The famous Confederation of Kilkenny, in 1641, is almost the only bright interval in these three centuries of gloom. The history of that Confederation has already been ably written. However, new documents connected with it are coming to light every day; and much yet remains to be done to render full justice to the Irish leaders at that momentous period.

There is one other subject on which I wish to touch before I close. Assembled as we are in this great Educational Institution, of which this city is so justly proud, and at the present educational crisis when every Irishman worthy of the name is struggling against iniquitous schemes of godless instruction, we cannot pass over the prominent part which this Diocese of Ossory has taken for the past in promoting the higher branches of Catholic education.

In the first years of Elizabeth's reign the College of Kilkenny was already a flourishing institution, and attracted to its halls many youths from every part of Ireland. It owed its origin to Pierce, Earl of Ormond, whose lot was cast in the troubled years of Henry the Eighth's reign. Amid many vicissitudes of fortune, he was remarkable for his dauntless bravery, and he was pious as he was brave. Lynch, in his MS. account of the Irish Sees, records that it was the custom of this nobleman to retire every year in holy week to a small cell, which was situated near the Cathedral, and was called "The Paradise," to pass there some days in recollection and prayer, thus the better to prepare himself for the holy reception of the sacraments, and the due celebration of the Easter festival.¹ Some polemical writers during the past few years,

¹ *Prope palatium Episcopale per portam occidentalem egredientibus occurrit aedicula quam non ita pridem incolae paradisum vocabant. Illuc se recipiebat*

making a great display of historical research, announced that the Earl of Ormond, the great leader of the Leinster Catholics, was the first nobleman in Ireland who, in 1535, renounced the spiritual allegiance of the Holy See, and took the oath of the Royal Supremacy. A little learning is proverbially a dangerous thing, and nowhere does it betray its votaries into graver errors than in the matter of historical research. From the published records of the Butler family we know that the title of Earl of Ormond was, in 1527, taken from Lord Pierce Butler and bestowed upon Sir Thomas Bullen, a name not unknown to the readers of English history. This was the gentleman who, in 1535, chose Henry VIII. for his spiritual guide. It was only in 1537, by patent of the 22nd of February, that the earldom of Ormond was restored to Lord Pierce Butler, who was at all times a devoted son of the Church, and the title was soon after confirmed to his family by Act of Parliament. I may here incidentally remark that his successor in the earldom, popularly known as Black Thomas, after fighting against the Irish Catholics throughout the whole of Elizabeth's reign, was, before his death, reconciled to the Church of his fathers, and he expired in November, 1614, in the most edifying sentiments of penance and piety.

The Kilkenny College was originally situated at the west end of St. Canice's Cathedral, and one of its first masters was Father Peter White, who for several years conducted its schools with the greatest ability and success. He was appointed Dean of Waterford in 1566, but as he refused the oath of supremacy he was obliged to forego that dignity. Many distinguished men studied in this school: suffice it to mention Peter Lombard, Archbishop of Armagh, Richard Stanihurst, Luke Wadding the Franciscan annalist, the famous Jesuit Father Archer, and our own illustrious David Rothe. Stanihurst has fortunately handed down to us a short account of this great school:—

“Out of this schoole have sprouted such proper ympes through the painfull diligence and the laboursome industry of a famous lettered man, Mr. Peter White, as generally the whole weale publike of Ireland, and especially the southerne parts of that island, are greatly thereby furthered. This gentleman's methode in trayning up youth, was rare and singular framing the education according to the scoler's veine. If he found

quotannis triduo quatrduove ante Pascha Petrus Butlerus Ormoniae comes ut semotus ab omni turba et strepitu saeculari totum se traderet exercitio poenitentiae, in jejunio, oratione, solitudine et charitatis elargitione. Expiata autem conscientia et sacra synaxi percepta cum spiritum pie refecisset in vigilia Paschatis domum reversus Domini Resurrectionem cum festo apparatu et jubilo celebrabat.”
(Lynch's MS.)

him free, he would bridle hym, like a wyse Isocrates, from his booke : if he perceived hym to be dull, he would spur hym forward ; if he understoode that he were the worse for beating, he would win him with rewardes ; finally, by interlacing study with vacation, sorrow with mirth, payne with pleasure, sowernesse with sweetnesse, roughness with myldnesse, he had so good successe in schooling his pupils, as in good sooth I may boldly byde by it, that in the realme of Ireland was no Grammar School so good, in England, I am well assured, none better. And because it was my happy happe (God and my parents be thanked) to have been one of his crewe, I take it to stand with my duty, sith I may not stretche myne habilitie in requiting his good turnes, yet to manifeste my good will in remembryng his paines. And, certes, I acknowledge myselfe so much bounde and beholding to hym and his, as for his sake I reverence the meanest stone cemented in the walles of that famous schoole."

In another work he again thus commends in Latin the fruits of the same school :—

"Extat in hoc oppido schola extracta opibus clarissimi viri, Petri Butleri, Ormondiae et Ossoriae comitis, et uxoris ejus quae Margarita Giralda vocabatur. Foemina fuit spectatissima; non modo summa generis nobilitate, quippe comitis Kildarae filia sed rerum etiam prudentia supra muliebrem captum, praedita. Hic ludum aperuit nostra aetate, Petrus Whitus, cujus in totam rempublicam summa constant merita. Ex illius etiam schola, tanquam ex equo Trojano, homines literatissimi reipublicae in lucem prodierunt. Quos ego hic Whiteos, quos Quemerfordos, quos Walsheos, quos Wadingos, quos Dormeros, quos Sheeos, quos Garveos, quos Butleros, quos Archeros, quos Stronges, quos Lumbardos, excellentes ingenio et doctrina viros, commemorare potuissem; qui primis temporibus aetatis in ejus diciplinam se tradiderant."¹

During the reigns of James I. and Charles I., we lose sight of the Kilkenny College. It was perilous and penal to openly keep Catholic schools at that period, still these schools were privately maintained, and from one of the royal visitations we learn that Penington, the schoolmaster of the Established

¹ Stanihurst 'De rebus, in Hibernia gestis,' page 25. Dr. Rothe, in his MS. account of the See. after speaking of the College for chanters established by Dr. Thonery in Queen Mary's reign, and of the great advantages which the children of the citizens derived from it, adds: "Cum paullo adultiores evasisent et politionis litteraturae vellent rudimenta combibere, paratum erat e regione publicum auditorium, sive phrostisterium a comite Petro Butlero ejusque nobilissima conjuge Margareta Giralda, ad informandam juventutem et humanioribus disciplinis erudiendam, commodissime extractum. In quem locum ex omni parte regni tamquam ad musas Atticas advolantium magnum aliquando concursum juvenum supersunt modo qui viderunt."

Church, though offering the boon of gratuitous education, could induce few to frequent his school, such was "their backwardness in religion."

It was one of the first cares of the Confederates of 1641 to promote the higher education of Catholic youth. A college was opened in this city under the care of the Jesuit Fathers. When Ormond entered Kilkenny, on the proclamation of peace in 1646, an academy was held in his honour, and he openly expressed his astonishment at the ability displayed by the students, and at the singular elegance of the compositions which they delivered in various languages. By decree of the General Assembly four great Colleges were to be established in the different provinces, and in the treaty of peace, which was so long and so disastrously negotiated between the Confederates and the King, one demand which they insisted on, and which was only delusively accepted by the agents of the crown, was to the effect, as I learn from the Rinuccini MSS., that a full share should be allotted to them of the University honours and emoluments.

The College of Kilkenny reappears in 1684, when the Duke of Ormond established it as a Protestant institution, granting to it an extensive range of buildings in "St. John's town," and endowing it with an ample revenue from various tithes and other church revenues. On the accession of James II., the master of the College fled, and the buildings of the College became a public hospital. Very soon, however, at the request of the citizens, the College was restored under the title of "the Royal College of St. Canice," and under the patronage of Dr. James Phelan the R.C. Bishop, Dr. Daton was chosen its President. The royal charter is dated 21st February, 1689, and in one respect it is of importance to us as it attests that during the preceding years of persecution, a flourishing high school had been secretly maintained by the clergy in Kilkenny for Catholic youth. When the smile of royal sunshine passed away, such schools were stealthily resumed and successfully carried on amid the turmoil and penal laws of the succeeding reigns. The report made by the committee of the House of Lords in 1735, gives the following summary of statistics regarding this diocese:—"There are in Ossory 32 mass-houses, 18 of which have been erected since the first year of George I.; there are 44 priests; 1 friary, with 5 friars; no nuns or nunnery; 11 private chapels, and 34 schools." The total number of schools in Ireland at the time was 549.

In 1782, thanks to the volunteers of Dungannon, and to the attitude assumed by the American colonists, the penal laws against Catholic education were somewhat relaxed, and Ossory

at once reappears foremost in seeking to impart to Catholic youth the blessings of this dawn of educational freedom. In the letters of Dr. Troy, at this time Bishop of Ossory, I find two references to the Education Bill, which had a little before received the royal sanction, and to the new Catholic Academy which he had just inaugurated. Both letters are addressed to Dr. Fallon, Bishop of Elphin. In the first, dated September 23, 1782, Dr. Troy writes:—

“The Education Bill does not regard the clergy as such, but is confined to schoolmasters, who can teach in future with impunity on taking the oath of allegiance and obtaining a license from the respective Protestant Bishops. These forms will be attended with some expences, which many poor teachers will not be able to defray.”

The next letter is dated from Kilkenny, November 9th, 1782, and thus concludes:—

“I have intimated a Diocesan Synod for next year, and ordered my clergy to provide themselves with sutans, surplices, and caps, to be made use of within the precincts of our places of worship. The inclosed printed paper will explain the nature and design of an Academy now erecting here. I have the pleasure to assure you, it meets with general approbation and encouragement.”

We have only to look around us to perceive how the little grain of mustard seed, planted by Dr. Troy, has grown into a majestic tree, and I am sure I express the sentiments of each member of our Diocesan Archæological Society, when I say: Long may this College prosper, and may its resources and its fruits be multiplied every day, for with its success are linked our hopes for religion in this diocese and in many distant lands, as well as our prospects for the proper education of our Catholic youth.

Reverend Associates, and Gentlemen, I must ask your pardon for having so long trespassed on your kind indulgence, and yet I have but briefly and imperfectly touched on a few of the subjects which come within the province mapped out for your Society. I trust that each and all of them will be fully illustrated by your researches, and that before many years this Diocesan Archæological Society, which to-day enters on its labours, will be found to have deserved well of holy Church, and to have deserved well of our beloved country.

THE CATHOLIC UNIVERSITY OF IRELAND.

The INAUGURAL ADDRESS delivered before the Senate of the CATHOLIC UNIVERSITY, by the REV. MONSIGNOR WOODLOCK, on the 4th of December, 1873.

MAY IT PLEASE YOUR EMINENCE, MY LORDS AND GENTLEMEN :

Since the meeting of the Archbishops and Bishops on the 14th of October last and following days, and in accordance with their Lordships' resolutions, thirty-one schools and colleges have been affiliated to the Catholic University of Ireland up to this date. At the meeting of the Episcopal Council of the University yesterday and the preceding day, programmes for matriculation and for the various academical grades, including the scholarship, the bachelorship, and higher degrees in arts, in philosophy, and in theology, were approved by their Lordships. These programmes are, as far as possible, in accordance with the valuable scheme of studies drawn up by the late Rector, the Very Rev. Dr. Newman, and sanctioned by the University. It is, perhaps, needless for me to add that they will comprise the bachelorship of science—which, I believe, owes its origin to this University—as well as the other usual academical degrees. In accordance with these arrangements, candidates for entrance into the University may matriculate in any approved college, the examination being conducted orally by one or more local examiners appointed by the Rector of the University, and by printed papers proposed by our University Examiner for Schools, Professor Stewart, and answered in writing by the candidates, the answers being transmitted to and examined by him. All other examinations will be conducted in the University buildings by examiners appointed by the University.

Since I had the honour to address you from this place at the beginning of the last academical session, new and most important changes have occurred in the great and practical question of University Education in this country. I do not allude to the change introduced into Trinity College by Mr. Fawcett's bill of last session. We must wait for time to see the full results of that measure, although, when we consider the spirit of this age, it is easy to foretell what those fruits will be: that University will cease to enjoy the confidence of the mass of religious Protestants and will not gain the confidence of Catholics. But I speak of matters which more immediately concern this institution. And, in the first place, I speak of

the bill which was introduced into Parliament last February, and by which it was said that the admitted grievances of Irish Catholics in this matter of University Education were to be redressed. The almost unanimous voice of the Catholics of Ireland, led on by our Bishops, condemned that bill. I purpose, with your permission, briefly to review the reasons of that verdict, that our rulers and all may hear once more the principles on which Irish Catholics have determined to act in this matter of the education of their children, which is, in truth, part, and a very important part, of our religion.

In the first place, then, the bill of last session ignored our faith. Not only was there no mention in it of the Catholic religion, which is the faith of Ireland, but all religion was to be excluded from the University system which it proposed. It is true, Catholic colleges and our Catholic University would have been allowed to share in some of the University privileges; but the first place was given to godless colleges, to which we have offered a determined and unceasing opposition, while the institutions which our people have raised and supported at the cost of so many sacrifices were to be admitted only in a subordinate position. Trinity College itself was to be deprived of the forms of religion with which it has always accompanied its teaching for Protestants, and was to be admitted to a share of the privileges of the new University only at the price of eschewing all religion. Theology, the science of the knowledge of God, was to have no part in the new programme, which was to be of the earth earthly. To this Catholic nation was offered a system precisely and to the very letter such as our Holy Father Pope Pius IX. declares no Catholic can approve, viz. :—"a system of educating youth unconnected with Catholic faith or the power of the Church, and which regards the knowledge of merely natural things, and only, or at least primarily, the ends of earthly social life." (Syllabus, prop. 48). Such was the system which, forsooth, was to meet the wants and wishes of Catholic Ireland, and to redress the scandalously bad present state of education in this country. Instead of boldly declaring that education to be useful must be based upon religion, the bill proposed to perpetuate, extend, and consolidate the mixed, or non-religious system—that system which the Legislature has for the last thirty years sought to substitute for the Protestant education which in vain it had endeavoured to force upon our forefathers during the preceding three centuries. But as the Ireland of the past would not have Protestant education, so the Ireland of to-day will have none of these new-fangled non-Catholic systems. It is time our rulers should know and admit this

truth. In the length and breadth of Ireland there are not fifty Catholics worthy of the name who desire for their children any other than Catholic education, or who, if they could, would allow their sons to receive any teaching not strictly in conformity with Catholic principles. No one who knows Ireland can deny this truth. No educational system which ignores it—nay, which does not boldly admit it—can meet the wants or satisfy the claims of the Catholics of Ireland. We do not desire to interfere with the rights of our Protestant fellow-countrymen in the education of their children; but we know our own rights, and the rights of Catholic parents, and we will brook no interference with them. We have no intention to give up our religion, and the Catholic education of our children is part of our religion.

Ireland loves the history of the past. If there be any people which, more than another, has a right to protest, on religious grounds, against the exclusion of history from the education of the rising generation, it is Ireland. From the days of Saint Patrick to this hour the history of our country is one unbroken narrative of her noble struggles for the defence and propagation of the holy Catholic faith, and for the advancement of her handmaid, learning. The bill of last session proposed to draw a veil over that holy, that glorious picture, and, if not to shut it out from sight, at least not to invite the youth of Ireland to the contemplation of its beauty. The Israelites of old, in the days of the captivity, hung up their harps on the willows, and refused to sing the glories of Sion in the land of bondage; but, restored once more to liberty, they “offered with joy holocausts and the sacrifice of salvation and of praise. . . . And there was great joy among the people.” (1 Mach. iv.) And if, during the long years of persecution, we were forced to mourn, why should we not be permitted to proclaim the glories of our country now, when, being emancipated and restored to civil equality, we may hope that brighter days are about to shine upon Catholic Ireland? The priests and Catholic people of Ireland can never consent to forget the glories of the past.

What shall I say of the proposed exclusion of the study of mental and moral philosophy from the common curriculum? It is impossible that a Catholic people, such as ours, could, with safety to faith, be left without Catholic philosophy. Philosophy is, in truth, the foundation of theological science. The philosophy in vogue in a nation is also sure to pervade its literature. Existing in one generation in the schools and among the learned, it passes in the next into literature, and little by little its influence pervades the

masses. We have a sad instance of this in the history of France for the last century or two. To the philosophy of Voltaire and of the encyclopedists, at first confined to a few so-called philosophers, can be traced the horrors of the first French Revolution and of the Commune. May God preserve our country from such a catastrophe! But when we see the efforts which are made to spread in these countries the principles of infidel philosophy, when we find the popular literature of the day impregnated with the grossest philosophical errors, when we are told that in the University of Dublin, and in the other Universities of these islands, there is a large and growing school of Positivism—one of the last and most wide-spread of the modern systems of infidelity—when we consider all these facts, must we not confess that it is of the greatest importance for the future of Catholicity in Ireland—nay, of Christianity in this empire, that educated Catholics of the laity, as well as of the clergy, should be thoroughly grounded in the principles of sound mental and moral philosophy? And is not this necessity all the greater if Catholic laymen are to take the places to which their numbers and talents entitle them in this great empire of which Ireland is a part? Now, the bill of last session, instead of encouraging and developing sound systems of philosophy, proposed to exclude moral and mental science from the curriculum of the new University.

I come to the proposal to create in this metropolis a merely secular teaching University, and to confer upon it a munificent endowment. By means of numerous exhibitions and other temporal advantages, the Catholic youth of Ireland was to be tempted to those halls, in which no mention was to be made of God, or of religion, or of the Catholic Church. They were to be left in this large city without supervision or suitable control, with manifest danger to their morals, and an easy prey to designing revolutionists, and to the artful propagators of every form of error, social political, or religious. The sad experience of Continental Universities has shown that nowhere more than in those centres of intellectual activity, and among the ardent youth who flock to them, is the diabolical propagandism of infidel and revolutionary principles carried on with success. Now, looking at the bill of last session, would not the teaching University it proposed to create have become in a very few years precisely such a centre for the spread of revolutionism and infidelity? Teachers would have been brought to that centre without any reference to their religious principles. We know the fascination of the names of learned men on unsuspecting youth; and there is reason to fear that many would have been tempted to

desert the halls of our Catholic University and Catholic Colleges for the godless institution which it was proposed to create in the midst of us, and through the portals of which there would have been easy access to revolutionism and infidelity.

In fine, all this educational machinery was to be directed by a senate, to be named, in the first instance, by the Imperial Parliament, and in the subsequent constitution of which Government was to have paramount influence. In other words, the higher education of Ireland was to be made a department of the State. No Ministry would venture to propose such a system for England, which, with good reason, glories in the independence of its old Universities from State control. But to the Catholics of Ireland was offered a University which was to be directed by nominees of the Protestant Government and Protestant Parliament of England. With respect to this provision of the bill, I shall only remind you of the words of our great fellow-countryman, Edmund Burke:—"If you consent to put your clerical education, or any other part of your education, under their (the Government's) direction or control, then you will have sold your religion for their money. There will be an end, not only of the Catholic religion, but of all religion, all morality, all law, all order in that unhappy kingdom."—(Burke to Rev. Dr. Hussey, 17th March, 1795). And, again, the late Mr. Stuart Mill says, and no English Protestant will controvert his authority:—"It is not endurable that a government should either in law or in fact have a complete control over the education of the people. To possess such a control, and actually to retain it, is to be despotic. A government which can mould the opinion and sentiments of the people from their youth upwards, can do with them whatever it pleases."

For these and many other reasons the bill of last session was rejected as being not even a step towards the redress of our admitted grievances. And now it remains for the Catholics of Ireland to make their University a success, since it is entirely thrown upon them, not only for its material support, but also for its moral, and intellectual, and social development. Our Holy Father Pope Pius IX., by a Rescript of the 6th of August, 1854, vouchsafed, at the prayer of our Archbishops and Bishops, to grant to the Rector of this University power to give the usual academical degrees. At our next University commencements, in spring or summer of the ensuing year, I hope to use these powers so far and in such form as our legal advisers may recommend, and as may be judged most useful to our students and to the University. And I now invite such of our students, past or present, as desire to obtain those academical distinctions to make the

necessary application to the University ; and I trust that the Catholics of England, of America, and of Australia, as well as of Ireland, and learned bodies throughout the world, will recognise the degrees of this University, and by that public recognition supply such deficiency as may arise from the non-recognition of them by the Government of this country, which has so long refused our just demands. For our parts, my distinguished colleagues and I pledge ourselves that we will use every diligence to make our degrees worthy of a great centre of learning in this old land of learning. In fine, how can I conclude better, after thanking you for having borne with me so long, than by quoting for you the eloquent words of our great Liberator, who, in his place in the House of Commons, on the 23rd of June, 1845, denounced the Queen's Colleges, the foundation of which was then proposed, and foretold their failure in words equally applicable to the late bill and the present circumstances :—

“The Irish are essentially a religious people. Infidelity is unknown in Ireland. Act manfully, therefore—make religion the basis of your proceedings, and fear not. By so doing you will have a better prospect before you—you will have the protection of a higher Power if you adopt proper principles as the foundation of your scheme ; but do not flatter yourselves with the idea that you are doing anything conciliating to Ireland if, in a matter of this kind, you exclude religion from your consideration. Let there be Presbyterianism for the Presbyterian, Protestantism for the Protestant, and Catholicism for the Catholic. I want nothing for the Catholic which I am not ready to assert for others. Let there be fair play and justice to all. One would think that if you introduced religious instruction into the colleges, you were afraid that you were introducing for the first time the elements of strife and dissension. My Heaven ! are not these elements in existence at present ? Are men in Ireland not Catholics, Protestants, or Presbyterians, whether you give the instruction or not ? By showing fair play to all—by giving the opportunity of a more constant and attentive observance of religious duties, and by giving more religious instruction—you will give a better chance to the development of that which is the predominant quality in the Christian religion—charity towards each other. If you fail in your present scheme, will you not be the laughing-stock and the ridicule of the world ? If you fail in the scheme of giving religious education, you would have the consolation of knowing that you had failed in a mighty and majestic attempt—an attempt worthy of statesmen, and worthy in every way of Christian exertions. Do make an effort in the right direction, and fear not the result.”

In conclusion, O'Connell said, and are not his words applicable now-a-days as in 1845 :—

“I am ready to join in any measure that may be useful to the people of Ireland, and that may tend to do away with the spirit of disaffection existing in that country. It is not a political disaffection, it is not a religious disaffection, but it is a physical disaffection. You, gentlemen of England, have no notion of its extent or of its intensity, and, though it may not display itself at this moment sufficiently to alarm you or arouse you, still the time may come, after some of us shall have gone to our graves, when that physical disaffection may have the most frightful consequences.”

IRISH ECCLESIASTICAL COLLEGES SINCE THE REFORMATION.

SANTIAGO.

THE city of Santiago, in Galicia, contains a population of about 30,000 inhabitants. It is built on a very uneven site, and is surrounded by a number of small hills, which look like forts thrown up by nature for its defence. It is also called *Compostella*, a name derived from *Campus Stellae*, as it is said a star indicated where the body of St. James the Elder was concealed. In his third lesson in the Roman Breviary we are told :—“Ad supplicium cum raperentur petiit ille (is qui eum duxerat ad tribunal). à Jacobo veniam: quem Jacobus osculatus, Pax, inquit, tibi sit. Itaque uterque est securi percussus, cum paulo ante Jacobus paralyticum sanasset. Corpus ejus postea Compostellam translatum est, ubi summa celebritate colitur, convenientibus eò religionis et voti causa, ex toto terrarum orbe peregrinis,” &c. The possession of the Apostle's body caused Santiago (literally *St. James*), to become a place of renowned pilgrimage, to which people came from all the countries of Europe to pay their devotion and discharge their vows at the shrine of the Saint, which, in the course of time, became exceedingly enriched by the offerings of the pilgrims, so that Marshal Ney, who plundered it in 1809, carried off half a ton weight of silver vessels and ornaments, and this was only a portion of the immense treasure of the cathedral. The cathedral itself was built in 1082, on the site of a former one which Almansor, Kalif of Cordova, destroyed in his incursion into Galicia in 995. The diocese was erected into an Archbishopric during the episcopate of Diego Gelmirez, who died in 1130.

In the early years of the pilgrimage, the pilgrims were exposed not only to the many inconveniences of travelling occasioned by bad roads and the want of inns, but also from the disturbed state of the country, owing to the continual wars with the Saracens, to the unpleasant attentions of bands of robbers who stripped them of the money they carried with them to attend to their wants during their stay in Santiago, and they had consequently either to proceed as beggars, or to return home disheartened and disappointed. For the protection of these pilgrims a society was formed which should guard the roads, and prevent the pilgrims being molested on their way. Some attribute the origin of this society, which developed into one of the four Military Orders of Spain, to the generosity of a robber chief, who became converted, with his band, and afterwards dedicated himself to this pious work; but history says that the canons of St. Eloy erected houses of refuge for the pilgrims to defend them against the Saracens, who were then accustomed to make incursions into the territories of the Christians, and they were afterwards joined in this good work by some Castilian gentlemen in the reign of D. Alonso VIII., who, after obtaining the Pontifical approbation, instituted the illustrious order of Knights of Santiago.¹

The University was founded in 1532, by Archbishop Fonseca, who was also the builder of the noble edifice at present occupied by the Irish College in Salamanca, called *El Colegio del Arzobispo*. This University very soon became famous for

¹ *Ranera, Historia de Espana*, page 77. The pilgrimage is still continued, but on a very diminished scale, as the pilgrims formerly came from all countries—from France in great numbers, among whom was Louis le Jeune; from England in crowds, for whom, on the marriage of Edward I., in 1254, with Leonora, sister of Alonso El Sabio, a protection was stipulated; from Portugal, as St. Elizabeth; and even from far off Sweden, as St. Bridget and her husband—but now from Spain alone. Besides that of Santiago, which derived its origin from the protection of the pilgrims, there were three other Military Orders in Spain—Calatrava, Alcantara, and Montesa—the two former founded in the twelfth century, and the latter in the fourteenth. Calatrava owed its origin to two monks, Friar Raymond, Abbot of Fitero, and Friar Diego de Velazquez, Cistercians, who gathered together an army of ten thousand monks, and successfully defended the town against the Saracens. Alexander III. confirmed the order in 1164. The origin of Alcantara was due to two Salamanca gentlemen who constructed a fort in the neighbourhood of the hermitage of San Julian del Pereyro, and procured followers who successfully resisted the common enemy, and Montesa was instituted with the same object. Their immense services in the Christian cause induced the Popes to bestow several privileges on them, among which was exemption from episcopal jurisdiction in all the territories conquered by them, so that there was a network of exempt districts belonging to them throughout the greater part of Spain. On the 9th of March last, the Government of the Republic suppressed the Military Orders and the tribunal which exercised their jurisdiction, and, in consequence, His Holiness has abolished the exempt jurisdiction itself, and united the different parishes belonging to the Orders to the nearest bishoprics. This Bull of His Holiness has been put in force by the prelate commissioned for the purpose, His Eminence Card. Moreno, Archbishop of Valladolid.

the learning of its professors, and attracted crowds of a new class of pilgrims who came to Santiago to study as well as to pray. Among these new pilgrims are to be numbered some Irish youths, who, fleeing from the persecution of the latter part of Elizabeth's, and the beginning of James's reign, which closed to them all the avenues to Catholic instruction at home, came over to Spain, God only knows how, and wended their way to the halls of Santiago, poor and destitute of all resources but their profound trust in that Providence which feeds the young ravens and clothes the lilies more resplendently than Solomon in all his glory, with the hope of gathering sufficient knowledge to enable them, on their return by stealth to their native land, to refute and successfully combat the new heresy which had devastated England, reducing her to a moral desert, where men wandered spiritually uncertain, perplexed, and without compass to direct their wavering steps, and was at the moment leaving no stone unturned, as far as the unrestrained savage instincts of unchristian men could do so, to drag down the faithful "Island of Saints and Sages" from the high position she had ever held among the devoted children of Peter and Rome.

They were formed into a community in 1605, from which year dates the origin of the Irish College under the protection of Philip III., who not only honoured the poor exiles with his royal favour, but allotted a yearly subscription of £100 for their support. In the town they were regarded with deep sympathy and profound respect by all classes, but particularly by the clergy, secular and regular, who willingly taxed themselves to prepare these labourers for the vineyard of the arduous Irish mission.¹ The college, up to 1613, was under the

¹ The workings of God's Providence are mysterious indeed. Here we have the Church of Spain at the time of which we write, rich, powerful, and perfectly free, while that of Ireland was plundered and savagely persecuted. And now the picture is reversed: for while the Irish Church is free, and possessed of means sufficient for its decent support, the Spanish Church is robbed, abused, and thrown on the wayside by her remorseless despoilers. Her clergy are to day in absolute want. They cannot provide the necessities of life, and there have been already instances of death from starvation in their ranks. How they manage to keep soul and body together is to me a mystery, for it may be truly said of most, that they have almost nothing to depend on but the occasional mass they may have to say, and as for the Canons and the *Beneficiaries* of the Cathedrals, they have absolutely nothing more. The government collects the taxes which formerly went to pay the clergy, but gives them nothing; and where attempts have been made to appeal to the charity of the people, as in Toledo, there are instances in which the authorities have prohibited any collection of the kind; besides, it is hard to ask the people to pay twice, and there is always difficulty in abandoning a form of payment sanctioned by custom, and introducing a new system. The clergy have persistently refused to take a constitutional oath condemned by their conscience, and they have been punished for it by the withdrawal of their subsidy, although paid all the same by the people. In the face of all this—in the face of official contempt, of hunger, and even of absolute

direction of secular priests, the last of whom, if not also the first, was Eugene Carty. In 1611 Philip III. desired to place it under the direction of the illustrious Order of Jesuits, as is evident from his letters to Louis Henriquez, Governor of Galicia, and to the Provincial of the Order in Castile. In the former, which is dated Madrid, 9th March, 1611, he says:—

“I have determined that the College of Irishmen, which was founded in Santiago some time ago, be governed henceforth by the religious of the Society of Jesus, and I write to tell the Provincial to make what arrangements he thinks well, and I charge you to attend to everything relating to said College, and give orders that the Provincial be obeyed; and you will give it the sum I have been accustomed to give it each year, and it is to be paid with punctuality.”

This royal order had no immediate effect, for the Society hesitated to burthen itself with a new establishment, because the province of Castile was deeply in debt, which the Provincial did not wish to run the risk of increasing; and so the matter lay over for two years more. In 1612 Father Carty, who had thought the danger past, heard by chance that strong efforts were being made in Madrid to induce the Provincial to accept the charge of the College, and believing the Irish Fathers were at the bottom of the movement, he wrote the following letter in the name of the Students to the Provincial:—“From the letter of your Reverence we understood that the Fathers of the Society of our nation had ceased to molest us, till we lately heard from the capital that they have made great progress in defaming and calumniating us, and in their attempt to put us out of this house. For which reason, Don Diego Brocher, Prior of Hibernia, and our protector, commanded our Rector to send him a report of our mode of life and action; and that your Reverence may better understand the whole matter, we send you a copy of same. From it your Reverence will see how unreasonably these Fathers attack us, moved solely by their ambition and self-interest, as they did

starvation—the Spanish clergy have given to the world for the last five years an example worthy of the most glorious days of the Church. It is easy to bear active persecution—at least it is easier to bear it than to endure the pangs of hunger, in silence and unknown to the world, which the clergy of Spain are enduring at present, without flinching from their post, or ceasing to feed their flocks with spiritual food—while they themselves are pining in silence and wasting away through corporal want. It grieves me to the heart to see about me so many priests in such misery, without being able to stretch out a hand to their relief. If the bishops and priests of Ireland, remembering what the Spanish Church has done for the Irish mission in other times, would feel their bowels of mercy moved to send out some “Intentions” for the temporary relief of their fellow-priests, even of one diocese of Spain, it would be an act of Christian sympathy and gratitude at once beneficial to these suffering confessors of the faith, and pleasing in the sight of Almighty God. Would the “Catholic Union” take this matter up?

before in France, where Don Dermisio Carty, a priest of blameless life, and nephew to one of our foremost titled personages, without any aid but that of God, gathered together seventy odd Students in four Seminaries, in Bordeaux, Toulouse, Aus, and Cahors, of whom seventeen were ordained in one batch, and went to preach the Gospel in their native country; and others go daily, peopling that afflicted land with priests and religious. Notwithstanding all this, the Irish Fathers who are now in Spain, went designedly to France to dispossess that noble priest of the government of these seminaries," &c., &c. They then go on to entreat the Provincial to restrain the ambition of the Irish Fathers, and compel them to leave the Santiago College and its inmates at peace. All the charges contained in this letter were triumphantly refuted by Father William White; and a list of reasons and motives was drawn up why the Society of Jesus should take on itself the government of the house. The Society was still reluctant to accept the charge, and staved off the necessity of doing so as long as possible; but a new order came from his Majesty, through the Duke of Lerma, in 1613, and the Society could no longer refuse its consent to the wishes of the King. The Duke wrote to the Provincial:—"His Majesty has understood that the form in which the College of Irishmen, which is in Santiago, is at present governed, does not suit the end for which it was founded, nor is it what his Majesty believed it was, having given the charge of it long ago to the Society of Jesus; and he commands anew, that your paternity ordain that your religious govern said institution as they do those of Salamanca and Valladolid; and he orders the Irish priest, who has been over it up to the present, to give up his office, and let what has been heretofore employed in his support go to the funds of the house.

"The Duke of Lerma.

"Madrid, 1st April, 1613,"

The consequence of this letter of the King's favourite was, that three Irish Jesuits, Father Thomas White, Father William White, and Father Richard Conway, went to Santiago, and took possession of the house. They arrived on a Friday, and on the following Monday they called all the students together, among whom there was a set prejudice against the Society encouraged and fomented by Eugene Carty, and required them to take the usual oath of the other Irish establishments to receive orders in due time and return to the Mission in Ireland. This had not heretofore been the custom of the College of Santiago, and consequently the students regarded it as an innovation of the Jesuits, and a curtailment of their liberty to which they were not prepared to consent.

The consequence was that they were all dismissed, and they afterwards joined religious orders, while a new batch of students was admitted in their place.

This high-handed action on the part of the Fathers gave great offence to many Irishmen living in Spain, but particularly to O'Sullivan Beare, who petitioned the King to command that Santiago should continue with the semi-laical character it always possessed. The principal points of this petition were:—1st, That there was a greater necessity of Catholic gentlemen than of priests in Ireland, as it appeared from a list made out by the English Government in 1615, there were 1,168 priests in that country, and 800 in England and Scotland. 2nd, That priests of noble parentage, such as had heretofore come from Santiago, did treble as much good as the sons of merchants and plebians, such as were admitted there now. And 3rd, That these people had besides several other colleges for their education, as Salamanca, Seville, Louvain, Douay, and two or three others in France. To this the Fathers answered, that O'Sullivan did the nobility of Ireland a great injury in supposing them so few, “for there are at least sixty lay gentlemen for every priest firmly attached to, and consistent in, the faith, in the midst of barbarous persecution, who cry out and call for priests, and offer their lives and property in their defence; and if they knew that Count O'Sullivan sought to lower them, even under pretext of educating their own children in the priests' place, they would give him very small thanks indeed. As regards the list of priests in Ireland, besides the fact that no reliance can be placed in it, for it was made out with the object of exciting the king to their destruction through new edicts, it is certain there are whole provinces, counties, bishoprics, cities, and towns, which have but a very small number of evangelical labourers, who are unable to perform the hundredth part of the work; and if we are to credit the prelates and religious who live in Ireland, many die of pure work, and others in prison and dungeons, and if their place be not constantly supplied, there is danger of losing all that has been gained.” To the second they answered:—“What is certain is, that our Lord did not chose the noble, the rich, nor the powerful for the spiritual conquest of the world, and so the Count should not speak so confidently in a matter so doubtful, particularly as experience does not bear him out clearly, and the noble ecclesiastics are not found working miracles; and even though it were the case, it is seculars the Count wants to introduce into the house, and it is rarely a layman is capable of producing as much fruit in souls as virtuous and learned priests and religious. Virtue

and learning are what does the work, and the Society endeavours to foment these in all its students." And to the third :—"Of all these seminaries he names, there are only three in charge of the Jesuits, which are Salamanca, Lisbon, and Santiago, and in all these three his Majesty supports only thirty persons ; and if all these and more went annually to Ireland, there would not be one for each diocese, which, with four archbishoprics, number forty in that kingdom, and much less when they can be sent only every seven years, and in the interim how many die or are cut off by imprisonment ! So that it would be a great loss if a single individual were taken from us, and much more if we were deprived of a whole college. These three, governed by the Society, are alone obliged to educate ecclesiastics exclusively, whilst in the others there have been and there are lay students, except in Louvain, which belongs to the Franciscans, and Seville, which is only in its infancy."¹

When this answer to O'Sullivan was written, 28th October, 1617, there were in the house ten students, three fathers and servants, and an additional number of students was daily expected. After some more attacks on the part of O'Sullivan, the Jesuits prevailed, and then settled down to their work with all the zeal and earnestness the Society has ever displayed in the education of youth, for which it seems to be specially suited by Almighty God. The fathers' labours were crowned with success, for in addition to the small number his Majesty's

¹ The following is a translation of the letter of Margaret of Austria, written to His Holiness, soliciting the foundation of an Irish College in Rome :—"Most Holy Father—The fervent zeal I know your Holiness possesses for the service of God and the good of the Church, and the interest you take in everything that conduces to this end, cause me not to hesitate in writing to your Holiness to recommend to you an object worthy of your zeal. Such I regard the protection of the seminaries of Irishmen, who now with such courage return after their studies to preach the Gospel in their native land, shedding their blood for the confession of the holy Catholic Faith, and obedience to the Church of Rome. And because just at present the persecution is greatest, it is necessary to procure for them more schools where they may be taught, for the disciples are multiplying every day, so that although in these kingdoms the King my Lord has instituted three, in Salamanca, Lisbon, and Santiago, of Galicia, there is not room in them for all that come ; and so some go on to Rome, where it would be a great consolation for them to have a seminary as they have in other nations. And though I am sure the causes that exist for it are quite sufficient when represented to your Holiness, yet I will not lose what I may gain by supplicating your Holiness as I do, to favour and assist them that they may have a seminary founded under your protection, which besides being so certainly to the service of God, will be to me a singular favour. May the Lord guard your Holiness for the good and happy government of His Church.—Madrid, 29th February, 1611.

"Your Holiness's very humble and obedient daughter Margaret, by the grace of God Queen of the Spains, of the two Sicilies, of Jerusalem, who kisses your holy feet and hands.—THE QUEEN."

pension of £100 a year would support, they were able to maintain sometimes up to twenty-five through the subscriptions of the clergy and the faithful, to whose charity they never ceased to appeal.

Up to 1648 the house had been under the direction of Father Conway and Father James Carney—a person, as we shall see, of extraordinary sanctity and great learning, whose memory lived in Santiago long after he went to his reward in Heaven. From the first the Jesuits combined Santiago and Salamanca, arranging that after three years' philosophy in Santiago, the students should go to Salamanca to study other three years' theology. This arrangement was made with the intention of acclimatizing the young men in the more temperate and genial Galicia before sending them on to Salamanca, whose climate is a succession of the extremes of heat and cold, which occur rapidly and unexpectedly from October to June, when the oppressive steady heat sets in for four months.

In 1648 the saintly Father Carney died. Although somewhat long, and already published substantially in the RECORD, I am tempted to give a translation of the "Common Letter," *de defunctis*, written in Spanish by Father John Tharate, and sent to Father Peter Reade (Redano), rector of the Irish College in Salamanca, as the head of one of the Jesuit establishments, asking for the ordinary suffrages for the soul of Father Carney, it is such a tribute to the sanctity of that virtuous son of St. Ignatius; but before doing so I will give another letter, written by an Irish Augustinian on the same occasion, to Father Reade also. He says:—

"Dear Father,—I could wish the occasion of my writing to you were less sad for you and me, as is the death of our friend James Carney, whom may God have in glory, as He undoubtedly has, for his life is an assurance of it. He died like a saint, with the greatest desire in the world to die. He melted all who came to see him with the devout and spiritual things he said. The whole city bewails his death, as if he were an apostolic child of its own. The Archbishop attended his funeral, with almost the whole chapter, and all the *elite* of the town. All the communities went to say vespers and to offer a *missa cantata* for him by order of Canon Salcedo. In fine, you and I have lost in him a truly and really good friend. I could not speak to him in his sickness, for though I went to see him many times, I always filled up so, I was unable to say a word.

"I have heard from Corunna that in England two provinces

have risen against the Parliament, and that the Scotch have twenty-four thousand men in the field in favour of the King. May the Lord favour us, and grant your Paternity many years in His holy grace.

“The friend and servant of your Paternity,

“Fr. Patrick of St. Augustin.

“Santiago, 14 June, 1648.”

The “Common Letter” says:—

“Pax Christi, &c.—Last Tuesday, at mid-day, our Lord was pleased to take to Himself Father James Carney, fifty years of age, twenty-nine of Society, and thirteen of profession of four vows. His sickness was a colic, which, when medicinally treated, turned to a fever, which could not be met with efficacious remedies on account of the patient's weakness, although everything he could bear was done for him. Besides the doctors of the house, several others came to see him without being called on, anxious to restore to the good father the health so earnestly prayed for by the whole town, which has been universally affected by his sickness. Some communities offered public prayers for him, and every one grieved because he lost in the father consolation in life and death. Father Carney's virtues while he was a student were well known, and it was commonly remarked by his fellow-students, after long observation, that they had never noticed a word or action contrary to rule, nor even what could be regarded as an imperfection in him. And so they venerated him as an image of St. Louis Gonzaga; and his fame became extended in the house and outside, not only by the proofs he gave of superior talents in the public conclusions in Valladolid and Salamanca, but also of his great virtue and the perfection of his life. He had made a vow never to commit a mortal sin, and now when he was preparing to die, he told his confessor that through the Divine Mercy he thought he had not failed in this since the time he joined the Society. These virtues have been increasing and extending their sphere, particularly since he came to live in Santiago seventeen years ago, during the most part of which time he has been Rector of the College, whose preservation is due to his care and labour in procuring subscriptions for its support, while God sometimes appeared to assist him by miraculous interventions. His zeal for the good of souls was so great, that he never refused any labour, how troublesome soever it might be, if it were for the service of our Lord and

the salvation of his neighbour. As this was well known, all classes ordinarily sought him to bring them consolation in their afflictions and sickness ; and to die with him at their bedside was regarded by them as a pledge of salvation. He was indefatigable in the confessional, and had the direction of many souls, whom he treated with such religious care, that there was no doubt he could give a good account of them to God for the sixteen years he was dealing with them. When his occupations afforded him leisure, he went on missions, and laboured in them with great fruit. His intercourse with God was continual, and he was so inflamed in His presence, that it was manifested in his eyes, words, and actions, so as to create devotion in others. He spent many hours in prayer, and when in the College entire nights ; so that it was necessary for his superiors to moderate him in this, as in his penances, sack-cloth, discipline, fasts, sleeping on the ground, and other austerities with which he chastised his body, lest these rigours should impair his health. As to his humility and mortification, I could cite instances to fill several letters : they displayed themselves in his food, dress, words, and actions ; but the more he humbled himself, the higher grew his estimation with all. The Archbishop appreciated him so much, that he left the discharge of some of his own duties to him ; and he brought him about with him on his visitations, as if he were for his excellency an angel of consolation and counsel ; and so deeply did he love him, that his grief during the father's sickness was excessive. He visited him immediately he heard of his sudden danger, and spoke to him with great tenderness, and commanded him to be supplied from the episcopal palace with everything he should require ; and he constantly sent messengers to inquire how he was going on, who on their return were afraid to tell him the whole extent of the danger, to avoid giving his Excellency pain. The entire Chapter displayed the most profound grief ; and some of the prebendaries attended him daily morning and evening, and were loud in praise of his virtues, and in bewailing the loss his death would occasion. The father assured them he should die in this sickness, and mentioned other things which they believed were revealed to him by God ; as happened in another illness five years before, when Father Carney had mentioned several hidden things, and foretold some events about to happen, which was regarded by many grave and pious persons as a prophecy, believing that in a perfection of virtue, such as Father Carney possessed, such heavenly favours were nothing wonderful.

“ He received the news of his death with great joy, saying :—

‘Haec dies quam fecit Dominus exultemus et lætemur in ea;’ and adding, that if he followed his natural impulse, he would cry out with delight. The news of any improvement saddened him, for he said he felt great courage to die, but none to live. He received all the sacraments, and to receive the viaticum he desired to be placed on the ground. His colloquies with God moved all who were present, domestics and strangers. Almost all the fathers and brothers remained with him day and night, so difficult did they find it to tear themselves away from his presence, full of joy at his happiness, and grieving that this College was about to lose one who did it credit by his virtues and Christian qualities, and the Society a son who served it to the great glory of God. He had convulsions near the end, with some wandering of the head, which made him restive, and when some one was pitying him in his restlessness, he told him not to mind, that he would give up his soul to God in great peace, as indeed happened, for he passed away as if going to sleep, so that we were for some time doubtful whether he had expired. The Archbishop came to his funeral, and there was scarcely a prebendary or a gentleman in town who did not attend at it, besides a crowd of poor, who, as the corpse was entering the church, received it with tears and lamentations.

“On the following day several prebendaries, friends of his, caused as many Masses as they could procure to be said for him, and paid the stipend out of their own pockets, in order to give an additional proof of their esteem and affection for him. Although we hope he is enjoying the glory of God, yet to comply with my obligation, I beseech your Reverence to have the usual suffrages offered for him in your College, without forgetting us who remain. Of God and your Reverence, &c.

“Santiago, June 13, 1648.”

“John Tharate.

Just eighteen years after the death of Father Carney, another Irish son of St. Ignatius passed to a better life in the College of Santiago. This was Father John Egan, whose death is referred to in the following terms in the letter *de defunctis* written on the occasion:¹—“Tuesday, the 11th of July, our Lord was pleased

¹Oliver, in his “Biography of the Members of the Society of Jesus,” thus refers to Father Egan:—“John Egan was living at Kilkenny in 1649, and then fifty-five years of age. He was teaching philosophy, and was a superior preacher; but what is more, he deserved the character of being truly learned and good, modest and humble.” The learned author of the Biography more than once complains of the great want of materials in relation to the lives of the Irish Fathers of the Society, and during the course of these pages I will do my best to supply in some cases the deficiencies, and in others give particulars of Fathers who are not found at all in the Biography, or merely referred to by name, and thus contribute my share to fill the gaps he bewails.

to take to Himself, as we hope, Father John Egan, sixty-seven years of age, forty-eight of Society, and thirty-four of profession of four vows.¹ He died of an interior affection after three days' illness. His danger was apprehended in time ; and he received, with many tears of devotion, the holy sacraments of penance and the viaticum, but not Extreme Unction ; for, after receiving the viaticum, as he felt exhausted, he asked to be allowed to rest a little whilst a certain medicine was being prepared, and when the infirmarian returned in the course of an hour, he found him dead on his knees by the bedside, with his head on his arm, as if he were alive, and his body arranged and covered with singular modesty. Father John Egan was a most faithful son of our Father St. Ignatius, a religious most observant of his rule, and a man truly spiritual and of interior intercourse with God, which was displayed in his composed exterior, and proved by some notes found among his papers, in which he poured out the fruit he gathered from the spiritual exercises, and the heavenly knowledge our Lord favoured him with in them. He feared God exceedingly ; he recited the Divine Office with singular devotion and care ; he confessed daily before saying mass. Great was the example he gave in the public penances of the refectory ; in his punctuality at all the acts of the community ; in the exact performance of the spiritual exercises ; in recourse to his superiors even in minor things ; in the extreme poverty of his cell ; in never asking for any exemption, even what might be natural at his age ; in never receiving money nor presents at examinations ; in his zeal for religious observance and domestic peace ; in his submission, like a very novice, to the dispositions of his superiors ; in the lowly conception he had of himself and all that belonged to him, though a man of superior talents, and most learned in divine and human science ; in praising and esteeming the actions of his brethren with great humility and fraternal charity, and in being always occupied and devoted to the quiet study of his cell, and to the public exercises of learning, in which, within and without the house, he gave equal proofs of wisdom and modesty to the great credit of the Society, rendering himself esteemed and beloved by all. Father Egan studied philosophy and theology in this Province : he afterwards went, through obedience, to Ireland, where he taught philosophy two courses, and according to the report I

¹ According to Oliver's figures he should have been seventy-two years of age in 1666 when he died ; and this shows we cannot always depend on the ages attributed to individuals, as was suggested in the second article on the Irish College of Seville in relation to James Carney.

have received, exercised all our ministeries with great success and fruit, and to the edification of that land, till, thirteen years ago, he was exiled by Cromwell *nominatim*, and returned to this Province, where he has taught moral theology in different Colleges with great satisfaction ; and, finally, this Irish House had the fortune to secure him for the last three years of his life, in which, as I have said, he has given peculiar examples of virtue, and his presence has been of exceeding great advantage to our own people, and to persons from without, who came to consult him as a learned, amiable, and spiritual man. Hence his death has been very much felt by all, and bewailed by many people of distinction, who thronged to his funeral with palpable marks of tenderness and esteem. The only consolation which remains to us is the general persuasion, so well founded, that he is in the enjoyment of God in reward of his glorious labour. Santiago, July, 1666."

During all these sixty years, or at least from the time the Jesuits took charge of the house, the College of Santiago kept up a continual stream of youths who passed through its philosophical studies on their way to the theological classes of Salamanca ; and its conduct and system received the approbation of all the Irishmen in Spain who had the opportunity of making themselves thoroughly acquainted with them ;¹ whilst the priests on the Irish mission, whom it had contributed to prepare for their arduous labour, kept alive the lamp of the faith in their native land, amid perils unheard of before, and cruelties more shocking than are laid to the charge of the Spanish Inquisition by its most bitter enemies. For real cruelties—for real savage barbarities—commend me to the Protestant Governments and Parliaments of Ireland in the seventeenth century, hounded on by the bishops of the Estab-

¹ Extract from an instrument under the hands of two Notaries Apostolic : "We also testify and pledge faith that we have seen a testimonial, signed by the Illustrious Lord Don Nicholas French, Bishop of Ferns, sealed with the seal of his arms, and countersigned by Patrick Rosseter, its date the 9th of March, 1665, by which his Lordship, partly in virtue of the account shown him of the beginning and progress of the Irish College of Santiago, commenced by Father Richard Conway, its first Rector belonging to the Society, and continued by Father James Carney, a person of such sanctity and learning that his memory lives in veneration to the present day in Santiago and other parts, and partly in virtue of his own knowledge for the last five years which his Lordship has spent in Galicia, the greater part in this city, and even some time in the College itself, approves of the present government of said College, for the great care taken in the education of the youths in it. And the same is testified by Don Constantine Daniel, Perpetual Vicar of the parish of Cahir in Ireland, chaplain and confessor to the French patients in the Royal Hospital of this city ; and by Patrick St. Leger, Rector of the Church of St. John the Evangelist, in Galway, also in Ireland, as persons who for the last ten years have been witnesses of what passed in said College." Oliver calls him *William St. Leger*.

lished Church, as we can see in the following article. As the present one has now run its proper length, I will content myself with two extracts from letters of former students of the College of Salamanca, which give a slight indication of the miserable state in which the Catholics of Ireland lived during the furious persecution of James I., begun in 1605. The first extract is from a letter of Luke Bennet, written from Dunmore, province of Leinster, to Father Richard Conway, on the 28th April, 1607: "The multitude of persecuting heretics who roam about these parts of Leinster, and their fierce cruelty to our brave Catholics, have been the cause why no passenger would venture to take my letters to your Paternity, though I had written two or three at different times.

"Among others whom they seized for refusing to acknowledge the king's supremacy, and go to church, were Luke O'Shea, your brother, and James White, your cousin, and my uncle. After great expense and loss of time, they were allowed out on bail, to appear for sentence when called on.

"By means of three or four priests from your College (David Doul, James Walshe, and Richard Henry), this district is preserved in the purity of the Catholic religion, though they cannot venture out by day, and with great risk even by night, on account of the spies the heretics have set to watch them. I know but one individual in these parts who has shown any weakness, and on account of it the Catholics cannot bear to see him, nor have any dealings with him, regarding him as excommunicated; so that I think the sting of his conscience, and seeing himself so despised by his own, will shorten his days—I hope for his own good—by bringing him to a sense of his error. It is strange to see how they enter the houses of God's servants here, and sack them before their eyes, and then auction their effects because they won't conform—a term they have invented to justify their barbarities. When they meet with any one they suspect to be a Catholic, they say to him: 'Do you go to church?' If he says yes, they put him down as one of themselves, and publish him as such, with great danger of scandal. If he says no, they charge him with it, and throw him into prison. Other times they ask if he knows the Scriptures command obedience to the king; others, whether he looks on the king as head of the church. Again they say, 'What do you lose by conforming with us? Do you not see so and so, how well he is doing, because he came over to us; and how poor and miserable so and so is, because he is obstinate?' And they employ many similar expressions,

which they invent daily, and which make us think twice before we answer them. Our Catholics are now accustomed to remain silent, or to change the conversation till they make up their mind about what they are to say, to the security of their consciences and the confusion of those who put such questions to them."

Henry Melan (who afterwards suffered martyrdom) writes from Dundalk, then in Ulster, in the end of January, 1607: "Never have there been such outrages on the part of the heretics as at present. The king lately granted our valorous Prince O'Neil permission to live in whatever religion he liked, notwithstanding which they dare, not only to molest his vassals in a thousand ways, but even to insult himself to his very face. An influential English heretic told him lately that his palace was a monastery of religious, friars, and priests; to whom the prince boldly made answer that so it should be till his death, let it please the other or not; that although he laid down his arms, he did not abandon his faith, which should be preserved in his country through the merits of the glorious St. Patrick, our apostle, from whose time to the present day there never was wanting a convent of religious in this district, even when all other parts of Ireland were sorely afflicted. At present he has in his town fourteen friars and many clergy; and through his valour and Christian spirit, this province is the freest from persecution, or rather the only one in the whole kingdom which is free; but if they catch any one outside its boundaries and jurisdiction, they take him prisoner. They were very near catching me once, for an heretical minister came to the town where I was, with power to seize me; but I was warned, and, taking four men with me, I was able to escape, through the mercy of God. To the confusion of heresy, the Lord has been pleased to discover an image of Our Lady in these parts, which works wonders in marvellous and real cures, which I have seen."

W. M'D.

LITURGICAL QUESTIONS.

A correspondent has sent us the following questions :—

1. Where may a Priest place his pyxis before he begins Mass, at which Communion is to be given? Is it lawful for him to place it on the corporal? It seems to your correspondent that it should not be placed on the corporal as I suppose it contains consecrated hosts, but outside of the corporal on which the consecration is to take place.

2. Under what penalty is it commanded to have the prayers odd in the Mass? Is it a sin to say four or six.

Answer 1. We understand our correspondent in his first question to suppose the case of a Priest saying Mass at an altar where there is no tabernacle, having brought the Blessed Sacrament with him in his pyxis to distribute to the faithful during the Mass. Now, this is a case which, as far as we know, has never been contemplated either by the Sacred Congregation of Rites or by Rubricists. A priest saying Mass at an altar where there is no tabernacle, and wishing to administer the Holy Communion to the faithful during the Mass, should use for that purpose particles consecrated in the Mass itself.

There are some cases, however, in which the Rubrics and the Sacred Congregation of Rites suppose the Blessed Sacrament present in a pyxis on the altar outside the canon of the Mass: as, for example, when the Blessed Sacrament is exposed to the public veneration of the faithful in a pyxis, or when particles consecrated during Mass at an altar where there is no tabernacle, have to be kept on the altar till the end of Mass. In the first case, although it is prescribed in the Coerem. Episcop. lib. i. cap. 12, § 9, and by the Sacred Congregation of Rites apud Gardellini, n. 2,390 ad 6, that the custom of saying Mass at an altar where the Blessed Sacrament is thus exposed should be avoided, still when there is any just cause, Mass may there be celebrated. A doubt arose about the ceremonies to be observed by a Priest saying Mass at an altar where the Blessed Sacrament is exposed in a pyxis, and this doubt was proposed to the Sacred Congregation of Rites on the 22nd December, 1753, in the following terms :—
 “Quando absolvitur missa lecta coram Sanctissimo Sacramento in monstrantia exposito, attamen velato : item coram Sanctissimo Sacramento in Pyxide exposito, an debeant omnes genuflexiones observari in tali missa, quae alias observantur coram Sanctissimo Sacramento publice exposito, et non velato

conformiter ad Rubricam Missalis Ferie v. in Coena Domini, vel non?" The Sacred Congregation answered *affirmative*.

With regard to the second case, viz. : when particles consecrated during Mass at an altar where there is no tabernacle have to be kept on the altar till the end of Mass, we have the following Rubric:—"Si in altari remaneant Particulæ in Calice, seu in alio vase usque ad finem missæ servantur ea quæ in feria quinta Coenæ Domini præscribuntur circa finem Missæ." "Hoc est," as Gavantus explains, "genuflectat Sacerdos quodcumque accedit vel recedit a medio vel transit ante Sacramentum in vase reservatum, et cum dicit, *Dominus vobiscum*, non vertit se ad populum in medio altaris sed paullo prope cornu evangelii, ne terga vertat Sacramento, et in fine ibidem dabit Benedictionem, non perficiens circulum. . . . Calix quoque in hoc casu non erit collocandus in medio altaris, sed a latere evangelii : neque plicabitur corporale, nisi deposito Sacramento in locum suum post missam."

From the foregoing we deduce in answer to the question of our correspondent—(a) that the practice to which he alludes is not lawful—(b) that if, notwithstanding its unlawfulness, this practice be persisted in, then the pyxis is to be placed on the corporal, and all the ceremonies are to be observed which are prescribed for the celebration of Mass coram Sanctissimo Sacramento exposito.

2. With regard to the second question proposed by our correspondent, we must remark in the first place that there is seldom any obligation to have the number of prayers in the Mass odd. For (a) on all Doubles, although the odd number, one, is prescribed by the Rubrics, still if any commemorations have to be made, the number of prayers may be odd or even according to the number of commemorations.—Rub. p. 1., tit. ix., n. i.

(b) On all Semidoubles, Sundays, days within octaves, and all other days which have the Semidouble rite, three prayers are *generally* prescribed—(sometimes, however, two are commanded, sometimes only one).—Rub. p. 1., tit. ix., nn. 2-11. More than three cannot be said on those days unless commemorations have to be made.—Gav. p. 1., tit. ix., n. 12 ; De Herdt, p. i., n. 76, &c. When, however, commemorations have to be made, the number of prayers may be odd or even, according to the number of commemorations, as is evident from the following Decree of the Sacred Congregation of Rites:—"Non est omittenda una ex assignatis orationibus in Missa, veluti tertia *A cunctis*, si secunda esset de Festo simplici, ut ejus loco dicatur oratio imperata, veluti *Deus refugium* ; sed post tertiam

orationem *A cunctis* potest et imperata dici, cum in *Missa de semiduplici, vel simplici, vel votiva non sint necessario dicendae collectae impares, puta tres, quinque vel septem.*—S. R. C. 2 Dec. 1684 in una Canonic. Regul. Lateran. This decree was afterwards confirmed by the Sacred Congregation on the 17th of August, 1709, in *Bergomen*.

(c) On all Simples, Ferials, Vigils, and in Votive Masses, three prayers are *generally* commanded ; but the celebrant may, if he wish, say five or seven.—Rub. p. i. tit. ix., nn. 12, 14 ; De Herdt, p. i., tit. ix., n. 77. However, if commemorations have to be made, the number of prayers may be odd or even according to the number of those commemorations, as is evident from the Decree of the Sacred Congregation cited above. But if the celebrant wishes to add a prayer besides those prescribed, then he must make the number of prayers odd ; as De Herdt remarks, p. i., tit. ix., n. 81, “in simplicibus, feriis et votivis si praeter orationes praeceptas, aliae ad libitum superaddantur, curandum est, ut sint numero impares, quod patet ex Rub. hoc tit. ix., n. 12, ubi numerus impar praescribitur.”

(d) There remains now only the case of Masses for the dead. In these Masses we must always have the number of prayers odd, as is evident from the Rubrics, p. i., tit. v., n. 3 ;—“In die commemorationis omnium defunctorum, et in die depositionis, et in anniversario defuncti, dicitur *una* tantum oratio : et similiter in die tertia, septima, trigesima, et quando-cunque pro defunctis solemniter celebratur : in aliis missis plures, ut de feriis et simplicibus dicitur infra in Rubrica de orationibus,” *i.e.*, three, five, or seven. And the Sacred Congregation of Rites declared, on the 2nd of September, 1741 :—“In missis quotidianis, quae pro defunctis celebrantur, possunt quidem plures dici orationes, quam tres, sed curandum ut sint numero impares.”

Hence it follows, with regard to the number of prayers to be said in the mass—(a) that on all Doubles, Semidoubles, Sundays, days within octaves, and all other days which have the rite of a Semidouble, the celebrant is bound to say only the prayers prescribed, whether their number be odd or even—(b) on Simples, Ferials, Vigils, and in Votive Masses (some few specially mentioned in the Rubrics excepted), the celebrant, besides the prayers prescribed, may, but is not bound to, say others ; if, however, he say others, then he must take care that the total number of prayers be odd—(c) in Masses for the dead, the number must be always odd.

Now, with regard to the question of our correspondent :

Under what penalty is it commanded to have the prayers odd in the Mass? Is it a sin to say four or six? We answer that in most cases there is no penalty and no sin, for there is no obligation: in those cases in which there is an obligation, the violation of that obligation does not exceed a venial sin, unless it be done through contempt, and oftentimes does not constitute even a venial sin, viz.—when it is done *ex ignorantia vel inadvertentia*. It is true that Benedict XIV. de Sac. Missae, s. ii., § 102, says: “*Ipsa communis omnium sententia docet rubricas esse leges praeceptivas quae obligant sub mortali ex genere suo*,” and that this opinion is certain from the Council of Trent, sess. 7 de Sac. in genere can. 13, and from the Bull of Pius V., in the beginning of the Missal; but then it is equally certain that the Rubrics do not oblige *sub mortali in materia levi*. It is, of course, very difficult to determine in particular cases whether the materia be *gravis* or *levis*, but there is very little doubt among theologians that in the case of which we treat the materia is *levis*. We subjoin the words of St. Alphonsus on this question, lib. vi., n. 406: “*Veniale etiam est omittere unam ex tribus collectis principalibus ut communiter dicunt Conc. Tourn. Conc. Elb. et Croix cum Quarti; imo Tamb putat nec etiam esse mortale omittere duas ex his orationibus, sed alii rectius contradicunt ut Suar. Pal. Conc. Salm. et Spor. qui addit quod si omissa sit prima oratio, ipsa cum secreta est recitanda, non vero postea. Ita de collecta propria, nam aliae orationes quae prater eam adduntur in Missa, non erit mortale eas omittere, ut Pal. et Conc.*,” and in n. 409, he says:—“*Veniale autem tantum erit omittere Gloria aut Credo, sequentiam, collectas (praeter propriam missae), tractum, praefationem,*” &c.; and again, n. 411:—“*Certum est apud omnes esse mortale addere aliqua in missa animo introducendi novum ritum Hinc recte p. Conc. dicit peccare graviter qui adderet in missa novas publicas preces. Si vero ex importuna devotione addantur plures collectae ex eodem missali . . . : id non excedit culpam venialem: ita communiter Conc. Spor. Pal. cum Con. et Mazz. cum Suar. et Gob.*” If, therefore, it be only a venial sin *per se* to add or omit secondary collects, it follows that to say an even number of prayers when an odd number should be said, does not *per se* exceed a venial sin.

IRELAND AND THE SACRED HEART.

WE beg to call the attention of our readers to the following letter of Father Kinane. We are certain that many of them will gladly help him to place at the Shrine of the Blessed Margaret Mary Alacoque a fitting testimonial of Ireland's love for the Sacred Heart. He has already received for this purpose about £50, but he still requires as much more.

“Templemore, Co. Tipperary.

“I had the happiness of being a member of the Great English Pilgrimage to *Paray-le-Monial*.

“Round the Shrine of Blessed Margaret Mary Alacoque, and round the Chapel, were rich Votive Offerings of love to the Sacred Heart of Jesus from every country in Europe—brilliant banners from even Protestant England and Scotland, from Switzerland, from Russia, but *none* from Catholic Ireland, which has received so many blessings from the Sacred Heart!

“With the sanction of my Ordinary, the Most Rev. Dr. Leahy, and His Grace's blessing, I propose to collect the pious offerings of the faithful to present a Banner to the Sacred Heart of Jesus—a Banner worthy of Ireland, and to be borne by the hands of Irish Pilgrims to the Holy Shrine at Paray-le-Monial, as an offering of love, thanksgiving, reparation, and petition, to the Sacred heart of our Blessed Saviour.

“I beg, therefore, to solicit for this purpose the offerings of those who love the Adorable Heart of our Divine Saviour.

“I remain, your humble Servant in Christ,

“THOMAS H. KINANE, C.C.”

NOTICES OF BOOKS.

- I.—*De Divinitate et Canonicitate Sacrorum Bibliorum, generatim et singulatim tractatus, Joh. Francisci Marchini, editio secunda, Augustae Taurinorum, typis Hyacinthi Marietti, 1874.*

WE had contemplated an extended notice of this excellent book, but were unable to have it ready in time for the present number. We can, however, heartily commend this book to

our readers. It is a work classical in its kind, and it has sufficed to gain for its author the reputation of being one of the greatest biblical scholars of his day. Nearly a century has passed away since the author's death, still his book has retained its place as a text book in the seminaries and colleges of Italy, in spite of many and more recent rivals. It has been specially recommended to their disciples by the great biblical scholars De Rossi and Vercellone—and De Rossi says of it (introduz. alla S. Scrittura, not. i. ad § x.) that it is the best book on the subject of which it treats. There was one defect, however, in the first edition of this work, viz.:—that many questions interesting in themselves, and very important at the present time, were not treated of. The cause of this defect is evident, for during the past hundred years (*i.e.*, since the first appearance of this work in 1770) the incessant studies of critics, archæologists, geologists, physiologists, &c., have given rise to many new objections against the veracity of the Bible, while, at the same time, they have brought to light many facts hitherto unknown, which serve to defend the Bible against its assailants. This defect has, however, been supplied in the present edition by copious notes from the pens of Giovannini, Professor of Scripture at Florence, and Villoresi, Professor of Scripture at Prato.

With regard to the subject matter of the book, the author divides his work into two parts. In the first part he treats of the divinity and canonicity of the books of Scripture in general—he fixes the canon of Scripture, vindicates the antiquity, veracity, integrity, and divinity of the books in general—he brings forward and solves the objections of ancient and modern unbelievers—he settles the idea of inspiration—and, finally, treats of the different versions. In the second part he examines at great length each of the books of Scripture, proving their authenticity, explaining obscure passages, reconciling apparent contradictions, solving the objections of heretics and infidels.

The style of the book is chaste and elegant, the latinity singularly pure.

II.—*A Handbook of the Confraternity of the Most Sacred Heart of Jesus.* Dublin: William Powell, 10, Essex-bridge.

THIS is a most useful little book for those who practice the devotion to the Sacred Heart of Jesus. It contains in a small space a great deal of practical information concerning the devotion itself, and the various pious associations formed in connection with it. It contains also a list of the plenary and partial indulgences which may be gained by the members of any of the confraternities duly aggregated to the Pious Union of the Most Sacred Heart of Jesus, canonically erected in Rome in the Church of S. Maria della pace. Persons practising this devotion will find, moreover, in this little book a good selection of suitable prayers and acts.

III.—*The Dove of the Tabernacle.*

WE have already noticed in the pages of the RECORD this excellent little book, and we need not repeat what we then said. We are glad to see that it has reached a tenth edition, and that not only in Ireland is its worth appreciated, but also in America, as is evident from the following notice which appeared in the *Catholic Review* of November 29, 1873:—“This is another beautiful work on the subject of the Real Presence. It is written by the Rev. T. H. Kinane, Templemore, Ireland, and is republished by Haverty. The Archbishop of Cashel contributes a preface to it. While sufficiently full in point of doctrinal exposition, the author does not forget that he is addressing an audience so exclusively and intelligently Catholic, that he may safely devote himself principally to exhortation and precept. His book is full, as nearly all good spiritual works are, and should be, of extracts from the writings of the Saints on the Holy Eucharist, and each chapter ends with suitable reflections and resolutions. . . . Father Kinane’s work has received the highest approbation from his ecclesiastical superiors, and deserves careful study.”

THE IRISH
ECCLESIASTICAL RECORD.

FEBRUARY, 1874.

THE OBJECT OF THE DEVOTION TO THE MOST
SACRED HEART OF JESUS.

THE ultimate and final object of all devotion is the God-head—the one God in three Divine persons. In all the feasts of the Church in honour of Jesus Christ the ultimate end and object is to honour the Person of the Eternal Word. Besides this end, common to all the feasts, each feast or devotion has an object peculiar to itself. Thus, in devotion to the Blessed Sacrament, we adore Jesus hidden beneath the sacramental veils; in devotion to the Precious Blood, we adore that life-giving stream which washes away the sins of the world. The direct object of devotion to the Sacred Heart is the *material* Heart of Jesus Christ, the Heart of *flesh*, the real living and loving Heart of our Blessed Saviour, the Heart which beat in His bosom at the moment of the Incarnation, the physical Heart which bled for us on Calvary's hill, and is now glorified in heaven—the Heart ever inseparably united to the Person of the Eternal Word. For this we have no less authority than that of the Church of God. The Bull (*Auctorem fidei*) says: "The Sacred Heart of Jesus is to be adored with supreme worship, as it is the Heart of Jesus, that is to say, the Heart of the Person of the Eternal Word to whom it is inseparably united." This is also clear from the words of our Divine Lord to His chosen servant Blessed Mary Margaret Alacoque. Disclosing to her His Sacred Heart, He said "Behold this Heart, which has loved men so much that it has spared nothing, even to the exhausting and consuming itself, to testify its love." The Saint adds: "From His Sacred Humanity flames issued on all sides, especially from His adorable breast, which seemed to glow like a furnace. In its midst appeared His all amiable Heart which was the source of these

flames." The real physical Heart of Jesus therefore is the material or sensible object of the devotion; and this Heart, containing as it does the fulness of the Divine and human nature, united as it is with the Person of the Eternal Word, is worthy of infinite praise, adoration, and love. In our devotions therefore to the Sacred Heart, we love and adore that blessed Heart that throbbed in Mary's womb, that adorable Heart which* at every pulsation sent the precious Blood through the veins of the Sacred Humanity during His mortal life, that holy Heart which bled to the last drop on Calvary's hill, that all-beaming and brilliant Heart now glorified with the Sacred Humanity in heaven. "And the city" (the New Jerusalem), says St. John, "hath no need of the sun nor of the moon to shine in it. For the glory of God hath enlightened it, and the Lamb is the lamp thereof."—(Apoc. xxi. 23).

From what has been said, the real physical fleshy Heart of Jesus is the material or sensible object of the devotion; but besides this sensible object, there is another called the spiritual, and that is the infinite love or charity of Jesus of which the real Heart is a symbol as well as a reality.

Upon this point we have the clear teaching of the Church. Pope Pius VI., in his letter to Scipio de Ricci, dated June 30, 1781, says: "The substance of the devotion to the Sacred Heart of Jesus consists in calling to mind and in venerating the unbounded charity and excessive love of our Divine Redeemer under the symbol of His Heart." "The principal object of this devotion," says the postulator of the law under Pope Innocent XII., "is the unbounded love of the Son of God." Our present great and Sainted Pontiff Pius IX. has expressed the same in clear and beautiful words. He extended to the universal Church the feast of the Sacred Heart, and declares that he did so because "he wished to give fresh incitement to the faithful to love, and to make return of love, and embrace His wounded Heart, who loved us and washed us from our sins in His Blood." And again, in the Decree of the Beatification of Blessed Margaret Mary, the same illustrious Pontiff declared this was the object of the institution of the devotion—"in order that he might the more enkindle this fire of charity, he wished that the veneration and worship of the Most Sacred Heart be established and promoted in His Church." The Church sings, "*Cor amoris victimam, Cor Jesu charitatis victimam, venite adoremus*"—(Come, let us adore the Heart, victim of love; the Heart of Jesus, victim of charity.)—(Roman Breviary). What could be higher or holier? May a ray of the Divine charity shine on and illuminate our souls to comprehend the love of the Sacred Heart

of Jesus. When we love the Sacred Heart of Jesus, we love the infinite charity of Christ, the burning love of God—love without beginning, without end, the boundless ocean of God's charity, expansive as eternity. O love of the Sacred Heart of Jesus be enkindled in our hearts, cold and ungrateful though they be! "O Sacred Heart of Jesus! may we love Thee daily more and more." The spiritual object of the devotion to the Sacred Heart, let us repeat it, is "the unbounded charity and excessive love of our Divine Redeemer under the symbol of His Heart;" the fountain of this "unbounded charity" is put before us clearly by the Church. Here we are not exposed to error or mistake, for we hold in our hands the lamp of faith—we hear the clear voice of Christ's vicar. The Incarnation is a proof of "the excessive love" of God for man; but how understand the love of the Passion of which devotion to the Sacred Heart continually reminds us? To remind us of the Passion and Death of Jesus Christ, to imprint and deepen in our souls love for His sufferings, is one of the great ends of the devotion to His Sacred Heart. Pius VI., in three briefs found in the *Bullarium Romanum*, declared that in extending the feast, his desire was that "the remembrance and the veneration of the Passion and Death of our Lord Jesus Christ, endured with so great love for the redemption of mankind, might be daily increased, and that the faithful might entertain greater devotion and love for the Passion of our Lord." The Blood of the Passion flowed from the Sacred Heart. The pains and sorrows, the grief and anguish of Jesus sorrowing and Jesus dying, had their seat in His wounded Heart. It was only when the Heart broke from anguish upon the Cross, that the Passion was ended, and MANKIND REDEEMED. The love of the Sacred Heart, therefore, embraces the love of the Passion and Death of the Son of God.¹

We have said, imperfectly indeed, some few things on the love of the Sacred Heart of Jesus in the Incarnation, of the love of the Sacred Heart of Jesus in His Passion and Death. Have we forgotten, are we about to forget, another ocean of love not less "boundless," not less "excessive?" The Sacred Heart would not allow us to forget it. It is foremost in our thoughts, deepest in our hearts, highest in our mind—we mean Jesus in the Blessed Eucharist. At the very mention of the word Blessed Eucharist, what holy thoughts, what profound mysteries rise up before the soul! what a new field of motives

¹ In one of the two offices in the Roman Breviary the invitatory is—"Come, let us adore Christ who suffered for us." And the response at prime is—"Thou who suffered for us, have mercy on us." The antiphon to the Benedictus is—"He was wounded for our iniquities, He was bruised for our sins." Also the preface of the Mass is that of the Cross.

of love Divine expands before the mind ! The Blessed Eucharist ! our sacrifice equal, or rather the same, as that of Calvary, and our holiest Sacrament. The Blessed Eucharist ! the very life of our soul, and the very soul of our existence, the very centre of the warmest love of our young hearts, our strength in life, our hope in death, our viaticum or pledge of life everlasting. We have all clearly expressed in a Bull of Clement XIII., dated February 11th, 1765. This Pontiff desired that the faithful, in celebrating the Feast of the Sacred Heart, "should call to mind the principal benefits received from His charity in taking our nature (the Incarnation), in suffering and dying for the redemption of mankind (the Passion and Death), and in instituting, in commemoration of His death, the sacrament of His Body and Blood" (the Blessed Eucharist). This Decree is most comprehensive. It tells us that devotion to the Sacred Heart of Jesus comprehends the love of the Eternal Word made flesh for our salvation, the love of the Son of God bleeding and dying for our sins, and the love of Jesus bequeathing at His death the greatest pledge of His charity—His own Body and Blood in the most Holy Eucharist.

We cannot too often nor too long meditate on the subject of this paper, the object of the devotion to the Sacred Heart of Jesus. The more we reflect on it, the deeper, the warmer will be our love for our Blessed Lord. Here the pious thoughtful soul finds food for profitable holy meditation and devout affections. The *sensible* or material object of the devotion is, as we have said, the real true Heart of Jesus, formed out of purest blood of Mary's heart, and hypostatically united to the Person of the Eternal Word—that Heart that throbbed and beat in Mary's womb, that Heart which she so often pressed to her bosom when she caressed and kissed the rosy cheek of the Infant Jesus, her Son and her God ; that Heart Divine which bled in the Garden of Gethsemani, or the pillar in Pilate's hall, or the highway to Calvary ; that Holy Heart which broke in grief and anguish on the Cross ; that Blessed Heart which the soldier Longinus pierced with a lance, and from which issued forth "Blood and water." This Sacred Heart we can adore and love. Nay more, we can adore and love this Sacred Heart even after death in the tomb, we can raise our minds to heaven above, and there love and adore the Sacred Heart in glory—glorified with the Sacred Humanity of Jesus Christ. Sweet Heart of Jesus, grant us this holy spirit of adoration and love !

The *spiritual* object takes in a wider field—field do we call it ? It includes the infinite ocean of the love of God—"the unbounded charity and excessive love of our Divine Re-

deemer." It begins with the love of Jesus in the Incarnation—"in taking our nature," says Clement XIII. We can adore the Sacred Heart of Jesus, living and loving, God and Man, in Mary's womb. During these nine months every pulsation of the Sacred Heart was for God's glory and man's salvation. We can adore the hidden love of Jesus during His thirty years of hidden life. Jesus was silent, but His Sacred Heart ever watched and loved. Even when Jesus slept His Sacred Heart was ever in motion, and those emotions were affections of love. But in the Passion we have the greatest proof of the unbounded love of Jesus Christ—"Greater love than this no man hath, that a man layeth down his life for his friends."—(John xv. 13.) O the love of the Sacred Heart of Jesus in His Passion! Let us witness the love of the Sacred Heart of Jesus in the garden, when "He began to fear and to be heavy; when He began to grow sorrowful and to be sad."—(Mark xiv. 33.) Let us hear the plaintive voice of the Sacred Heart steeped in anguish and sorrow—"My soul is sorrowful even unto death."—(Mark xiv. 34.) He has no friend to console Him—"I looked for one that would grieve together with me, but there was none, and that would comfort me, and found not."—(Ps. lxxviii. 21.) This pain and anguish, this sorrow and distress, forced the Blood from His Sacred Heart through every pore of His adorable Body. The Gospel says: "His sweat became as drops of blood trickling down upon the ground."—(Luke xxii. 44.) A spiritual writer thus expresses it: "Each pore of the body of Jesus became an eye to weep and shed a tear of blood." Hereafter we will have occasion to revert to the Passion; for the present suffice it to say, the Passion is the infinite ocean of God's love, and the Sacred Heart of Jesus the centre and the symbol of all this love.

Devotion to the Sacred Heart keeps before our mind the love of Jesus suffering and Jesus dying. It warms, it deepens, it intensifies our love for our Blessed Saviour. Pius VI. encouraged the love for the Sacred Heart, "that the remembrance and veneration of the Passion and Death of our Lord Jesus Christ might be daily increased, and that the faithful might entertain greater devotion and love for the Passion of our Lord."

Devotion to the Sacred Heart includes also the "unbounded" charity of Jesus Christ in the most holy Eucharist. Here the love of Jesus continues or renews, if we be allowed so to speak, all the mysteries of the Incarnation. The great St. Augustine thus expresses it:—"O worthy of veneration the dignity of priests, we whose hands, as in the womb of Mary, the Son of God becomes incarnate!"—(Ps. xxvii.) In the most holy

Eucharist we have the same sacrifice as that of Calvary, the same Divine Victim is mystically slain, the precious Blood flows and is mystically separated from the Sacred Heart. "That same Christ," says the Council of Trent, "is contained and immolated (on the altar) in an unbloody manner, who once offered Himself in a bloody manner on the altar of the Cross."—(Sess. xxii. ch. 2). The same precious Blood from the Sacred Heart of Jesus flows upon our souls when in holy Communion we receive the Body and Blood of Jesus Christ. "My flesh," says our Divine Redeemer, "is meat indeed, and my blood is drink indeed. He that eateth my flesh and drinketh my blood abideth in me and I in him."—(John vi. 57). When Jesus in the holy Communion comes into the soul, the fervent communicant is inebriated, so to speak, "linguishes" in the sweets, in the burning fire of Divine love. Whence proceeds this love? From the Sacred Heart of Jesus. On our altars, day and night, we have the same Sacred Heart of Jesus bestowing His graces, blessing His children, consoling the sorrowing, strengthening the fallen, and pardoning the repenting. When dying we receive the Sacred Heart of Jesus in the holy Viaticum, which sometimes gives to the fervent Christian a foretaste of the joys of paradise even in this world, and which to all is the pledge of life everlasting: "He that eateth my flesh and drinketh my blood hath life everlasting, and I will raise him up on the last day."—(John vi. 56). O love of the Sacred Heart of Jesus! It is true, therefore, that devotion to the Sacred Heart of Jesus includes the whole love and life of Jesus Christ during His thirty-three years in the *flesh* on earth, for "all days" on our altars under the sacramental veils, and directly or indirectly takes in and comprehends the whole divine scheme of Redemption. "The lamb that was slain," says St. John, "is worthy to receive power, and divinity, and wisdom, and strength, and honour, and glory, and benediction. Because Thou wast slain, and redeemed us to God in Thy blood (the blood of the Sacred Heart) out of every tribe, and tongue, and people, and nation."—(Apoc. v.) O love! O charity of the Sacred Heart of Jesus! When God's saints could not find words sufficient to express this burning love, how could we presume to do so? We shall conclude with a few passages from the saints:—"O love," cries out St. Francis of Sales, "O sovereign love of the Heart of Jesus! what heart can bless and praise Thee as Thou dost desire? How good and beautiful is the Lord; how lovely and amiable is His Heart! Let us dwell in this sacred abode. Let this adorable Heart live for ever in our hearts."

The writings of St. Bernard contain many beautiful and

touching passages on love to the Sacred Heart of Jesus:—
“Let us,” exclaims the Saint, “approach to Thee, O Jesus, and we will exult and rejoice in Thee, being mindful of Thy Heart. O how good and how pleasant it is to dwell in this Heart! The good treasure, the precious pearl is Thy Heart, O Jesus! O most beautiful Jesus, wash me more and more from my iniquities, and cleanse me from my sin, that being purified by Thee I may be able to approach the infinite purity, and deserve to dwell all the days of my life in Thy Heart. Who will not love that wounded Heart? Who will not embrace so chaste a spouse? Let us, therefore, as far as lies in our power, love Jesus, and make return of love for love to His Sacred Heart.—(Vitis, Mys. ii. 431). The apostle of the Sacred Heart of Jesus, Blessed Margaret Mary, says, when praying before the Sacred Heart:—“If I had a thousand bodies, a thousand lives, and a thousand loves, I would sacrifice them all in order to serve Thee.” And again she says, writing to Père de la Colombiere:—“Why cannot I recount all that I know regarding this admirable devotion to the Sacred Heart of Jesus, and discover to the whole world the treasures of grace which Jesus Christ has stored up in His adorable Heart. . . . The treasures of graces and blessings contained in the Sacred Heart are unbounded.” Again she says: “The love of the Sacred Heart of Jesus forms at present my whole occupation, whether in prayer or in anything else.” On the eve of All Saints, 1686, she made a vow to promote, by all means in her power, devotion to the Sacred Heart, “in order,” she adds, “to bind, sacrifice, and consecrate myself more entirely, absolutely, and perfectly to the Sacred Heart of our Lord Jesus Christ.” “O my only love!” she promises, “I will endeavour to hold in subjection and submission to Thee all that is within me, doing what I believe to be most perfect or most glorious to Thy Sacred Heart, from which I promise to withhold nothing in my power, and not to refuse to do, or to suffer anything in order to make it known, loved, and glorified.” (Life, Father Fickell, page 285). Sacred Heart of Jesus inspire us to love Thee ourselves, and to promote and extend, by all means in our power, love and devotion to Thee in others.

T. H. K.

IRISH ECCLESIASTICAL COLLEGES SINCE THE REFORMATION.

SANTIAGO—*continued.*

I NOW proceed, according to promise, to show the state of affairs among the Catholics of Ireland during the persecution of James I. The documents I shall quote are all in the archives of the Irish College of Salamanca, either original or copied into Spanish before the year 1620, and as yet unpublished. I am well aware that, except perhaps in details, they say very little that was not previously known from other sources, but they will serve as new and independent proof of the glorious and successful struggle for the faith our priests and people made against the barbarous and cruel efforts of human ingenuity to deprive them of it. I might have summarized these documents, perhaps with advantage in some cases, but as they go before the public for the first time, I preferred to translate them from the Spanish as literally, faithfully, and fully as I could, that others may see what they are in themselves, and estimate their worth at its proper value.¹

The first is headed "*A True Report of the Present State of Things in Ireland,*" and was sent to Father Thomas White in 1611. It says:

"Although from the first moment heresy entered into this kingdom, and while gradually establishing itself in it through the industry, arts, and craft of its partisans, the Catholics have suffered various calamities, extortions, and miseries, yet in these latter days, that is, from the year 1605 to the present 1611, we have suffered much more than ever, and the Catholic Apostolic Faith, which we inherited from our ancestors, was never before so combated, as our enemies have made war on it with fire and sword through public edicts, in which they command all Jesuits, seminarists, and other priests, and finally the bishops, to quit for ever, as malefactors, this kingdom and all the territories and possessions belonging to the crown of England. But as it would be a long task to relate all that occurred in the persecution of the last seven years, and as it is generally known in Rome and the rest of the Christian world, I will content myself with briefly stating what has happened since July last of the present year, and indicating something of the purpose and designs of these

¹ What is here said applies also to other documents which shall be referred to or quoted in the notice of the Irish College of Salamanca.

adversaries of God, which though they try to conceal them, are plainly enough visible.

"Of the Miserable Condition of the Ecclesiastical State.— There arrived in this kingdom a short time ago a Scotch minister named Knox,¹ who came from England with the title of bishop, and brought messages for our governors, by which they were commanded to renew and promulgate, in the king's name, the edict issued some years past, with the same expressions and sentences as then, without subtracting a single one. On the contrary, they added some as well at the beginning as at the end: at the beginning, 'that zeal for God's honor was what moved his majesty to do this;' and at the end, 'that all true and loyal subjects of his majesty should fear his indignation, and promptly obey whatever his edicts contained; and for this it was quite enough to hear they were promulgated by him and had his name signed to them.'

"This last edict has appeared to us much more rigorous than the former one, and has given us much more to think about, because in it we were allowed five months from the day of its publication to get away, and provide necessaries for our journey; but now they don't give us a day, or an hour, or a ship, nor is any means provided for our departure: they simply tell us to be off immediately from the kingdom. But I cannot conceive how the thing is to be done, unless they expect us to take wings, and fly through the air, or to swim through the sea; and I suppose if we only get drowned in the deep, our adversaries will be quite content.

"In the same edict it is also commanded, under most severe pecuniary penalties, loss of property, and the weight of his majesty's indignation, that all men and women, who have arrived at the years of discretion, must go on all Sundays and

¹ Knox was Protestant Bishop of Raphoe, and is notorious for his cruelty to the Irish Catholics. He boasted that he would soon make them curse the Pope, with the means he would employ for the purpose. Father Richard Conway, in a paper now before me, tells how Knox was on a visit to Babington, Protestant Bishop of Derry, who advised him to call at a certain village six miles from Coleraine, and destroy an image of our Blessed Lady, which was there held in great veneration by the Catholics. Knox went to the place, and breaking into the little church where the image was, he and his followers seized it, and brought it out to the street to be burned publicly. They failed in two efforts they made to set it on fire, and then Knox, sending for a carpenter, had several holes bored in it here and there, which he filled with pitch, and thus succeeded in reducing the image to ashes: it was reported, however, that one arm was preserved from the flames. This happened in September, 1611. Father Conway adds that Babington died suddenly that very night, and Knox was soon after drowned on a voyage to Scotland, as the ship he embarked in was never more heard of. Father Conway had this from Father Lawndy in a letter of the 4th November, 1611, and Lawndy had it from a friend in Drogheda. Lawndy's long letter will be given hereafter in the Appendix.

feast days to the Protestant synagogues, and be present at their sacrifices and ceremonies ; and in the meantime, till this be put in execution, they have to pay the ordinary pecuniary fine established for all recusants (they call the Catholics thus who won't attend their meetings and heretical rites). The priests are all on their guard, and none of them dares to go out of the house by day lest he might be recognised, and no place is secure for them there are so many nets and snares laid for them by their enemies, whose maddening thirst no liquor can satiate but the blood of the priests of Christ.

"Item, they command all those who have sons studying in foreign parts, to call and compel them to come home at once within a fixed time, which will soon be up, and threatening severe penalties on those who will not comply with his majesty's edict in this particular. Whence it may be gathered that their intention is none other but to completely extinguish the seed of Abraham ; but the God of Abraham and of his children liveth, in whom we fix our trust, and we feel confident He would sooner convert the rocks and stones of Ireland into faithful children of Abraham than see our nation wanting in infinite numbers to succeed Abraham in his inheritance, and in priests zealous of God's honour, to resist the power and machinations of hell by bravely following the standard of the Cross of our sweet Jesus, to the shedding of their blood, and the loss of their lives in the contest. *Salve O bona Crux, salve, crimina pelle, tenebrasque fugeto. Exurgat ergo Rex iste, et Abrahæ filius, et dissipentur inimici ejus ; et fugiant qui oderunt eum a facie ejus. Amen.*

"In the cities of Dublin and Drogheda an inquisition was held for the discovery of priests, and the same was done in Limerick at the last assizes held there by the judges in the month of August, where also twelve men were appointed to inquire after the lay persons who absented themselves from the Protestant churches.

"A lawsuit has been commenced against all those of our nation who possessed monasteries, although they have legal possession of them in the manner and form prescribed by the law, and have been in peaceful occupation of them since the time of Henry VIII. And as regards all dignities, bishoprics, prebendaryships, and ecclesiastical benefices, they have ordained that no native can possess or enjoy them. Even one Miler,¹ who was formerly a friar, and for the last thirty-six years has been the pseudo Archbishop of Cashel, of whom they always made much, has had to receive an Englishman as coadjutor and companion in his dignity.

¹ Miler Magrath, Catholic Bishop of Down and Connor, who apostatized, and became Protestant Archbishop of Cashel.

"Item, it is ordained that all parochial churches, wherever situated, whether knocked down by the heretics themselves, or fallen to ruin through lapse of time and the want of care, be repaired and rebuilt at the cost of the Catholics, and they have actually commenced to do so. From which you may see, if God does not aid us with His all-powerful arm from on high, to what dangers and calamities the Catholic Church is exposed in this kingdom, and the terrible risks the faithful natives run.

"*On the State of Civil Affairs.*—The whole kingdom is filled and thronged with Englishmen, who daily come over like swarms of bees, so that very shortly this island will be quite unable to contain, much less support, such a crowd.

"Wherever they appear, the first thing they do is to drive the natives from the lands and possessions inherited from their grandfathers and great grandfathers, and can be proved to have been held peacefully by them for the last 500 or 600 years; and even though possession be immemorial, nay even though it be by new favour and confirmation of the king made in legal form, and as the laws and statutes of these kingdoms require, notwithstanding all, if an Englishman pleases he can enter a lawsuit and take all *per fas aut per nefas*, and the poor native must give it up, and look out for himself somewhere else.

"And what I here state, besides being of regular and daily occurrence, comprehends not only gentlemen of the ordinary class, but others also of much higher rank, and lords of title who see themselves despoiled of lordships and whole counties, and large and extensive inheritances and possessions; so that the natives have not a single foot of ground secure, and the English have everything at their will.

"As to the cities, the principal ones, such as Dublin, Waterford, and Galway, which enjoyed many and great privileges, exemptions, and immunities, granted and confirmed by the present king's predecessors, have been deprived and stripped of all without the slightest observance of law, or compensation of any sort; whence the inhabitants have become a prey to sadness and dejection of mind, believing that these are only the forerunners of much greater evils. Besides they have appointed a certain number of English constables with power and authority to strip of his garments any Irishman they might fall in with dressed in the ordinary style of the country; and so rigorously do they execute this commission, that whenever they meet with natives not dressed in the English fashion, they immediately tear off all the clothes they have on, and the very shepherds and pigherds

caring their flocks in the woods and unfrequented places do not escape them : in a word, there is no evil nor misery they do not try to inflict on the natives of this kingdom. May God deign to open the eyes of these blind men, and cure their madness, converting their hearts of stone into hearts of flesh.

*"Of the Coming Parliament."*¹—In a short time we expect the meeting of Parliament, and the heretics who have authority and the command of everything, are arranging matters so that no one shall be in it who is not to their taste.

"And for this purpose they have already despatched their letters to the cities and important towns not to elect anyone as mayor for the coming year, nor hand over the authority to him, unless he first on oath recognise the Serene King of England as Primate and Supreme Head of the Church.

"In all the counties they have also placed sheriffs of their own sort, except in one, and these can do a great deal with their authority and power, in arranging the affairs of Parliament well or ill.

"And as the Parliament has to consist of four sorts of persons, the Upper House, as they call it, of the lords temporal and spiritual, and the Lower House of two representatives for each town, and two others for each county, it is easy to see the Protestants must necessarily be much more numerous than the Catholics ; and this is the object of all the plotting and schemes of our adversaries.

"From all which can be seen the miserable state to which not only the ecclesiastical but the civil affairs of this kingdom are reduced, and to what evils, calamities, and miseries its inhabitants are exposed, if the Almighty does not, in pity of our afflictions, look on us with an eye of mercy, and have regard to His people. As for us, we will endeavour, with the favour of our Lord, let the tempests of persecution and suffering be what they may, while His Divine Majesty gives us life and strength, never to be wanting to His honour nor that of the Catholic Church, and the spiritual good of our nation ; and that we may be able to do so, let your Reverences aid us through charity with your sacrifices and prayers, for you see the great and manifest necessity we have of them.

"Finally, the bishops of Limerick and Waterford have received power and faculties to summon to their presence all those who have been married in these dioceses since the day the present king took possession of the crown of these kingdoms, that they may inform before what minister they have been married, who baptized their children, and who buried their dead.

¹ Leland says the recusants (Catholics) had great fear of this Parliament.—Vol. ii., James I., 1612. See Dr. Moran's "Archbishops of Dublin," vol. i., p. 251.

"May the Lord, through His infinite mercy, grant us some relief, and protect your Reverences.—Waterford, 22nd September, 1611."

Another paper says:—"Item, they have commanded that no Catholic or native merchant of this kingdom can send merchandise from it to any foreign port, unless he gives the moiety of it to the king (Spanish, "unless he divides it in two"), and be also obliged on his return to give his majesty the moiety of the profit of the voyage, to the end of impoverishing the natives, and giving the English the sole control of the traffic.

"Item, it is ordained that no Catholic can teach or open a school to nourish the natives with the milk of Catholic doctrine under penalty of perpetual imprisonment, unless he immediately promise and affirm on oath never again to teach within the kingdom.

"Item, that no Catholic can send his children to foreign parts to be instructed in letters and sound Catholic doctrine under penalty of confiscation of property and imprisonment, till the return of such children to Ireland; and that those without parents who are found departing, or trying to depart, for foreign parts, be condemned to perpetual imprisonment. So that their object is that the Catholics should not learn letters, or if they are to be instructed, it must not be by other masters than those who are under control, that they may thus the more surely drink in the poison of heresy.

"Item, that Catholic counsellors and lawyers, though they have spent their time and money in studying law, cannot plead either for themselves or their fellow-countrymen, but all must be done by Englishmen.

"Item, that no one can receive into his house any Jesuit, seminarist priest, friar, bishop, or other ecclesiastical person whatsoever, under penalty of loss and confiscation of all his property and possessions, and that such ecclesiastics as take refuge in Catholic houses, be condemned to death.

"Item, that no Englishman who has lands and possessions in Ireland, can rent or let them to any native under penalty of their confiscation and total loss, and also that he cannot employ any of them, but all his servants must be English.

"And in the scrutinies and examinations they make in Catholic houses, they take away *en passant* the silver and jewellery they meet with, saying the chains are rosaries, and that in the jewellery are inserted agnus Deis and relics, and that the cups are chalices, and the pieces of silk, cambric and holland, are altar ornaments; and under colour of this they rob the outraged people of their property. And the shamelessness of one of these heretics has reached such a pitch that

he keeps the chalices he has taken in his pantry, and uses them at table !

" This same heretic, who is a leading person, and member of the Privy Council of Ireland, has obtained from the king a most ample patent or commission, empowering him to take and hang, without farther trial, according to what they call martial law, all the bishops, Jesuits, seminarist priests, and religious, whom he can discover, as seditious people, disturbers of the public peace, detrimental to the state, and propagators of the papistical religion ; and in virtue of this commission, he and his constables enter whatever Catholic houses they like, without exception of state or condition, under pretence of seeking traitors as they call them, and things belonging to the service of the altar, but in reality to rob the owners of all they possess.

" Of the chasubles and other sacred ornaments they get their hands on, they make garments for their mistresses, quilts for their beds, and clothes for themselves and their servants.

" An unfortunate page of this wicked man had a pair of breeches made of a chasuble of violet velvet, and he began to mock the Catholics and boast that he was dressed in the spoils of the papists, when suddenly the breeches took fire, and he began to roar like a madman ; but with all his frantic efforts he could not get the breeches off, nor could those who came to his assistance, except by pulling off his skin and portions of his flesh with them ; and he died there suddenly in his master's presence ; but though some, who witnessed this fearful example, afterwards endeavoured to amend their lives, his master still persevered in the same blindness and obstinacy as before.

" Up to the present (1611) they have taken but one bishop and a priest, and they have sent these to the viceroy, to see if they can compel them by torments to discover on others of their profession and habit ; as also who lodged and received them, and for other ends and objects known only to themselves.¹"

¹ The writer of the first document would appear to be either a Jesuit father or a former student of the College of Salamanca ; but whoever he was, it is clear he had in him the stuff of which martyrs are made. The second is continued on the same paper by the same pen, but the Spanish is preceded by the first five clauses in English in the handwriting of Father Thomas White, and as they are very quaint and curious, I am going to give the first as it is :—

" Item, that thuy take away the liberties and charters of each citty wh^e tyme out of minde thuy enjoyed and that thuy make no traficking in or out of the kingdome. but thuy must give the moiety or halfe out of their viodage unto the king uppon thuir duparture and halfe of thuir profit uppon thuir returne, intending thurby that no merchaunts or natives of the country shall have trade or traficke in or out of the country but onli Englishe merchaunts such as shal be sent out of England as herrby the natives may be utterlie impoverished and extinguished and made unable to trade."

The next refers to the meeting of the four Protestant Archbishops held in Dublin, in 1611, for the purpose of framing resolutions and devising means to more effectually crush out the Catholic Faith. It is headed :—

*“An Account of the Decrees and Acts of the Conciliabulum held by the Four Heretic Archbishops of the Kingdom of Ireland in the year 1611, in Dublin, to Extinguish the Catholic Faith, and Establish their Impious and Perfidious Sect, remitted by Persons of Credit to the Superiors of the Irish Colleges of Spain; to which are Added some Strange Cases, and some notice of the Preceding State of Things.”*¹

It says :—“In as much as the king our lord, with his usual care and religious zeal for the advancement of the true faith and religion in this kingdom of Ireland, has commanded us, the archbishops and bishops of said kingdom, by his royal letters of the 12th of last April (1611), to come together to confer and treat about the means to carry out and put in execution his Majesty's will on this head; we, the four archbishops of this kingdom, summoned by the viceroy according to the directions he had from his Majesty for this purpose, having met here in Dublin in discharge of our consciences before God Almighty, and in compliance with the sacred royal commands of his Majesty, to whom we owe loyalty and obedience in temporal and spiritual things according to our oaths, after due deliberation, do swear and undertake, in order to realize the end his Majesty has in view, as far as in us lies, to procure the observance as well in our dioceses as in those of our suffragans the following statutes and ordinances :—

“1. That as far as possible we observe conformity in the order of uprooting papistry, and planting in its place the true religion, and spare no kind of labour of body or mind to carry this into execution.

“2. That for this purpose we reside each of us in his own diocese and district, nor leave it without the express permission of the viceroy: remarking that we understand by *district* all the tract of country where we have command and authority, as in the instance of the archbishop of Cashel, who has two other dioceses annexed to his by the king's favour.

“3. That each of us, as also of our suffragans, annually visit in person all the deaneries and divisions of our jurisdiction, summoning all the pastors and ministers to appear before him to give an account of themselves and their ministry, and of the flocks they have under them, and receive instructions

¹ All the emendations and changes in this document are in the handwriting of Father Richard Conway, besides the entire latter portion of it. I shall mark where his handwriting begins.

for the good government and proper conduct as well of themselves as of their parishioners.

"4. That no one be acknowledged as pastor, minister, or priest, whose title is not confirmed by the royal authority and seal.

"5. That the oath of allegiance and supremacy be offered to and required from all classes of people, and that said prelate give faith and testimony to the lord viceroy of all those who would not take it.

"6. That we undertake and promise not to admit any person to promotion or ecclesiastical dignities in our dioceses who will not first willingly take the oath of supremacy, and publicly conform with all the laws of the king, and that we will give said benefices in reward to those who display zeal in this particular.

"7. That each of us and of our suffragans will make diligent inquiry after such persons as may entertain or lodge vagabond clerics, Jesuits, seminarists, friars, and such like, forming a list of the parties receiving them, as also of those they receive, which shall be sent in due time to the viceroy, together with our opinion of how they may be come at, and offering at the same time our aid and assistance.

"8. That we will do everything possible to repair and rebuild all the parochial churches of our dioceses; and wherever our authority is not strong enough to effect it, we will with all submission ask the favour and assistance of the viceroy.

"9. That we will take special care that there be established in each of our dioceses public schools, in which freely and without any payment the natives may be taught conformably to the order of his Majesty to that purpose; and that we will not consent that any papist master may have a school and teach either publicly or in secret; and any remissness in this matter must be denounced to the viceroy.

"10. That we will spare no kind of labour or diligence to withdraw the papists from their superstitions and idolateries. We will also employ all diligence and care in instructing them in the principal points of our true religion, imitating in this the zeal of the prelates of England, with whose mode of proceeding we are well acquainted.

"Finally, we resolve to meet here in this capital, we the four archbishops with our suffragan bishops, at Easter of next year, that his Majesty may know and understand the diligence employed by each of us in carrying out these holy and salutary ordinances."¹

¹ There is an English version of these resolutions, which differs from the above only in the antiquated phraseology.

“*What followed on these Resolutions.*—For the fulfilment and observance of these resolutions the viceroy gave them certain furious and diabolical ministers, called constables, who are Englishmen, and who go about with power to rob and despoil whomever they like, without respect to person or quality ; and also companies of horse and foot, who live on the Catholics, and act, some as setter dogs, others as grippers to seize and maltreat, and others to glut on these servants of God their mad fanaticism with unheard-of cruelty and tyranny.

“One night they travelled an immense distance with the intention of seizing certain Jesuit priests, who were to meet in a particular place, and although they found the house directly, our Lord was pleased to send some impediment so that there was no meeting that day, and their wicked intentions were thus frustrated ; but they wreaked their vengeance on the people of the house, plundering everything they could lay hands on. All priests keep out of sight : by day they do not dare to go out in public even disguised, because for them there is no place secure, nor village, nor town, nor even the woods and mountains, for these infernal ministers leave no corner unsearched.

“They have their Inquisition which goes from place to place to inquire and discover, to condemn and chastise, those who were not at their heretical meetings and sermons, or who harbour Catholic priests, or hear Mass, or wear a rosary beads, agnus Deis, crosses, images or medallions, or go to confession and communion. They also inquire who married them, baptized their children, or buried their dead ; who has in his house a Bull or Brief, or any document emanating from the Pope and the holy Church of Rome. All these things have their penalty and chastisement, and the informer his reward.

“In the month of August last there was a judicial inquiry in Drogheda after priests in the form customarily employed in the discovery of the perpetrators of great crimes, obliging those summoned to inform on them on oath ; but the Lord gave His own in this difficulty *os et sapientiam cui non poterant resistere adversarii*. One said his own occupations did not allow him time to look after the affairs of his neighbours ; another, that an humble man like him could not be expected to know anything of matters so far above him ; another, that he wondered people so learned as the members of the Inquisition should be, could want to know anything from him who had never studied a word ; and the beauty of it all was that they could never get anything else from them ; and such was the confusion of the Inquisitors that they thought well to close the

business and get away as quick as they could, without effecting their purpose.

"They are making all haste in rebuilding the churches, which were destroyed by the heretics themselves, perhaps by the will of heaven, which desires the Catholic Faith, when restored, to find its churches ready built, though this is far from the thoughts of those engaged in the work. All is done at the cost of the Catholics, even to the expenses of the inspectors appointed to oversee the building. In the course of one year over 100 parochial churches have been repaired in the archdiocese of Dublin alone, to which a great number of heretical Englishmen have been appointed.

¹ "The greatest injury they have done, and one of most serious consequences, was the prohibition of all Catholic schools in our nation, naturally so inclined to learning, except an odd infant school in the principal cities and towns, where only reading, writing, and a little grammar are taught, with the object of sinking our people to degradation, or filling the universities of England with the children of those who had any means to educate them, where they might become more dependent on the heretics and contaminated with their errors. They have also taken singular care that all children be taught English, and chastise them if they hear them speak their own native tongue. But as these crafty heretics saw that all their efforts did not produce the desired effect, and that the natives not only did not go to England, but rather preferred to remain in ignorance than run the risk of their faith and religion by doing so, or went secretly and quietly to many foreign parts, but particularly to Spain, where his Catholic Majesty protected them, and gave them some colleges, and by his example in allotting a subscription for the support of a certain number, encouraged his vassals to assist them, and placed them under the direction of the fathers of the Society of Jesus; and as they also found that from these colleges came a crowd of priests in a very short time, full of virtue and learning, who boldly opposed them, discovered their designs, brought back the erring, and pointed out the way of truth to the ignorant, prohibiting them at the same time from attending the sacrilegious meetings of the Protestants, which maddened them completely, they determined, in order to stop the ravages these colleges were committing, to found a University in the capital of the kingdom, in which they put heretical masters to teach their pestiferous doctrines, and uproot the desire of the Catholics to cross the sea. But the active diligence of our evangelical labourers frustrated their intent, and induced many more to

¹ From this on is the addition made by Father Conway,

come to Spain than formerly, so that the heretics were left without more hearers than their own children and relatives.

"Convinced in the end that none of their plans produced the desired effect, they commenced to publish the fierce edicts issued against the Catholics, in which, besides what is stated above, it is commanded that no one send his son to these colleges under penalty of incurring the serious indignation of the king, confiscation of property and imprisonment. When their sons come home priests, if their fathers admit them into their house, they incur the same penalty, so that fathers whose sons at any time became seminarists run risks and are exposed to trouble all their life; and when the fathers suffer so, what will be the fate of the children if caught? We may guess what it will be from the cruelty of the heretics to Dermot Hurley, Archbishop of Cashel, who, after various torments in prison, was put into boots filled with boiling pitch, butter, salt, and vinegar, which in an instant consumed his flesh to the bones, and was then brought to the scaffold and hanged with a rope of osiers to make his death more cruel and prolonged. The venerable abbot, Gelasius O'Cullenan, will tell us, whom they hung up by the feet and robbed of life with musket shots, shortly after he had finished his studies in Salamanca.¹ The Blessed Cornelius O'Duvēna, bishop of Down and Connor, will also tell us, who, on the 5th of February of this present year, 1612, suffered glorious martyrdom in this form:—They took him from the prison at a horse's tail² to the gallows, where they half hanged him, and then cut off his head, tore out and burned his bowels, and cut his body into quarters; as also Bishop O'Gallagher, who being unable to ride on account of his great age—he was over eighty—was supported on horseback with the points of their lances, so that the poor old man's body was covered with blood on the way to the scaffold, which they found he was unable to reach, and they cut off his head and threw him into a ditch."

¹ Gelasius O'Cullenan, shortly after completing his studies in Salamanca, joined the Cistercian Order, and passed his noviciate in Paris. He became Superior of the monastery of Boyle, which he induced a neighbouring proprietor, who had usurped possession of its property, to restore to him. If our text be correct, which says he studied in Salamanca, and Father Conway is a good authority on the point, he must have made his studies in the University long before the Irish College was thought of, as it was not founded till 1592, and the date assigned for the martyrdom of Gelasius is 21st November, 1580. He is called by Henriquez:—"Ordinis Cisterciensis decor, saeculi nostri splendor et totius Hiberniae gloria." The only answer he made his persecutors when torturing him in prison, and offering him preferments if he would only conform, was: "Though you should offer me the crown of England, I will not forfeit my reward."

² It was the custom in Ireland to yoke the horses by the tail up to a very recent period.

Father Conway then goes on to cite authorities to show the sanctity and learning of the early Irish Church, and among others quotes St. Bernard, Jocelyne, Theodosius, Baronius, and Jonas Abbas.

The following is a more detailed account of the legal murder of the holy Bishop of Down and Connor, already published in the *Ulster Examiner* of November 7th, 1873, from a document in the Irish College, Salamanca, signed R. C., and endorsed "Martyrdom of Bishop O'Duvēna and his chaplain":—

"In the month of May, 1611, the English heretics in Ireland seized in an island, which is in a large lake in the province of Ulster, the Bishop of Down and Connor, an old grave man, and a friar of the Order of St. Francis, and brought him to Dublin, the capital of that kingdom, where the Court resides, and locked him up in the Castle. At the same time, or the June following, they seized, in the city of Cork, a priest called Patrick Louchain, and brought him to the same city and Castle of Dublin. From that time to the end of January, 1612, the Ministers of the King did their best to induce the bishop and the priest to abandon the faith, sometimes with praise and promises, other times with threats, and again with the offer of bishoprics and benefices; but, seeing that nothing of all these things moved these servants of God to accede to their desires, they fulminated charges against them, accusing them of treason to the Crown of England, and with assisting the Catholics at war by saying Masses and administering the sacraments to them; but they could find no other crime in them. Sentence of death was pronounced against them, and the 1st of February of this present year they were brought to the scaffold. The bishop was in a vehicle drawn by horses, and he said he went much more comfortably to death than his Master, our Lord Jesus Christ, who had to walk on foot and bear the weight of His cross.

"Along the road by which they went there was a multitude of people of all degrees, such as was never seen at such a spectacle before; and the Catholics, despising the danger, cast themselves upon their knees to ask the bishop's blessing, which he gave them to satisfy their devotion, and the blows and kicks of the heretics were not sufficient to deter them.

"Two heretical ministers went along with the bishop preaching to him, and persuading him to submit to the mercy of the Viceroy. He answered them again and again that he was too old, and had not a high enough estimation of their religion to allow himself to yield to their wishes, and abandon God, from whom he had received so much good. They arrived at the place of punishment, where the heretics had everything

prepared. They made the bishop mount the scaffold, and on every step of the ladder he paused to pray, and then he addressed the multitude, and the ministers of justice interfered with him, that he might not pervert the people. The heretical ministers told him to confess that he died for treason to the King, and not for his religion; he answered that he could not lie, and that he died because he would not abandon the Roman Catholic faith, and in proof of this that they had offered him his life and property if he would become a heretic. At this the ministers clamoured that he should be despatched at once, and prevented from talking. At this moment a courier arrived from the Viceroy, demanding of the bishop to confess before the people that he died a traitor and not for his religion, but he gave the same answers as he had given the ministers.

"When he was thrown off the whole multitude gave one great shout of anguish, and then the place became as silent as if there were not a soul in it.

"They took him down very soon, and, from the cheerfulness of his countenance, they thought he was still alive; then they cut off his head, opened his body, and burned his bowels, and cut him into four quarters.

"The head disappeared so that the heretics could not find it, and such a crowd seized his clothes in defiance of the ministers of justice, that they did not leave a scrap for the hangman, nor a toe nor finger on the feet and hands of the dead; and even a great quantity of the flesh was cut off by the Catholics, and was kept, as also his blood and the earth moistened by it, as relics.

"The day was cloudy and dark, and as soon as the bishop got to the first step of the ladder the heavens opened, and the sun appeared the colour of blood, and continued so till the bishop was quartered, and then they closed and became more obscure and murky than before.

"The priest was all his time in view of the spectacle. From the bad treatment he got in prison, and because he was sick, he appeared very thin; but he gathered so much firmness and courage that one would think he was never sick; and he commenced to exhort the people, but was immediately stopped and put on the scaffold, to his great joy; and he said that the only crime they found in him was the exercise of his functions among the faithful, and for that he died. They cut short his speech, and he was thrown off, and, while yet half alive, his head was cut off, and he was quartered. The faithful collected with great daring his blood and garments, and did not leave a single hair on his head or face without the heretics

being able to prevent them. Their quarters were left there that night, and were guarded by the Catholics, and that same night a Catholic, with a lame arm, was cured by touching the dead. The next day the city was emptied of people who went to see them and commend themselves to them to the rage of the heretics, and the Viceroy ordered them to be buried in that place. The following night twelve Catholic youths disinterred and brought them to a decent place, where they are buried with other martyrs.

"The Viceroy and Council heard of the grief of the people, and how they regarded them as martyrs. 'If the people venerates them as such,' said the Viceroy, 'I will soon give them plenty like them.' This short relation I got from some Fathers in Ireland, and from a person who was present and saw with his own eyes what passed, and was one of the twelve who disinterred them; he told me in this College (Salamanca), where he is at present a student, on the 19th of this month, 1612.

"R. C. (RICHARD CONWAY.)"

If we go back a year or two, we shall find the state of affairs much the same all through this persecution, which began in 1605, when James thought himself secure. John Wadding, a former student of Salamanca, writes to Father Conway from Waterford on the 18th of October, 1606:—"I have tried to go and see if I could do any good in my own country, but I met with many obstacles, and so after travelling about a good deal, I have at last got to Waterford. I am the guest of the mayor, who is a very choice scholar, a person of great merit, and a great servant of God, just such a man as is wanting in these trying times, whom the heretics fear very much, for they know him to be a man of letters, and so they never venture to talk to him, which is a proof of their ignorance and darkness; but they have worked with the President of Munster to have him appear before him in the city tribunal, which he dare not refuse. They also took prisoners with him several councillors, whom the President treated savagely, sending them to prison for refusing to present themselves in the church of the heretics. After a long time he determined to fine them heavily and deprive them of their offices, with which the prisoners were very content, for each and all were determined to suffer everything for Christ our Lord. In the course of this year there were five mayors deposed in this city in the same way as Mr. Paul Sherlock, which is my host's name. He is very fond of talking of things relating to religion, and his example encourages others to resist the enemies of our

holy Faith. It is a great source of consolation to see the tenderness and devotion of these citizens, and the fervour, frequency, and reverence with which they approach the holy sacraments; so that although there is a fair number of priests here, we have all plenty to do, though months pass without our meeting, so great is the precaution necessary, on account of the fury of the persecution raging around."

This persecution of Paul Sherlock and his companions is extensively referred to by Father Barnaby Kearney, S.J., brother to the Archbishop of Cashel, in his letter to Dr. Lombard, Archbishop of Armagh, dated 4th October, 1606, *e latibulo nostro ubi frater modo est qui V.D. plurimum salutat et nominatos a me*; but as it is given in substance by Oliver and others, I will content myself with quoting the curious postscript he added to it:—

"Last March the Lord President found a portable altar at Waterford, which he cast into the sea when he came to it, and immediately a sudden tempest arose which ruined many houses in Waterford and elsewhere, of which I am an eye-witness; for the house where I was hid was shaken, and a great part of the roof demolished, and great heaps of corn (*Anglice Rikes*) were lifted into the air and cast into the river: this is perfectly true. There is a person here who was formerly a sea captain and pirate, named Serment, who was made an official (*quem shirife vocant*) in county Kilkenny, who came to John of Kilcregan's house, four miles from Waterford, where there was a portable altar, given him by my brother; and as Serment was a heretic, they hid the altar under the bed in which he slept. He spent a most uncomfortable night, dreaming that he saw a cross erected, which on his approach always receded, and he was tortured the whole night through pursuing the flying cross. When taking leave of his host in the morning, he thanked him, but said he would not sleep in that bed again on any account. Some one tried to exhort him to the veneration of the Cross and the Catholic Faith, but he departed obstinate."

As I have now, however, outstepped in all probability my proper limits, I will bring this article to a close.

W. MCD.

THE EVANGELICAL ALLIANCE.

[Very little has been heard on this side of the Atlantic of the meeting which took place in New York in the early part of October last. Still it was expected by Protestants that great results would come from it—that a visible unity might be shown to exist among the various Protestant sects—and that effectual means might be adopted to protect Protestantism from the aggressions of Catholicism on the one hand, and of infidelity on the other. We subjoin an account of this meeting, taken from an American periodical, in order that our readers may know how well the meeting succeeded in attaining the objects for which it was assembled.]

“WE meet,” said the Rev. Dr. Adams, in his address of welcome to the members of the Evangelical Alliance in New York, “to manifest and express our Christian unity. Divers are the names which we bear, both as to countries and churches—German, French, Swiss, Dutch, English, Scotch, Irish; Lutheran, Reformed, Anglican, Presbyterian, Episcopal, Methodist, Baptist, Independent—but we desire and intend to show that, amid all this variety of form and circumstances, there is a real unity of faith and life; believing, according to the familiar expression of our common Christian creed, in the ‘Holy Catholic Church and the communion of saints.’” Dr. Adams only gave expression to a thought which was uppermost in the minds of nearly all those five or six hundred gentlemen who assembled in this city from the four quarters of the globe in the early part of October, and filled the newspapers with hymns and speeches, and professions of love, and little disputes and quarrels. “We are living,” continued Dr. Adams, “in times when, all over the world, there is a manifest longing for more of visible unity.” So the first business of the conference, after the preliminary survey of the condition of Protestantism in the midst of the Catholic populations of Europe—the review and inspection, so to speak, of the army in the field—was to devote a whole day to the discussion of Christian unity, in the hope of persuading themselves and the rest of mankind that these warring sects were really one body of Christian believers, and this theological battle, in which they pass fifty-one weeks of the year, was nothing else than the communion of saints. Indeed, a day was not too long for such a task. Anglicans and Baptists, followers of John Wesley and disciples of Calvin, the clergy of Calvary and the preachers of the Greene-street meeting-house, deans of the English Establishment and dissenters who hate prelacy as an invention of the devil—they were all here together, trying to agree upon something, and to reconcile the fact of their Alliance with the fundamental doctrine confessed by Dr. Hodge, of Princeton, as the motto of the conference as well as the excuse for its

existence, that "The Church of Christ is one." We say it was no easy matter to reconcile the fact of the Alliance with the confession of this truth. An alliance supposes independent forces, acting together for a special and temporary purpose, but preserving distinct organizations, and acknowledging different commanders. There can be no "alliance" between the members of the "one body in Christ," any more than there can be an alliance between the right and left eyes, or the foot and the great toe. Every one of the speakers was painfully conscious of this false position. "There is no more common reproach against Christians," said Dr. Hodge, "than that they are so much divided in their belief. There is some truth in this; but, my hearers, we are one in faith." We confess we do not fully comprehend the distinction. Matters of faith, according to Dr. Hodge's definition, seem to be those great truths which all members of the Evangelical Alliance hold in common; and matters of belief or opinion are everything else. The existence of God, the Trinity, the Incarnation, the resurrection of the dead, the punishment of hell, the rewards of heaven, and a few other doctrines, more or less—these are the Evangelical articles of faith. But on what authority does Dr. Hodge restrict his creed to these few points? Every sect represented in the Alliance has a more or less extensive formulary of belief, resting upon supposed divine revelation, and including a good many other tenets besides the half-dozen or so held up by Dr. Hodge. All depend upon precisely the same sanction. All are supposed to be drawn from the same source. The Baptist has just the same ground for insisting upon immersion that he has for believing in the resurrection. The Calvinistic doctrine of total depravity has the same basis as the Calvinistic belief in a divine Saviour. The Anglican theory of an inspired but occasionally corrupt and lying church is just as well supported as the Anglican's faith in the Trinity. What right have the members of the Alliance to decide that this dogma is a matter of faith, and that other is only a matter of opinion? All the contradictory doctrines, they tell us, are found in the Bible. Who has the right to decide which are binding upon the conscience, and which are open to individual choice; which are certain, and which are only probable? Oh! these reverend gentlemen will tell us, the essential points of faith are those upon which we all agree. Very well. Whom do you mean by "we"? What right have you to restrict the company of the faithful to your eight or nine sects? You are not a majority of the Christians in the world. You are even a small minority of those who believe in the very points which you

make the test of evangelical Christianity. There are more than two hundred millions of Christians who believe, just as you do, in God, in the Incarnation, in the resurrection, and in heaven and hell ; but you do not pretend to be one body with them. If all who accept what you style the points of faith are fellow-members with you, why do you not include Catholics ? And, besides, if you are to arrive at unity by a process of elimination—throwing out one dogma after another until you reach a condition of theological indifferentism where a certain number of sects can meet without quarrelling—why should you stop at one point rather than another ? There is no logical reason why you should not eliminate the doctrine of eternal punishment, and take in the Universalists ; or the Trinity, and take in the Unitarians ; or Christian marriage, and take in the Latter Day Saints ; or the whole Bible, and take in evolutionists, and pure theists, and the prophets and followers of free religion. Once begin to make arbitrary discriminations between faith and belief, as you now do, calling everything upon which your various denominations agree a matter of ascertained truth, and everything upon which they differ a subject of individual opinion, and it becomes impossible to say why your common creed should not be narrowed down to a single dogma—for example, to the omnipotence of God, or the existence of matter, or the atomic theory, or the nebular hypothesis. Then, at least, you would be consistent, and your Alliance would be a much more powerful body than it seems to be at present.

This difficulty seems to have been passed over by the Conference in New York ; but the fact of denominational differences could not be forgotten. It stared the meeting in the face at every turn. It got into nearly all the speeches. It appeared in almost every prayer. One after another, the preachers and essayists were moved to apologize for it and explain it. Dr. Hodge laid down the rule, with great applause from his uneasy listeners, that any organization formed for the worship of Christ was a church, and every church must be recognised by every other ; that churches differed so radically about the great truths of religion was no more to be wondered at, and no more to be regretted, than that men and women should be organized into different towns, and states, and nations ; and, as a consequence, he held that the sacraments of one church were just as good as the sacraments of another, and the orders of one just as good as the orders of another. In fact, said he, “no church can make a minister any more than it can make a Christian.” This remark was also received with applause, in which it is to be hoped that the Church of

England delegates and the Episcopalians cordially joined. There were three bishops of the Protestant Episcopal Church in the Conference ; and after the centuries of war which their denomination has waged for the validity of Anglican orders and the unbroken apostolic succession, it must have been an inexpressible comfort to them to be told by the Alliance that they were no more bishops than Henry Ward Beecher, and Octavius B. Frothingham, and the Rev. Phœbe Hanaford. They took it meekly, however, and did not even mind being told that their church could not make a bishop or any other minister. The Dean of Canterbury was there, as the representative of the Primate of all England, and he took the rather singular position, for a churchman, that denominational differences are rather an advantage than otherwise. God's works in nature, he said, are marked by variety. All creation, from inanimate objects up to man, is characterized by diversity. So it is also, he continues, with religions. The parallel, of course, supposes that the religions are imperfect and "natural" works, which we hardly expected an Anglican dean to admit. An imperfect religion is one that is partly true and partly false ; that is to say, it is a system of human devising, and not a revelation from God. And Dean Smith confesses that all the churches embraced in the Alliance are natural rather than supernatural works when he accounts for their diversities by the limitations of human reason. "The gift of instinct," he tells us, "is perfect, and produces uniformity ;" but "reason is full of diversity." It is "tentative." "It tries and fails, and tries again, and improves its methods, and succeeds partially, and so advances indefinitely onward, and, it may be, at times falls back, but never becomes perfect." All this means, if it means anything, that the cardinal points of agreement between the so-called Evangelical sects, or their faith, as Dr. Hodge terms it, are the only points of any creed which are not subject to constant change. The dogma which is professed to-day may be repudiated to-morrow, and taken up again next week. The creed for which Cranmer went to the stake may be denounced as heresy by the Archbishop of Canterbury, and preached as "moderately true" by the Archbishop of York. In fine, Anglicans get their faith in God and the resurrection by instinct, and the rest of the Thirty-nine Articles by reason ; and the result, of course, is that the proportion of truth there may be in religion is regulated entirely by the intellectual capacity of the believer. Salvation, according to this view, is largely the result of a school education.

Moreover, says the dean, if we knew just what to believe, we should not take such interest in religion. "Truth and the

Bible are nowhere valued, except where there is discussion, and debate, and controversy about them." It adds wonderful zest to a dogma to have to dig for it ; and faith, like the biceps muscle, is developed by violent contention. But if this is so, what does the world want of Evangelical Alliances ? If religious truth is only struck out in the heat of religious wranglings, like sparks from the contact of flint and steel, the more fighting the better. The Church of England must have found out pretty much everything worth knowing in the persecuting days of Edward and Elizabeth, and forgotten more than half of it in the subsequent years of peace ; while the era of brotherly love, towards which the Alliance looks with longing eyes, will be a period of religious indifference or of almost universal negation.

Dean Smith is logical in one thing. "If our state," he says, "is not one of attainment, but one of progress ; if, at the most, we are feelers and seekers after God," why, then, of course, we must look upon all denominations with equal favor. One is just as good as another where none has any faith. But what, then, becomes of the Anglican idea of a visible church and an apostolic succession ? Where is that depository of divine truth to which churchmen comfort themselves by referring ? What is the meaning of that prayer in the litany of the Anglican and Episcopal service, "From heresy and schism good Lord deliver us" ? Dr. Hodge, indeed, believes that "no church can make a minister" ; but the Protestant Episcopal Church is very positive and particular about its orders, and is entirely satisfied that it can make bishops, priests, and deacons ; that nobody else among Protestants can make them ; and that they are necessary to the legitimate administration of sacraments and the well-being of Christian society. Pray, how are these contradictions to be settled ? There was a charming illustration of unity one Sunday during the sessions of the Conference, when six clergymen, representing five or six different denominations, joined in a celebration of the Lord's Supper at the Madison-square Presbyterian Church ; and a very pretty row there was about it afterwards. The service was held in the afternoon, and the company of celebrants, including the Dean of Canterbury (Anglican), the Rev. Dr. Adams (Presbyterian), the Rev. Matteo Prochet, of Genoa (Waldensi), Narayan Sheshadriai, the Bombay convert, who has been ordained, we believe, according to the rite of the Free Church of Scotland, Bp. Schweinitz (Moravian), and Dr. Angus, of London (Baptist). So far as we can understand the ceremony, no particular liturgy or custom was followed, but the representative of each sect threw in a little of his own religion.

Dr. Adams opened the exercises with a prologue. The dean followed with an apology, and then read the Apostles' Creed and a collect from the *Book of Common Prayer*. Dr. Angus "gave thanks for the bread," his prayer serving, apparently, instead of a consecration. Then the bread was handed around by the lay deacons of the church. "Bp. Schweinitz was called on to give thanks for the cup, which was afterwards passed to the congregation." After some further address, the dean dismissed the assemblage with a benediction. We can understand how the various dissenting ministers might reasonably take part in such a ceremony; but the spectacle of a dignitary of the Church of England in such a situation would be incomprehensible, had not long experience taught us that all manner of amazing and inconsistent things are to be looked for in the Anglican Church as matters of course. No sooner had the story of this joint-communion service appeared in the newspapers than the bubble of Christian unity burst with a tremendous report. An ex-bishop of the Anglican Establishment, the Right Rev. Dr. Tozer, of Central Africa, who happened to be in New York, addressed a letter of remonstrance to the Protestant Episcopal bishop of this diocese. He was shocked at the dean's breach of ecclesiastical order, and terrified at the consequences which might follow his rash and insubordinate conduct. If one service is just as good as another, why, naturally, says Bp. Tozer, people will run after the attractive worship of the Church of Rome; and "the promise held out by the Episcopal Church in this land, of becoming a haven of rest to men who are tossed to and fro by the multiplicity of contending creeds and systems, is nothing else than a mistake and a delusion." Dr. Tozer's letter found its way into the newspapers; and then a bitter controversy broke out among the Episcopalians, bishops, priests, and laymen berating one another in the secular press, and striving in vain to determine whether their church was a church or not. Only one thing seems to have been finally settled by the quarrel, and that was, that on two of the most important of religious questions—one relating to the very foundation of the visible church organization, the other to the most solemn of religious rites—the Anglican denomination has no fixed belief at all. That very dignified and exclusive body, which sets so much store by the apostolic succession, and has strained history and reason for so many years to establish the validity of its own orders, has practically treated ordination as a thing of no consequence whatever. It has admitted Presbyterian preachers to its benefices, and recognised the validity of priestly functions performed by men to whom it denies the priestly character;

and the best explanation its defenders can give of such inconsequent conduct is that the "intrusion of unordained persons into English livings" was one of the "irregularities of the Reformation period."—(See letter of "Theologicus" to the *New York Tribune* of Oct. 20, 1873). With regard to the Lord's Supper, the position of the Anglican and Protestant Episcopal Churches is still more curious. All the members of those two organizations believe it to be a sacrament of peculiar, if not awful, sacredness. The majority probably hold that the body and blood of our Lord, in some mysterious and indefinite way, are communicated to the devout receiver of the consecrated bread and wine, if they are not literally present with the visible elements; and some High Churchmen actually believe in the real presence. Yet, in the face of all this, we find the Episcopal Church admitting that the proper celebration of the Lord's Supper does not require the intervention of a regularly ordained minister. Any kind of a service will do, and any kind of a celebrant, even a layman. It is a great mistake to suppose, as some Episcopalians did, that there was anything novel or unbecoming in the Dean of Canterbury's participation with heretics in the performance of a mutilated and nondescript service. The Dean of Westminster (Dr. Stanley) did a similar thing at the meeting of the Evangelical Alliance in Berlin in 1859, and an over zealous churchman who complained of it to the Archbishop of Canterbury was rebuked for his pains. Dr. Muhlenberg, one of the leading Protestant Episcopal clergymen of this city, expressed the only logical Protestant view of the joint-communion question in an address before the Alliance on the last day of its meeting. The Lord's Supper, according to Dr. Muhlenberg, is "the highest social act of religion," and the custom of restricting its celebration, each denomination to itself, is in the highest degree objectionable. As a matter of convenience, it is better, as an ordinary rule, that communicants should have their own "church homes, so to call them, where, under their own pastors, and amid their families and friends, they feel it a good and pleasant thing so to participate in the sacred feast. They have an indisposition to go for it beyond these companies of immediate brethren. Nor is this unsocial, if it be merely a preference for their own associations, for the sacramental modes and customs to which they, like their fathers before them, have been accustomed; but when they do it on religious grounds, when they make it a matter of conscience, when they would forego the communion altogether rather than partake of it outside of their own societies, then it is that unsocialness, to call it by its mildest name, which it is hard to reconcile with aught of hearty realization of membership in the one body of Christ."

Dr. Muhlenberg's position is so peculiar that we have given his statement of it in his own language, lest we may be accused of misrepresenting him. It never occurred to us to complain of heresy and schism on the ground that they are "so unsociable," and we never supposed that the most liberal of Protestant sects defended denominationalism on the plea of custom and education. The manner of taking communion, according to Dr. Muhlenberg, seems to be as much the result of habit as anything else—like the manner of dining or chewing tobacco. An Episcopalian has no better reason for kneeling reverently at the chancel-rail, and consuming the consecrated bread and wine, rather than sitting at ease in his pew while unconsecrated food and drink are passed to him by lay deacons, than the reason that he was brought up to that fashion, and feels more comfortable in the society of his own friends and neighbours. This being the case, it follows, of course, that the bread and wine are just as good without consecration as with it; just as much the body and blood of Christ in the bakery and the wine-shop as on the altar; and the most rigorous Anglican will be entirely justified in communicating according to any rite that he fancies. Indeed, Dr. Muhlenberg declares that the various sacramental rites and ceremonies are all more or less agreeable to Scripture, but not essential. The sacrament is just as good without any of them. Our Lord commanded us to celebrate the holy communion in remembrance of him. Well, then, let us go and do it, each in his own way, each after his own idea of what it means, each admitting that every other way is good, and perfectly indifferent to the tremendous question whether the elements are the body and blood of the Saviour or only common bread and wine. Nay, there is no need of an officiating ministry. The Christian eucharist is only the antitype of the Jewish Passover; and as "an officiating ministry was not required for the ancient priestly dispensation, surely none can be demanded for the antitype under the unpriestly dispensation of the Gospel." That simplifies the administration very much; but it occurs to us that a sincere Episcopalian, of less liberal views than Dr. Muhlenberg, might be embarrassed by the joint communions which he so strongly recommends. We can imagine such a man going into Dr. Adams's church, while the Dean of Canterbury, and the Presbyterian and Baptist, and other ministers, stood grouped together before the pulpit, and asking what the ceremony meant. A deacon answers, "Oh! it is nothing but the communion service; you had better join us." "But what is your communion service? Is it the participation of the body and blood of Christ?" "Not at all; it is merely the highest social act of

religion." "Have the bread and wine been consecrated?" "Oh! yes—that is to say, no; well, you see, these gentlemen don't all think alike about it. One says it is the sacrament of the body and blood of Christ, and another says it is nothing but a rite of hospitality; and we let every man choose for himself." "But has there been no blessing of the elements? No prayer over them?" "Yes; a plenty of prayers." "And what was the intention of the celebrant? The intention, of course, regulates the quality of the act." "Oh! there were five or six intentions; for there were five or six celebrants, and no two of them meant the same thing." Here the inquirer, if he had any sense, would probably conclude that the ceremony was nothing but a sacrilegious travesty on the holy communion, and would retire deeply scandalized; and remembering, first, that the Thirty-nine Articles of his creed forbid "any man to take upon him the office of ministering the sacraments before he be lawfully called and sent to execute the same," and, secondly, that the preface to the ordination service of the Episcopal Church declares that no man shall be suffered to execute any of the functions of a minister in Christ's church except he be duly ordained by a bishop, he will doubtless be not a little puzzled to account for the presence of a dignitary like the Dean of Canterbury in such a motley assemblage.

The protests against joint communion are not confined, however, to the Episcopal denomination. The Baptists are likewise exercised in mind about it. They refuse to recognise the validity of infant baptism, or to admit to the Lord's Supper those who have not been duly baptized; and hence, with the great majority of Christians they do not feel at liberty to communicate. The Baptist clergyman from London who participated in the performance at Dr. Adams's church has exposed himself to violent criticism from his own brethren, and, like Dean Smith, is accused of forgetting ecclesiastical discipline and theological orthodoxy under the impulse of a moment of gushing enthusiasm. What a charming illustration of Christian unity this joint-communion service has afforded!

The more closely we look into the Alliance, the more preposterous appear its attempts to jumble up conflicting doctrines, mingle contradictions, and confuse intelligence. If it is right for different sects to communicate together, it must be right for them to perform all other religious services together, and doctrine and ritual become alike insignificant. Hence, we are not surprised to find among the papers presented to the Conference an essay on the *Interchange of Pulpits*, in which the Rev. Mr. Conrad, of Philadelphia, argues that it is a

Christian duty for Episcopal congregations sometimes to listen to the sermons of Baptist preachers, and for Baptists to invite the ministrations of a Presbyterian, and so on—hands across, down the middle and up again; orthodox to-day, heretic next week. Is it necessary to believe anything? Is there any such thing as faith? Is there any reality in religions which have no dogmas, and which look upon truth and falsehood, worship and blasphemy, as perfectly indifferent? Surely this is reducing Protestantism to absurdity. You, gentlemen, have adopted the principle of individual infallibility, first, to declare that the church of God is the mother of falsehood, and then to accuse each other of error and deceit; and after multiplying your subdivisions till there is danger of universal ruin and dissension, you come together and declare that there is no such thing as religious certitude; no choice between one sect and another; no difference between God's messengers and the lying prophets of Baal. Your plan of composing controversies is to obliterate the distinction between good and evil; and if we can believe Mr. Conrad, the plan of the apostles was the same. They founded independent congregations, and gave them such lax notions of faith that, as Mr. Conrad remarks, "the primitive church was inoculated with error." Nevertheless, the apostles and their first disciples went about freely from church to church, exchanging pulpits, so to speak; and we do not read that the denomination to which Peter belonged had any objection to an occasional sermon from Paul, or that the Beloved Disciple was not welcomed as a good Christian minister when he visited the sect established by St. Luke. In those blessed days there was, we believe, a true interchange of pulpits. But Mr. Conrad neglects to explain the warning which St. Paul gave to the Christians at Rome:

"Now I beseech you, brethren, to mark them who cause dissensions and offences contrary to the doctrine which you have learned; and to avoid them.

"For they that are such serve not Christ our Lord, but their own belly; and by pleasing speeches, and good words, seduce the hearts of the innocent.¹

What have the Episcopalians, with their fiction of a hierarchy, to say of this plan of undenominational preaching? How are we to reconcile the presence of a Presbyterian parson in one of their pulpits with the rule, already quoted, which forbids the exercise of ministerial functions by one who has not received Episcopal ordination? And what would a Baptist say to a service conducted in one of their churches by a

¹ Romans xvi. 17, 18.

Methodist who had been sprinkled in infancy, and therefore, according to the Baptist view, not baptized at all?

The plain truth of the whole matter is that there is no such thing as Christian unity in any of these periodical performances of the Evangelical Alliance. The sects are not drawing closer together. Denominational differences are not disappearing. The quarrelling is as angry and as noisy as ever. But Protestantism has taken alarm. It is confronted by two dangerous enemies, which are growing stronger and stronger every day, and it is anxious to keep the peace for a little while in its own family, that it may the better look after its defence. One of these dangers is the philosophical infidelity which Protestantism itself has bred. The other is the Catholic faith, against which Protestantism is a rebellion. An address, prepared by the late Merle d'Aubigné for the conference which was to have been held three years ago, was presented at the meeting in New York. The historian of the Reformation tells his brethren some plain and unwelcome truths about their condition. "The despotic and arrogant pretensions of Rome," he says, "have reached in our days their highest pitch, and we are consequently more than ever called upon to contend against that power which dares to usurp the divine attributes. But that is not all. While superstition has increased, unbelief has done so still more. . . . Materialism and atheism have in many minds taken the place of the true God. Science, which was Christian in the finest intellects of former days, in those to whom we owe the greatest discoveries, has become atheistic among men who now talk the loudest. . . . Eminent literary men continually put forward in their writings what is called positivism, rejecting everything that goes beyond the limit of the senses, and disdaining all that is supernatural. . . . Unbelief has reached even the ministry of the word. Pastors belonging to Protestant churches in France, Switzerland, Germany, and other Continental countries, not only reject the fundamental doctrines of the faith, but also deny the resurrection of Jesus Christ, and see in him nothing more than a man who, according to many among them, was even subject to errors and faults. A Synod of the Reformed Church in Holland has lately decreed that, when a minister baptizes, he need not do it in the name of the Father, and of the Son, and of the Holy Ghost. . . . At an important assembly held lately in German Switzerland, at which were present many men of position, both in the church and state, the basis of the new religion was laid down: 'No doctrines' was the watchword on that occasion; 'no new doctrines, whatever they may be, in place of the old; liberty alone.' Which means liberty to overthrow everything; and too truly *some of those*

ministers believe neither in a personal God nor in the immortality of the soul." Nor was Merle d'Aubigné alone in his bitter judgment of European Protestantism. The same feeling is more or less clearly manifest in the essays of various foreign delegates. Mr. Prochet, the Waldensian minister from Genoa, in presenting a sketch of the religious condition of Italy, laid great stress upon the close union, brotherly feeling, and unflagging energy of the priesthood. "The clergy," said he, "with few exceptions, have gathered themselves more closely around the Holy See, determined to stand or fall with it." Father Hyacinthe lectured in Rome; "but the clergy left him alone, or his few adherents were such that nothing of any importance could be done by them." Among the laity there is a large proportion of devout adherents of the church. There is a great multitude which does not practice any religion, and takes more interest in politics than in faith; but this party has not renounced its allegiance to the church, and believes in Rome as far as it believes in anything. Atheists are not numerous, but their influence is constantly increasing. Protestants are the fewest and the weakest of all. There are congregations of foreign Protestants, but "their influence is of very little value." The Waldensians have a theological school at Florence; but we are puzzled to know what they can teach for "it is open to students of every denomination; they are never asked to leave their religion to join another." Altogether, the Protestants of Italy, mere handful as they are, are divided into ten different denominations. The Rev. M. Cohen Stuart, of Rotterdam, gave a somewhat similar sketch of the situation in Holland. Nowhere, he said, has the Pope more pious devotees and more zealous adherents than in the land which gave England William of Orange and sheltered the Pilgrim Fathers. If the church is not increasing there in numbers, it is daily adding to its power and influence. "There is no rent of heresy in the solid mass of that mediæval building save the remarkable schism of the so-called Jansenists; . . . but this sect, with its few thousands of adherents, is far more interesting from its history than important from actual influence." Protestantism, on the other hand, shows little but dissension, with a strong tendency towards scepticism. "There is a tide of neology, a flood of unbelief, which no dikes or moles can keep back. . . . A great many, a sadly increasing number, are more or less forsaking the Gospel and becoming estranged from Christian truth. Materialism and irreligion are slaying their tens of thousands in the ranks of so-called Christians." Mr. Stuart draws a fearful picture of the disputes of the different Protestant theological schools,

and continues: "It is evident, indeed, that the utter confusion into which the Reformed Church of Holland has fallen cannot last very long, lest it should lead to a total disorganization and overthrow of the whole. . . . Nothing for this moment is left but to bear, though not without earnest protest, a state of things too abnormal and too absurd to last." Of Switzerland, again, we have almost precisely the same story. The Rev. Eugene Reichel, of Montmireil, complained of the activity of the Catholic Church in his little republic, and the great increase of infidelity among Protestants. "A deplorable unbelief has led captive the masses of the people. They have left their churches to engulf themselves in the vortex of business and worldly pleasure. . . . On every side infidelity is become rampant, and much more aggressive than in former years. Better organized than once, and finding an efficient support both in the indifference of the people and the countenance afforded by government, this insidious foe, closing up its ranks, is not slow to assail the truth." Of Spain Mr. Fliedner gave a vague and not overbrilliant account, and of Greece Mr. Kalopathakes could only say that Protestants had a very hard time of it there, and that there were very few of them. American missionaries have been sustained in Greece for forty years, and yet there is only one meeting-house in the kingdom. Mr. Decoppet, of Paris, declares that "the Protestant population of France is still but a feeble minority, which holds its own, but does not sensibly increase," while the church is evidently gaining every day in influence; and, moreover, Protestantism is torn by internal discords, and weakened by rationalistic tendencies, which give its enemies "a plausible pretext for their assertion that Protestantism leads necessarily to negation, and that it is on the high-road to dissolution." In Denmark, according to Dr. Kalkar, of Copenhagen, Catholicism has made rapid and extraordinary progress. In Protestant Sweden, "unbelief has spread among the people, especially among the educated classes," and "the moral condition of the people is tolerably low."

Upon the discussion of the various methods proposed in the conference to combat the enemies of Protestantism we do not know that we need linger. Infidel philosophy engaged most of the attention of the German and American delegates; but how could Protestantism do battle with its own offspring? The debate on the Darwinian theory was empty—nay, it was almost childish. The essays on the same subject were timid and inconsequential. And strange to say, when the day for demolishing the Pope of Rome came around, the fiery aggressive spirit which animated the Alliance in former days was

wanting. There were rumours of dissatisfaction among the brethren at the time-honored attitude of the Evangelical Alliance towards the Scarlet Woman of Babylon ; and it was thought that while atheism was so rife, and faith so weak, and Protestantism dying, so to speak, of inanition, it was unwise to quarrel with any kind of Christianity which seemed able to arrest the downward progress. Those who judged thus instinctively felt, what they would be slow to acknowledge, that between the Catholic Church and no faith at all, there is not a middle position. The whole Conference teaches the same truth. Protestantism drifts away into the darkness and the storm, but the Rock of Peter stands immovable, the same yesterday, and to-day, and for all time.

"Upon this rock will I build my church, and the gates of hell shall not prevail against it."

CHRONICLE.

ITALY.

IN commencing to chronicle the affairs of Italy, chiefly in their relations to religion and the Papacy, it may be useful to review briefly the course of events in that country since Rome has become its capital. In that famous diplomatic document, worthy of the Machiavelli school, addressed in September, 1870, to His Holiness by King Victor Emmanuel, breathing so evidently "the affection of a son," and "the faith of a Catholic," his Majesty affirmed it to be an unavoidable necessity, for the safety of Italy and the Holy See, that he should order his troops to advance on Rome. With unfeigned loyalty, however, and peculiarly filial reverence, the King besought His Holiness not to regard him, in taking such a step, as meaning any act of hostility. For "my Government and my forces," averred the royal writer, "will restrict themselves absolutely to an action conservative and tutelary of the rights, easily reconcilable, of the Roman population, with the inviolability of the Sovereign Pontiff and of his spiritual authority, and with the independence of the Holy See." Of course, no one of sense, except he wished to be deceived, could mistake for a moment the real intentions of the unhappy monarch and his ministers.

But now that the intruding government has been for more

than three years established in the holy city, and has had full time to develop its saving action on the nation, and to make good its promise of preserving to the Chief of Catholicity "a glorious seat on the banks of the Tiber, independent of all human sovereignty," we may fairly ask, has it succeeded in satisfying national aspirations, and insuring national progress; or has it accomplished, what it affected to deem so easy, the reconciliation of the supremacy of the Roman Pontiff with the forcible occupation of his dominions?

Without hesitation we answer, it has done neither one nor the other. It has not satisfied national aspirations and expectations. It was pretended that the immediate object of the sacrilegious invasion of Rome was to emancipate the Romans from the galling yoke of clerical temporal authority, and to give them an opportunity of slaking their thirst for freedom at the fountains of Italian liberalism. But the real Romans had never sought a saving hand from their would-be patrons of the sub-Alpine Government. Nay, when the latter appeared to liberate them, they were met not with welcome, but with as much coldness and contempt as could be safely exhibited towards friends who—doubtless in token of affectionate sympathy—had made them to endure the terrors and horrors of a bombardment. And to this day there exists between the citizens of Rome and its invaders an alienation of feeling little less in its intensity than that with which the Parisians viewed their victors marching in triumph around the noble arch on which were sculptured in bold relief the splendid monuments of their fallen glory.

To the Romans the Pope is still the great central object of interest and of affection. They flock in enthusiastic crowds to the Vatican, whilst the Quirinal is all but deserted. The new-comers have not been able to find one respectable Roman to retain permanently the office of mayor; they have not been able to find one group of Romans to publish a journal in their favor; and the general celebration of State festivals has been only obtained under threat, and from fear of mob violence. These are incontrovertible facts, confessed to even by the "liberal" and irreligious journals in pay of the government and of the revolution. And this, notwithstanding the absolute sway which the self-invited liberators exercise over the captured city, and the strenuous efforts that have been made to gain the hearts of the citizens by every means of seduction and the vilest arts of corruption. It was a fraud, therefore, to put forward the wishes of the Romans as a motive for the invasion.

But Rome was necessary to his Majesty in order to the

maintenance of order in the rest of the Peninsula. The cosmopolitan revolution was boisterous and threatening. Evils of immense magnitude were imminent, and the possession of the Seven Hills was to be the grand panacea. Once the seat of government was transferred to the city of the Pope, a new order of things, a new era of peace and progress was to dawn on distracted Italy. Let us hear what the experience of three years can say.

So far from these golden hopes having been realized, never, since the establishment of the Italian kingdom, has party spirit been so active and noisy, never has the State been in more hopeless confusion. As to the Parliament, it is a Babylon. No one seems to know what he wishes or what is wanted. The Chamber is ordinarily abandoned by about half the deputies. It is as difficult to bring together the legal number of senators for a sitting as to collect a full company of National Guards for a field-day. The balloting urns which, before the invasion, were generally frequented by about one-fourth of the electors in each constituency, are now frequented by one-fifth, one-sixth, and sometimes one-seventh of the registered voters. In Rome, too, the faction which shows most power is that of the Republicans. They regulate the national festivals and "patriotic demonstrations," they predominate in the Press, they rule in the Capitol. The so-called moderate party of the Ministry have been merely able to hold power through the liberal largesses bestowed on their minions in the press and elsewhere.

Discontent prevails on all sides. From one end of Italy to the other are heard complaints and even fierce imprecations against the authors of the present state of things. Within the capital the state of feeling is unmistakably dangerous. Even the *impiegati* who eat the Government bread are dissatisfied. In addition, banking and commercial disasters have of late occurred, and brought ruin to a number of speculators, who came from Piedmont and Lombardy in hopes of speedily realizing splendid fortunes.

Yet more astounding, however, is the increase in the financial burdens of the nation during the past few years. We omit to speak of the general impoverishment caused by over-taxation and intolerable imposts, and by a forced currency of paper-money which has little value in foreign markets; and we will observe simply on the condition of the public finances.

The budget for the present year presents an expenditure of 1,554,330,463 lire, and an income of 1,516,943,607 lire; consequently there shall be, at least, a deficit of 237,386,856 lire. Before the unification of Italy, the seven States which com-

posed it spent collectively not more than half a milliard in the year. Since that event the annual expenses have amounted to nearly two milliards. And where is this enormous sum to come from? Not from the national credit, which is lost, and surely not from new taxes, when the people are already overburdened and mercilessly drained.

Of the immense outlay, about one milliard is required for the finance service; and of this milliard, 775 millions have to be employed to pay the interest on the national debt, which supposes a debt of 15 milliards. In the year 1865, the official computation gave this debt as 4 milliards and 185 millions, from which it follows that, in nine years, the debt has been augmented by 11 milliards, that is, more than one milliard each year; and this notwithstanding the sale of the Church property, of the Crown lands, of the railways, and of whatever else was saleable in the State.

Thus has the annexation of Rome restored prosperity to the finances, as it has restored harmony to the discordant elements of unhappy Italy! Facts, therefore, have fallen short of the national aspirations: experience has served but to dispel sharply the bright anticipations which national vanity had fondly cherished.

Perhaps, the while, these pretentious liberals have succeeded better in conciliating the Pope and securing his independence "of all human sovereignty." That which the Holy Father promulgated three years ago, after the occupation of his capital, he still continues to declare—and surely we will rather believe his words than the assertions of his enemies—that he, considering himself a prisoner in the hands of his enemies, "*sub hostili potestate constitutum*." The famous conciliation, therefore, has not been brought about. The Pope regards those who have robbed him as his enemies; and they in turn treat him, as far as they may, as an inexorable adversary. In all his public acts, in all his discourses, he unmasks and condemns the villany and hypocrisy of the violators of his sacred rights, and those of the Church; and they, with their supporters, cease not to insult him and outrage his exalted dignity, notwithstanding the regal inviolability which they have decreed by law, to his august person. Mobs may howl round the Vatican with impunity, save perhaps that they may be subjected to a tardy dispersion by the officers of order; irreligious processions may parade the streets; the Church services may be interrupted by intruding Jews and infidels; His Holiness may be caricatured in the public prints; the newspapers may deride and calumniate him; and all this with the connivance of a government which professed, on seizing on Rome, its object

was to save the honor and the liberty of the Pontiff and the Church. Liberty indeed ! If the Pope wishes to publish a Bull or Encyclical, he must take care that it offend not the *regium placitum* ; otherwise, if it be published, it is immediately banned, and the journals which published it sequestered. But whilst the Pope is impeded in the promulgation of truth for the welfare of the Church, every licence is conceded to the diffusion of blasphemous error and filthy immorality. It is now exactly twelve months since a vile journal called "*La Capitale*," published a series of articles against the Divinity of Christ. In these ribald productions our Divine Redeemer was viewed as a sort of sectary, and his life described with the most infamous irreverence. The Cardinal Vicar, fearing that silence in such a matter might scandalize the faithful, yet not sanguine of success, addressed a firm remonstrance to the Attorney-General on the toleration of such an outrage to the feelings of Catholics. "There can be no excuse for you not proceeding by law against such impiety," wrote his Eminence, "because they are openly opposed to the Statute. In truth, if this latter be not regarded as a dead letter, its first article recognises the Catholic religion as the only religion of the State, and how can this be true, if it is yet lawful to insult in the public prints the Divine Author of that religion. Besides, such impieties offend not only Catholics but Christians of every denomination. . . . If the smallest offence, offered by journalism to the king, is wont to be punished rigorously according to legal forms, surely the enormous injuries heaped by the '*Capitale*,' on the King of kings, should not be allowed to pass unpunished." As I have hinted, the Cardinal did not dare to hope that his expostulation would prove effectual. Nor was he disappointed. The Minister replied the day following, and said that "in a State, governed like ours, by principles of liberty, we cannot, by sequestration and legal processes, close the mouths of those who, from conviction or passion, raise similar discussions." On this answer, the "*Gazzetta d'Italia*," which cannot certainly be accused of clericalism or bigotry, observed thus :—"A curious law, that which guarantees to the Pope and the King solemn immunities, and permits that Jesus Christ, of whom the Pope is Vicar, should be spoken of as a porter or scavenger !"

A similar answer had been given, a short time before, by the President of the Ministry, Lanza, to an address presented by the same Cardinal Vicar, complaining of certain obscene plays performed in some of the Roman theatres, concerning which the "*Nuova Roma*," a journal devoted to the new order of things, expressed the following opinion : "We at once agree

with Cardinal Patrizi that spectacles more unbecoming than those which have been presented in the Roman theatres during the season just going out, cannot be imagined." Thus it is that in the city of the Pope vice is publicly tolerated, if not abetted, whilst religion and common decency are flagrantly outraged. The "*Gazzetta di Geneva*" in one of its numbers had the following:—"Rome, at present, has become the quarter-general of all those who conspire against liberty, against established order, of all the noisy agitators, the dis-employed, the malcontents, and desperadoes who flock there from every part of Italy." Those are the class of persons who generally constitute the nerve of public meetings and demonstrations, and who freely display their patriotism by such humane exclamations as "*Morte al Papa*," "*abasso i preti*," "*la cordu ai frati*." We copy from the "*Nazione*" of Florence the following description of a disgraceful scene, enacted by these heroes of liberty, in the last anniversary of the taking of Rome:—"The racket and uproar was made in Trastevere and in the vicinity of the Vatican. A grand pasquinade was prepared of a two-fold character, destined chiefly to caricature the pilgrimages in honor of the Sacred Heart, and the hopes which the clericals repose in the French army. There was provided accordingly an enormous quantity of prints representing French soldiers of every class and every grade." Then they spent the whole night in sticking them to the walls of the streets and in the Piazza of St. Peter. . . . To one of the columns in this Piazza there was affixed a card, on which was painted an immense heart with a rent therein, and under it was written: "*Blood of the Infallible*."

On the evening of that same day, and in sight of the Vatican, amidst hisses and shouts of derision, under the eyes of the royal carabinieri of the Questura, a balloon was sent off, having appended to it a large figure of a French soldier, and a symbolical image of the Sacred Heart of Jesus. And it is in the midst of such scenes and of such a people, that Italian liberalism has founded "a glorious seat" of sovereignty and independence for "the Chief of Catholicity."

During the past year His Holiness has been deprived of what he himself designated as one of the most powerful arms given him by Providence for the government of the Church—the religious orders of Rome. The laws of suppression already executed in the other parts of Italy have, with slight modifications, been extended to the newly-acquired Roman province. Inseparable, of course, from the suppressions of the religious bodies is the confiscation of their property.

Already the Government had, in some way, forestalled the

act passed in the last session, by a system of procedure called expropriation, in virtue of which they had forcibly taken possession of about fifty-five religious and ecclesiastical establishments so early as February, 1873. From the official statistics we learn the extent of spoliation contemplated by this act of suppression, and the misery which its execution must entail on thousands of weak and innocent victims. These statistics state that in Rome, and the four provinces annexed, there exists 485 religious houses, of which the 316 for men contain 4,311 religious, and the remaining 169 for women contain 3,928 religious. It appears besides, from the same source, that the greater part of these establishments have for their object either Catholic or international interests, as the houses of the Generals of Orders ; or the care of souls, by reason of being parochial residences ; or are destined for works of public beneficence, such as schools, hospitals, and prisons. The net annual revenue of these institutions is estimated at over 8,500,000 lire. The execution of the new law against the religious corporations, as to the liquidation or conversion of their property into funds, has been entrusted to a Giunta or commission of three members. These have lost no time, since their appointment, in giving effect to the iniquitous and inhuman decrees of the legislature. Towards the end of last September this Giunta nominated a special commission to take charge of the libraries, the scientific collections, and works of art belonging to the religious bodies which were doomed to be suppressed. This special commission held its first sitting on the 25th of September, and resolved that, for the present, the libraries of great fame and worth, such as the Biblioteca Angelica, and that belonging to the Dominicans, called Casanatense, should remain open to the public. Afterwards these gentlemen presented themselves at the Biblioteca Angelica to take possession, but the Augustinians, who own it, refused to yield. At this the commissaries were much annoyed, and reported the matter to the Giunta. The friars meanwhile were not inactive, and represented to the Government that if the object of the commissaries were to take care of the library, they (the friars) hoped to be able to do so quite as well, and also as faithfully, as their Order had done for the last three hundred years ; if, however, the commissaries wished to go there to study, they would be admitted at the same hours as the rest of the public ; but if their object were to take possession in the name of the Government, then they should know that in the deed of foundation it was provided, that if by any chance the convent should be suppressed, the library should be transferred to the Vatican. The Govern-

ment, not having known this before, were not a little perplexed at hearing it. But as they have the strong arm of force at their back, it is probable that they will do just as they please, and that the reclamation of the religious will fall to the ground. On the 13th of October the commissaries took possession of the splendid Biblioteca Casanatense. These proceedings formed but the prelude to more decided action on the part of the despoilers. On the 18th of October the Official Gazette published a royal decree expropriating the monasteries of St. Cecilia and of St. Ursula, and the convents of S. Maria in Transpontina, S. Carlo in Catinari, and, what remained to take, of the house of the professed Jesuits of the Minerva, and of S. Francesco in Ripa. On the same day notice was given that on the 20th following possession would be taken of all the edifices belonging to the Society of Jesus; and a similar sentence was pronounced against the Convent of Clerics Minor at S. Lorenzo in Lucina, and that of the Minor Observants at Aracaeli. The religious of these houses were ordered to be cleared out within fifteen days. On the morning of the 20th, in presence of delegates from the municipal council, and of notaries deputed by the Giunta, legal possession was taken of these establishments, as had been intimated. The Superior at the Gesù entered a protest against the action of the commission. At the Roman College, after the decree of expatriation had been read, the protest of the Rector was heard, as was also that of the Rectors of the foreign colleges in connection with that institution, and finally that of a Canon Petacci, in the name of His Holiness, who claimed the Roman College as Pontifical property, and as a seminary open to the whole Catholic world. In the other convents the Superiors were contented with a verbal protest, whilst the written protests against the occupation of the houses belonging to the Society of Jesus were formally consigned to the commission, which received them and registered them in the verbal process.

These formalities being completed, the religious were called one by one before the commissaries, who gave to each a card entitling him to receive the pension assigned by the law of suppression. Afterwards the government officials proceeded to take possession of the libraries and objects of art. In this way the law is applied to ten, twelve, or fifteen convents and monasteries every fortnight. In the month of November there were taken and cleared of their occupiers and owners thirty-four such establishments, and eighteen others got notice that the same fate was in store for them in December. So that it is evident the commissioners have resolved to earn their wages quickly.

After the expulsion of the religious, the houses on which the Giunta seized were emptied of their humble furniture, which was set up to public auction. On the 12th of November were thus sold the movables of the house of the professed Jesuits, which moved to indignation even the liberals of the "*Journal de Roma*," who loudly blamed such a sorry proceeding, rendering homage at the same time to the virtue of the despoiled religious, by remarking that, "here it is easy to see that religious poverty was rigorously observed."

The sale of the estates and immovable property belonging to the three great Basilicas of St. Peter, St. John, and St. Mary Major, has been already advertised, and several lots of Church lands have been disposed of in the provinces. It is consoling however to know that there is no rush of purchasers to these sacrilegious sales, notwithstanding that the property is put up at prices corresponding to those which are generally asked for—what it is in reality—stolen goods.

Some of our readers may have learned from the daily journals that the lands belonging to the Irish College were also advertised for sale. And this was so. But according to late advices from the Eternal City, auction has been stayed by the Giunta in the matter, owing probably to the long-deferred interference of the British representative at Rome. The vacillating conduct of our foreign office in this affair was not easily intelligible, and were it not for the firm protests and strenuous efforts of the esteemed Rector, Dr. Kirby, the Giunta would probably have, by this time, carried out their designs. As it is, they have given leave to the Rector to dispose of the property himself; and by the last account we learned that a fair sum had been offered for the property and accepted. It is not improbable that the buyer is a procurator for his Majesty, who has a villa close at hand, and who may, like another Achab, have cast a covetous eye on the ground of his humble subject.

Besides the unenviable office of expelling innocent religious men and women from their loved asylum of peace and holiness, the commissioners have also to see to the division of the spoils. In this they should probably experience more difficulty than in casting out weak and unresisting victims upon a world which they abhor. For in the first place, the pressing demands of the government for its various administrations have to be satisfied; the instances of the Prefect Gedda, in the interest of the province, have to be heard; and though last not least, the municipal authorities will doubtless claim a share to help to meet their ever-increasing liabilities. Naturally the Government will have the lion's share. It has already appro-

priated the Convent of SS. Apostoli for the ministry of War; the Minerva for the ministry of Finance; and the head house of the Jesuits for the Staff of General Menabrea. Various convents and monasteries have become military barracks, as that of S. Croce, S. Giacomo alla Lungara, S. Francesco a Ripa, and that of the Carthusians at the Baths of Diocletian. That of the Carmelite nuns of Regina Caeli has been changed into a prison, and others remain empty waiting to be sold or demolished. Meanwhile the rightful owners, who held them by the most sacred and inviolable titles may content themselves with their chance of receiving the munificent sum of eight pence or nine pence a day, which the philanthropic rulers of Italy have by law assigned to them. In a little while we may expect to see repeated in Rome the revolting spectacles which have been witnessed in other parts of Italy, since its unification, namely, the exposing for public sale, as any other wares, the chalices, ciboriums, and other valuable Church utensils, which may attract the notice of those religious men who bombarded Rome to release the Pope, and to benefit the Church. Meanwhile, the immense proceeds of the iniquitous sales of Church property go into the bottomless purse of Italian finances, to prove as unavailing in redeeming the national credit in future, as they have done in past years. From trustworthy returns, it appears that from 26th October, 1867, the date of the first sales of ecclesiastical goods in the kingdom of Italy, to the end of March, 1873, the lots disposed of amounted to 80,518, which brought a price of 403,264,028 lire. This, though much below the real value of the property, was a considerable sum; and one would imagine that it ought to have aided materially in warding off the threatened bankruptcy of the State. But no; it was not in the designs of Providence that such ill-gotten capital should profit its sacrilegious possessors; for, as we have said, the deficit for the present year amounts to about 145,000,000 lire. After all the ecclesiastical property of the city and province of Rome has been disposed of, it is not improbable that, judging from the past, the national debt shall have increased. Perhaps; however, it does not so much concern the honorable legislators how or where the income goes, provided the monks and nuns be deprived of their rightful means of subsistence. It is time that parliament has agreed to providing for the expenses of public worship in Rome; but besides the slender hope of Jews and infidels supporting decently the Catholic religion, even if they had the means, it now appears that the "fund for worship," instead of having anything to give, is already like the other funds, sunk in debt.

We have dilated thus far on this subject to show the aims and workings of the Government of the "Catholic" King Victor Emmanuel, and how little its acts are in accordance with the professions made to defend and preserve religion before it had acquired possession of the Eternal City. It will be remembered how, a short time before the invasion of Rome in 1870, and as a sort of preparation for it, one Raeli, a member of the ministry then in power, issued a circular to the Bishops of the kingdom, solemnly assuring them that nothing belonging to the Church would be touched, and that the possession of Rome was not ambitioned for the furtherance of fiscal interests. How that promise has been observed, the facts above recorded tell too plainly and too painfully.

And yet this is the power with which it is pretended the Pope should enter into transactions ; these are the persons in favor of whom he is called upon to compromise the interests of the Church, and to abandon his own inalienable rights ! We cannot refrain from giving the magnificent answer of the great Pontiff to these foolish, if not wicked pretensions, in his letter to Cardinal Antonelli, dated the 16th of June, 1872 :—

"It is not easy to see how people can any longer speak seriously of conciliation between the Pontifical and usurping governments. What conciliation could take place in the actual state of things ? Here we have to do with a question which shuts out all possibility of transaction. We have to do with a situation into which the Roman Pontiff has been violently forced, and which almost entirely destroys that liberty and independence which is indispensable for the government of the Church. To lend himself therefore to a conciliation of such sort would be equivalent, on the part of the Roman Pontiff, not only to renouncing all the rights of the Holy See, transmitted in trust to him by his august predecessors, but also to consenting to be frequently impeded in the exercise of his supreme ministry ; it would be to leave the consciences of the faithful unquiet and agitated ; to block the way to the free manifestation of truth ; in a word, to abandon spontaneously to the caprice of Government that sublime mission which the Roman Pontificate received directly from Almighty God to guard its independence from every human power. No ; we cannot yield to the assaults against the Church, to the usurpation of its most sacred rights, to the undue intermeddling of the civil power in religious affairs. Firm, and imperturbable in defending, with honor and all the means that lie in our power, the interests of the flock committed to our care, we are ready to endure greater sacrifices, and, if necessary, even to shed our blood, sooner than fall short of the duties imposed on us by our supreme Apostolic office."

Meanwhile, as the evil men now holding the helm of the Italian state seem to "grow worse and worse, erring and driving into error," as their hatred increases, and their denunciations become more boisterous against clericalism, by which they mean Catholicity, it is refreshing to behold the fervor of the mass of the population awakened, and their zeal enkindled with all the fire of southern faith, in behalf of the common Father of Catholics. This is true, especially of the faithful of Rome, who have exhibited the most extraordinary energy ever since the invasion, in defending Catholic interests, professing Catholic principles, and asserting the rights of His Holiness. Numerous associations for pious and charitable objects—for the religious education of youth, the protection of female virtue, the diffusion of sound and orthodox doctrines—have been founded, and their members have displayed the most laudable and successful activity. Prominent in the lists of the associates and directors are many distinguished names amongst the Roman nobility; which, as a rule, has proved itself truly noble in the present terrible crisis, by its unflinching adherence and deep devotion to the Sovereign Pontiff, and its magnanimous firmness in resisting the attractive prospects which were sure to have awaited its disloyalty.

An incontrovertible proof of the constant faith and sympathy of the Italian Catholics with His Holiness, are their large and frequent contributions to the Peter's Pence Association. On the last feast of the Immaculate Conception there were laid at the feet of His Holiness, by a representative of the *Unita Cattolica*, 20,000 lire, collected by the directors of this able, high-toned, and religious journal. This offering completed the sum of 300,000 lire received and forwarded to the Holy Father by the *Unita Cattolica* during the past year.

Though the storm against religion howled yet more fiercely than it does to-day, we could not doubt that the barque of Peter would ride safely through, because we have for it the unfailing promise of Christ, and because that barque has survived with glory the raging tempests for more than eighteen hundred years: we could not doubt it, for whilst the faithful throughout the world display such zeal, and are ready to make such sacrifices for the cause of truth, it is a sign that God has not turned His loving eye nor withdrawn His propping hand from His own work, and that in His own good time, "with whom are the times and the seasons," He will show forth the Almighty power of His arm; and whilst scattering His enemies in confusion, will grant a splendid triumph to His Spouse.

(To be continued.)

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THE CHURCH AND MODERN THOUGHT.—V.

THE vast development of Physical Science in modern times seems at least to tend to the weakening of the hold of Revealed Religion upon the minds of those who cultivate it. And this in two ways : either by so diverting the attention of scientific men from the subject of Revelation as to lead them to ignore the existence of any such subject, or by so imbruing their minds with purely physical considerations and purely physical ends as to make them impatient and intolerant of any offered evidence as to the existence of an end in creation infinitely higher than any physical end whatsoever. Of the former bias against Revealed Truth, we have abundant illustration in the cases of such men as Professor Tyndall, who unhesitatingly declares, and not only declares but glories in his ignorance concerning matters which, by the vast majority of men of every clime and race, have been considered matters of the last importance. Of the latter form of intellectual perversity we find an instance in the case of those scientific men who consider Revelation either impossible in itself, or incapable of being authenticated, because they assume, and assume gratuitously, that the *evidences* of Revealed Truth are unworthy of philosophical investigation. That this is a tendency of modern science, as modern science is usually cultivated, is painfully obvious ; but it is equally certain that it is merely a tendency—that it is by no means a necessary tendency—and that physical science not only may be cultivated, but is being cultivated in a way, that so far from weakening the influence of Revealed Truth, directly subserves its best interest. Since the Human Reason, which alone makes science possible, has been given by the same God, who has also spoken to man by

direct revelation, it is manifest that the truths of revelation, and the legitimate conclusions of human science, can never come into real collision. There is not, then, in physical science, considered in itself, any objective foundation for the tendency to which we have referred. But, at the same time, there are certain reasons why a particular mode of cultivating physical science—a mode very much in vogue at present—should give rise to such a tendency.

The human intellect is too limited in its nature to attain to the comprehension of absolute truth. It may apprehend the existence of absolute truth, it cannot comprehend it. The adequate object of the human intellect is truth, but it manifestly is not itself commensurate with truth, and whenever it is tempted in its operations to act as if it were, the inevitable consequence will be that even the amount of truth it may possess may be, if not itself falsified, at any rate turned to purposes that subserve falsehood. Truth, under such a mode of procedure, may work more harm than even positive falsehood. A half truth treated as if it were a whole truth—a truth under one relation pushed as if it were true under all relations—a truth accepted as if it were independent of the larger truths that should qualify it—these have been amongst the most dangerous sources of error in human speculations. The tree of knowledge has many luxuriant branches, but it is eminently dangerous to cultivate any one branch as if it were itself the entire tree. It is a matter of common experience how the bias contracted by exclusive pursuit of one special subject incapacitates the pursuer for an appreciation of other subjects; and it is a dictate of common sense and intellectual honesty that before any conclusion of any science be finally accepted, it should be tested by the conclusions of any other science to which it is subordinate.

Now, from causes to which we have alluded in a former paper—principally from the destruction of any definite standard for measuring religious truth—a destruction which Protestantism began, and Rationalism completed, very many of the most acute intellects of the day, in a sort of despair of religious certainty, for which Protestantism is responsible, have turned themselves to the exclusive pursuit of physical science, and, as a general rule, have pursued it with so thorough a disregard of everything else, that they have at length brought themselves to believe that no other science than physical is worthy of the name. But even this, erroneous and prolific of error as it is, even this is not the worst. Not only is physical science, in their eyes, the one great science, but it has come to be regarded as the mistress and regulator of all other sciences to such an

extent, that with no other data than the data of physical science, *a priori* decisions about matters with which physical science is utterly inadequate to deal, have been given, and are given, without even a suspicion on the part of those who give them of their own utter incompetence. In other words, they regard physical science as not only certain in its conclusions within its proper sphere, but they seem to invest those conclusions with all the properties of necessary truths.

What we have been saying is nowhere better illustrated than in the treatment which the important subject of miracles has received at the hands of modern men of science. We do not complain of their want of fairness, but we marvel at the absence of any suspicion on their own part that they *are* utterly unfair. Many of them seem to be men not only of eminent intelligence but of exemplary candour. They have not only an admirable power of exposition, but also a sincerity of purpose that is quite above suspicion. But the drawback is, that one and all, they seem absolutely incapable of taking any truth into account except physical truth--and if any other order than the physical is obtruded upon their notice, they turn away from it with an impatience strangely different from their ordinary philosophic calmness, and with an ill-concealed contempt, which, under ordinary circumstances, they would be themselves amongst the first to condemn as eminently unphilosophical.

We have specially in mind, in writing the above remarks, a paper of Professor Tyndall "On Miracles and Special Providences."—(Fragments of Science, 2nd edition, p. 41.) This paper is illustrative of more than one thing which it is necessary to bear in mind in dealing with the unreligious—not to say irreligious—exponents of "Modern Thought." It purports to be a critical review of the Bampton Lectures of 1865—delivered by a Rev. Mr. Mozley, on the subject of miracles—and we are free to confess that, *as against Mr. Mozley*, it is in many respects a production that quite carries with it our intellectual sympathies. But Mr. Tyndall, like many others of his class, has had the misfortune in this instance of mistaking "Protestantism" for Christianity, and imagining, in consequence, that what is conclusive against the former is equally conclusive against the latter. In the first place Mr. Mozley's definition of "a Special Providence" resolves itself, in the analysis of Professor Tyndall, into "a doubtful miracle"—which, according to any accepted definition of a miracle, cannot properly be called a miracle at all. In truth, a defence of the Christian doctrine of Special Providences, as involved in the doctrine of Prayer, must be preceded by a separate vindication of the doctrine of Miracles. As we are at present con-

cerned rather with the subject of Miracles than the subject of Special Providences, we proceed to an analysis of Mr. Tyndall's criticism of Mr. Mozley's doctrine on the former subject.

Mr. Mozley has been evidently treating of Miracles under the aspect of "Criteria of Revealed Truth." It would perhaps be more philosophical to have treated of them first in themselves, and secondly, as criteria, and perhaps Mr. Mozley may have so treated them, but not having his book at hand, we are compelled to follow the order of Mr. Tyndall's criticism. Mr. Mozley, then, lays down that a miracle is the sole adequate test of moral goodness, and he subjoins the reason as follows:—"No outward life or conduct," speaking of our Lord, "however irreproachable, could prove His perfect sinlessness, because goodness depends upon the inward motive, and the perfection of the inward motive is not proved by the outward act." Thereupon Mr. Tyndall rejoins: "But surely the miracle is an outward act, and to pass from it to the inner motive, imposes a greater strain upon logic than that involved in our ordinary methods of estimating men." Now, from this passage it seems manifest that Mr. Tyndall has never mastered—indeed it seems doubtful whether Mr. Mozley has ever mastered—the precise nature of the probative force that should be claimed for a miracle. A miracle being a contravention of the laws of nature—an interference with their ordinary operations—can only be effected by the Author of Nature. Hence a miracle, properly so called, is as it were the *seal of God* attached to some statement. If that statement be the personal goodness of the person through whose instrumentality it has been worked, then the miracle, without any strain upon logic, *does* prove the goodness of the person who works it for that purpose. A miracle in itself, abstracted from the knowledge of the purpose for which it is wrought, does not *prove* the goodness of the worker of it; but if it be connected with a direct statement of that purpose by the worker, *or* if the whole circumstances constitute an equivalent to such a statement, then undoubtedly a miracle does attest the truth of the statement. Hence, in the case of any given miracle—having satisfied ourselves as to the fact that it *is* a real miracle—the probative force of it will be available in the direction, and only in the direction, of the truth it was obviously intended to prove. Hence Mr. Mozley's doctrine of the quantitative force of a miracle is open to grave objection. As Mr. Tyndall remarks: "Had Christ, for example, limited Himself to the conversion of water into wine, He would have fallen short of the performance of Iannes and Iambres, for it is a smaller

thing to convert one liquid into another than to convert a dead rod into a living serpent." The truth is, if an isolated miracle were set against another isolated miracle, and if we had no criterion of their relative probative force in favor of contradictory assertions or assumption except our own estimate of the quantity of miraculous agency supplied by each, we should be as puzzled to decide as Mr. Tyndall declares himself to be. But the truth is, there is no such case as the one we have supposed. Miracles, *as criteria* of the truth of the system on which they are worked, must be taken with the whole content which that system supplies; and the unfairness of Mr. Tyndall—unintentional we have no doubt—consists in his taking a concrete instance of the exercise of miraculous agency, and then treating it as if it were just such an abstract hypothesis as we made above. Read the account of the contest between Moses and the Egyptian magicians by the light thrown upon it by the "before and after" of the history in which it is recorded, and it assumes a very different appearance from what it would have if we knew nothing more than that a certain Israelite named Moses entered into such a contest with certain magicians.

Mr. Mozley also exposes himself to the keen logic of Professor Tyndall when, in answering the objection from experience against a miracle, he so far overshoots his mark as to urge—"that experience can only deal with the past, and the moment we attempt to project experience a hair's breadth beyond the point it has at any moment reached, we are condemned by Reason." As a matter of fact, we do constantly project our experience in precisely such a way without being at all conscious of any such condemnation. What, in fact, are laws of nature at all but generalizations of such projected experience. A great deal of the mischief likely to be done by Mr. Tyndall's paper will be owing to the fact that it is in so many instances a refutation of Mr. Mozley's peculiar line of defence. And as Mr. Tyndall naturally follows that line in his criticism, it is not easy to separate the portion of the argument which is advanced against Mr. Mozley from that which seems to bear against the general doctrine of miracles.

However, we shall here transcribe a passage in which Mr. Tyndall, giving a description of the "philosophic mind" in its relation to physical facts, speaks out directly his own sentiments. "The truly scientific intellect never can attain rest until it reaches the *forces* by which the observed succession is produced. It was thus with Torricelli; it was thus with Newton; it is thus pre-eminently with the real scientific man

of to-day. In common with the most ignorant he shares the belief that spring will succeed winter; that summer will succeed spring; that autumn will succeed summer; and that winter will succeed autumn. But he knows still further—and this knowledge is essential to his intellectual repose—that this succession, besides being permanent, is, under the circumstances, *necessary*; that the gravitating force exerted between the sun and a revolving sphere with an axis inclined to the plane of its orbit, *must* produce the observed succession of the seasons. Not until this relation between forces and phenomena has been established, is the law of Reason rendered concentric with the law of Nature—and not till this is effected does the mind of the scientific philosopher rest in peace.”

To all this we answer: first, that when it is said—“this succession, besides being permanent, is, *under the circumstances, necessary*”—one of the circumstances, for which Mr. Tyndall does not seem to allow, is—that *the order of nature is not interrupted*. And again, when, a few lines on, he remarks: “The force being permanent, the phenomena are necessary,” we beg to qualify the statement in precisely the same way. And when he adds that “in judging the order of nature our enquiries eventually relate to the permanence of force,” we subjoin—that in judging of the order of nature, in certain cases, it will be necessary not only to consider the permanence of force, but also whether, as a matter of fact, the usual order of nature has not suffered interruption by an external interference which Mr. Tyndall, as well as we, would call “miraculous.” Hence it would appear that the very observations by which Mr. Tyndall implicitly scouts the notion of miraculous agency, in reality lands the really philosophic intellect upon the threshold of the real question concerning miracles. In other words, Mr. Tyndall, so far from settling the question at issue, has merely put it in categorical form—for the question is—*not* what happens under the order of nature—but *has* that order ever suffered interruption. Can such interruption take place? A few general remarks upon this question will occupy the remainder of the present paper.

We have seen, in our last paper on the exposition of “Naturalism,” that even taking “Nature” in its largest sense, the pure naturalist denies—and, as we remarked, denies without offering a single reason for his denial—the direct interference of God after the moment of its origin. In the hands of the “naturalist,” who has devoted his attention exclusively to physical science, the first and obvious issue of this principle is a denial of the Christian doctrine of Miracles. Now, on what does this denial rest?

It purports to rest upon experimental knowledge of what are called laws of nature. It limits "nature" to the physical world, and ignores the existence of other laws to which physical laws may possibly be subordinate. By the operation of his mind upon the results of physical experiment, the scientific man formulates them into certain "laws of nature," which simply express that a certain physical cause will invariably issue in a certain physical effect under similar circumstances. Now we confess at once that a "law of nature" once properly established is quite sufficient to produce a certainty of its own fulfilment—but only so long as the order of nature is uninterrupted. Now from this point the question about miracles is twofold—first, *can* the order of nature be interrupted?—second, has there ever, as a matter of fact, been such an interruption?

The first question is plainly a fundamental one as against scientific Naturalism. The second deals with matters of detail in the investigation of the divine origin of Christian Revelation—detail into which those modern men of science, who are most vehement in opposition to the notion of miraculous agency, have never condescended to enter.

One would, indeed, have supposed that men so fond of experiment and so devoted to facts, would prefer the investigation of a fact to a purely abstract discussion of its possibility. But it is not so. Ignoring revelation, and the proofs and evidences it offers, modern men of science devote themselves to the more congenial task of impugning the possibility of any evidence being offered. "Revelation is divine," says the Christian philosopher, "and its divinity is proved, amongst other evidences, by miracles." "A miracle," rejoins the scientific naturalist, "is impossible." "But," resumes the Christian, "miracles have happened." Now, we ask is it creditable to modern science that—without even an attempt to investigate the *proofs* of miracles as mere facts alleged to have actually happened—it endeavours to obviate the need of any such investigation by denying their possibility.

The question, then, returns to this: *Can* the order of nature—the invariable sequence of cause and effect—be interrupted? We answer: The only reason for saying that it cannot would be, that physical laws were not only certain but "necessary;" and "necessary" in the sense that a single suspension of them would be inconsistent with the existence of the law in question. Now, is this so? Common sense, directed by common intellectual honesty, declares that it is not. For, in any given case, what is a "law of nature," and how is it formulated by the human mind? A law of nature, objectively considered, is

the uniform operation of a physical cause in producing, under similar circumstances, a similar effect. Is this uniform operation "necessary," and to what extent? It is necessary, inasmuch as, given the physical operation of the cause, and allowing it to develop itself without any interference of any agency outside its physical constitution, the effect will follow, so to speak, "*necessitate naturae*." Now, is there anything in the physical constitution of a physical cause to render any interference *ab externo* intrinsically impossible? Clearly not. No scientific man has ever even attempted to prove any such intrinsic impossibility. Indeed, any semblance of attempt made in that direction has always based itself on *a priori* conclusions about the relation of God to physical nature—conclusions which have no firmer basis than the ignorance that is the inevitable result of ignoring a fact because it would tell against a preconceived theory.

But it is sometimes insinuated that belief in a miracle would contradict the laws of thought by which a "law of nature" is formulated in the mind. That it does not will be manifest from a brief examination of the mode in which we come to the knowledge of the existence of a law of nature in any given case.

We investigate a certain phenomenon, and find that a certain physical cause produces, under certain given circumstances, a certain effect. We add instance to instance, until at length, when the conditions for legitimate induction are present, we conclude, and most properly conclude, that this phenomenon is the expression of a "law of nature." But what does this mean? It means just this:—The thing happened so in case, *a, b, c, d, &c.*, therefore it will happen so in all cases. That is, $a+b+c+d$ plus all similar cases = x , or the totality of cases as conceived by the mind. The induction being supposed valid, its validity arises from the equivalence of both sides of the equation. But this equivalence can arise only from the fact, that the mind conceiving x as a genus under which *a, b, c, d, &c.*, come as individuals, conceives x to contain under it no individual unlike *a, b, c, &c.* In other words: our certainty of the observance of a law of nature is but a *projection*, so to speak, of the certainty of our verified experiments; and that certainty is conditional, and necessarily conditional, on the operation of the order of nature without any interference. But it can never tell us that such interference is impossible. Hence, suppose a miracle to happen, then so far from there being any contradiction to any law of thought by which the law of nature was formulated, we will find that, on logical investigation, the laws of thought necessitated the exclusion from the series of the miraculous case.

All this seems so obvious, that we should not have thought of offering it to our readers were it not for the fact, that in most of the cases in which scientific men touch the subject of miracles, they insinuate that they are either intrinsically impossible, or subversive of the laws of the human mind.

So much for the question—*Can* the order of nature be interrupted? A more practical question immediately emerges, for the most eminent of modern scientific men do not venture to pronounce that a miracle is impossible, but they do endeavour to show that it *is* antecedently incredible.

Professor Tyndall, for instance—(Fragments of Science, page 35, 2nd edition) speaking of the object of a certain prayer, the attainment of which he would consider miraculous, says—“It seems to me quite beyond the present power of science to demonstrate that the Tyrolese priest asked for an *impossibility*.” But immediately he proceeds to adduce certain scientific reasons which should make the Tyrolese priest believe his prayer unlikely to be heard. We shall, in our next paper, proceed to discuss certain objections brought against the doctrine of miracles on the ground of pretended antecedent incredibility.

IRISH ECCLESIASTICAL COLLEGES SINCE THE REFORMATION.

SANTIAGO—*continued.*

BEFORE concluding the last article I had intended to pursue the subject it treats of more extensively, and quote several other documents relating to it which I have at hand ; but on reflection I find they can be much more naturally and fairly introduced when we come to consider the vicissitudes of the Irish College of Salamanca ; and, besides, I believe I have said enough to prove that my assertion in the first article, to the effect that the Inquisition of Spain, so condemned by many writers for its cruelty, was never so barbarous and inhuman during its whole history as the Protestant Parliaments and Governments of Ireland in their treatment of the Catholics of that country, was not without foundation, and that too without appealing to any sources of information but such as I believe were yet unpublished. If you want to quote instances of the cruelty which can be practised under the garb of zeal for religion, seek for them in Ireland ; you have no necessity to travel the whole way to Spain for them ; you have hundreds

of them under the enlightened regime of the boasted Constitution of England, which, as we have seen, can on occasions become a dead letter, and cloak the vilest acts of tyrannical oppression. At present we will follow the history of *The College of Holy Faith*, as it was called.

After James Carney, Father Ignatius Lombard took up the reins, and held them for an undefined period. He was, after a few years, succeeded by Father William St. Leger, of whom Oliver thus speaks:—"The first time I meet with him is in a letter written by him from his native place, Kilkenny, 3rd January, 1646-7, wherein he speaks in the highest terms of the merits of Peter Francis Scarampi, the Oratorian, and Envoy of the Holy See to the Irish Nation. Père Verdier found him two years later superior of the College at Kilkenny. When that city was taken he removed to Galway. In 1651 the success of the Puritan faction compelled him to seek safety in flight. Retiring to Compostella, he ended his days in peace, 9th June, 1665, æt. 66. We have from his pen the *Life of Thomas Walsh, Archbishop of Cashell*, 4to, Antwerp, 1655, who died at Compostella." He was succeeded by Father Andrew Lyncol.

After these I find no Irish name till I come to Barnaby Bath, who was translated from Salamanca in 1696. The first letter of his I meet with is written from Santiago on the 13th January, 1697. It might naturally be asked how it was possible for young men to make their way out of Ireland, and come to the Irish Colleges of Spain, when there were such penalties awaiting their parents and themselves if discovered, and such vigilance employed to prevent their departure. Well, Father Bath, in this first letter, gives us the key to the difficulty. He tells us it was the custom for these young men to take shipping as apprentices to merchants, or as employès in factories in Spain, in order to elude the care with which the ports were watched. All their *Patents* or commendatory letters were made out in the same way; but even this ruse was not sometimes sufficient to blindfold those whose interest it was to detect them. This style of making out the *Patents* continued up to the middle of the eighteenth century, as we shall see farther on, and they were signed by the Superiors of the Jesuit Mission in Ireland for the time being, and dated from their hiding place, *erefugii loco*. This earliest letter of Father Bath's is addressed to Father Andrew Ignacius Garcia, Rector of the Irish College of Salamanca, and, after some private matters, he says in it:—"I expected six from Ireland, as Father Sherlock wrote me they were coming, but it is very difficult on account of the new laws which prohibit youths from coming

to these Colleges, and there is such extreme caution that it will not do now to say they are coming as apprentices to some merchant, but they must give bail that such is the case. They have robbed the poor Catholics of their property, and they do their best to oblige them to send their children to the heretical schools. May God help the poor people." In another, written half in English, half in Spanish, to Father James Brown (Bruno), Rector of Salamanca, in 1705, he says:—"Mr. Michael Fitzharris has arrived here, an old fellow-student of your Reverence's in Lisbon. He was on his way from London to Portugal, forced out of the country by the persecution, when a Basque frigate took his ship prisoner, and he came on hither, intending to prosecute his journey to Lisbon. He says that if the war lasts two years more, England will be completely ruined; that the banks do not pay in gold, but in paper, in order to have gold for the soldiers, and that it was lately computed that all the coin in the country did not pass £10,000,000 sterling, but they will sell their shirts to maintain their sect. They seized a Catholic Bishop in London. In Ireland the inventions for the extinction of the Faith cannot be more diabolical. He brings the decrees of the Parliament, which fill twelve sheets of paper. May our Lord give the poor people patience and constancy."¹ From this it is plain that the persecution was continued with undiminished fury under James's successors; and from other sources we know that in addition to the many Catholic martyrs in the course of the seventeenth century, it made a victim of the saintly Dr. Oliver Plunket, Archbishop of Armagh, who was executed at Tyburn on the 11th July, 1681, after a most infamous mock trial.

Among the many great benefactors of their native land who dedicated themselves to the training of the young priesthood of Ireland in foreign seminaries, Father Barnaby Bath holds no undistinguished place. He ruled the College of Santiago with prudence and untiring zeal up to 1710, when God was pleased to call him to the reward of his meritorious labours. He was constantly employed seeking the means of subsistence for his community, and procured subscriptions for it not only in Santiago and the seaports of Galicia, but even from France, and the existence of the Seminary during those thirteen years mainly depended on him. Following our custom I will give the "Common Letter," in which his death was announced to the different houses of the Province, for the purpose of obtaining for him the usual suffrages. It says:—

"On Friday, the 20th of the present month (1710), at three

¹ There are twenty of these letters of Father Bath's extant; but the others contain nothing of public importance.

in the evening, our Lord was pleased to take to himself, as we hope, after the reception of all the sacraments, Father Barnaby Bath, fifty years of age, thirty-one of Society, and sixteen of the profession of four vows. If there be any one of whom it may be said with certainty that he has been the victim of his charity in this terrible and contagious epidemic, it is Father Bath; for in the illness of Father Bernard Kiernan and a student, both of whom our Lord took to Himself in this Irish College, Father Bath, full of pity and charity, attended them alone, assisting, watching, consoling, and discharging for them all the duties the most anxious and loving mother could perform for her children.¹ Very soon after the death of the student Father Bath felt attacked by the same malady, which began to hurry him rapidly to death, although the doctors did all they could for him, and he got all the care we could bestow on him in this College (the Jesuit House), whither I brought him with the hope of curing him.

"The greater part of the time Father Barnaby has been in the Society, after concluding his studies and making the third probation, has been employed through obedience in the government of the Irish Colleges of Salamanca and of this city, but so successfully that one of the great motives of sorrow at his death is to see what the College here has lost in Father Bath. As for its spiritual direction it is enough to say that the students appear like novices, such is the tone he infused into them; and as for the temporal, it may be said in a word, that if this Irish House exists it is through his activity and application, when its income was reduced to £40 (through a reduction in his Majesty's grant), and eleven or twelve students were supported in it. But such was the affection in which he was held by all, on account of his amiability, and such his solicitude for the maintenance and instruction of these Irish youths, that his active zeal ever found means to support this holy institution, which redounds so much to the glory of God, and is so conducive to the preservation of our holy Faith in his native land.

"Of his religious life I can say that Father Bath was a true and substantial Jesuit (*un verdadero y sustancial Jesuita*), his disposition the most mild and foreign to all craft and deceit,

¹ Oliver says of Father Kiernan or Kirwan: "This excellent and well-disposed Missionary, *insignis operarius et bonae voluntatis*, had returned from Spain to Ireland early in 1686. Twelve years later I find him labouring in the Dublin Mission. This 'pious and irreproachable Father' died abroad early in the last century." He does not even mention Father Barnaby Bath. There was also at this time in the College a Father White mentioned by Father Bath in a letter in 1703, and by Father Anthony Knowles in 1709. I suspect this is the Father James White I find in Valladolid in 1721.

which he naturally held in abhorrence ; so that all those who came in contact with him, seeing his candid and open nature, loved him immediately. The care of the Spiritual Exercises held the first place in his heart, and he went through them with all punctuality and application, and always paid the holy tribute of the Canonical Hours on his knees. In order to have the consolation of an easy and ready recourse to our Lord in the Most Holy Sacrament, he solicited and obtained from the Provincial permission to place it in the chapel of the College, and he undertook to supply the lamp the whole year round, without any additional expense to the House. The purity of his conscience may be known from the opinion formed by his confessor that he had not lost his baptismal innocence. Such was the appreciation he had of the favour conferred on him by God in bringing him to the Society, that in his last illness he constantly gave thanks for it, and said with a great effort, it was a greater favour than could be conceived. Thus Father Bath edified us exceedingly at his last hour, and we feel persuaded that God has rewarded his well-spent life by a happy death."

On the death of Father Bath a Spaniard succeeded to the government of the College ; but the students were far from feeling satisfied at this, and in the following year they wrote to the Provincial, asking him to appoint an Irishman for the reasons they state—that he would take a more active part in providing necessaries and in seeking subscriptions on which the very existence of the College depended ; that he would keep up the constant intercourse which always existed between the Superior in Ireland and the Rector, and was of great advantage to the students, and their own exercises of preaching would not suffer for want of a Superior who understood their language, and could make the necessary corrections, &c. But as this document has struck me as a very elegant production of these young men, I will give it in the original Latin :—

"*Reverende Pater noster Provincialis. Compellimur non sine dolore (R^{me}. Pater), gravi nos premente occasione, vestram piissimam opem humiliter implorare, ne diutius silendo (mora enim periculosa est) status hujus nostri Collegii penitus corruat ; cui nos, ut decet, attendentes, salva consciencia labia premere amplius non valemus, quin imo flexis genibus ad vestros pedes (dulcissime Pater) supplices accedimus, sperantes fore, ut supplex hic libellus, quantum dignitas tua, fides atque facultas patiatur, apud te pondus habeat. Qua gratia semel concessa nos tibi ingentis beneficii debitores insolubili vinculo obstringes, impares vires et humeros habentes ut tantam beneficii molem sustinere possimus—R^{me}. admodum, annualis redi-*

tus hujus Collegii nunc dierum, ut vestram Rev^{am} non latet, ad Rectoris curam et solitudinem reducitur. Pater Batheus, qui durante vita, neque diligentia neque studio invicto nobis defuit, sed assiduam industriam et operam nobis necessaria procurando insumpsit, non solum nobis Seminarii alumnis sed etiam contraneis sacerdotibus, qui studendi gratia Compostellam venerunt cum intentione in Hyberniam redeundi, ut in vinea Domini fructus facerent, pater erat: ille enim dictis sacerdotibus extra Collegium studentibus quotidianas missas à diversis partibus diligenter procurabat; impresentiarum vero nihil nobis expectandum restat praeter desolationem hujus Collegii, nisi Rev^{cia}. Vestra tempestive velit ei subvenire: illius enim januas post nostrum hinc discessum praesens Rector (ut ingenue fatetur) clausurus, vel ad summum unum aut alterum alumnum recepturus est. Lugubris proh dolor! sententia, non solum Patriae verum et nobis praesertim, quibus satis superque constat, hoc nostrum Collegium nativi soli gubernatorum providentia et industria multis abhinc annis maxima ex parte fuisse sustentatum, qui nummos, victum, vestitum et reliqua omnia octo vel ad minimum sex collegis congrue sustentandis necessaria à contraneis praesertim, imo ab extraneis, tum in oppidis, tum in civitatibus, tum etiam in portibus Galliae et Hispaniae degentibus in eleemoysinam acceperere, et hoc solum secundum Deum, nos hucusque sustinuit. Ex quo destituti sumus Rectore Hyberno nemo nostratum, quorum benignitatem non raro etiamnum fuimus experti, ne minimum emolumenti nobis contulit. De benevolentia praesentis Rectoris erga nos, quae quidem exigua non est, minime querimus; fatendum est enim illum non mediocri amore et charitate hucusque nos coluisse, etiamque colere. Tantummodo igitur objicimus, sub ejus tuitione periclitari praeservationem hujus nostri Seminarii, cum enim se domi continuo detineat, nequaquam foris satagens rerum hujus Collegii, quinimo indies expendens, idque sine levamine ullo, penum, caeteraque omnia, quae non sine anxia solitudine reposuerunt ejus antecessores, non videmus qua ratione aut medebitur nostro huic malo, aut fidelibus innotescet inedia in qua versamur, eam sine dubio aliter sublevaturis. Res gestas sub moderamine ejus hic speciatim referre non decet, de eis enim omnibus (si Rev^{cia} vestrae visum fuerit) consulendo fratrem laicum, qui hinc nuper recessit, aliumque postea in illius vicem substitutum constabit, vel et nos ipsi, si denuo scribendi sit opus, opportunius eas declarabimus. His omnibus accedunt alia, nec levia incommoda occasione praesentis regiminis suborta. Primo enim exinde inhibemur à pio illo exercitio concionandi hactenus assuefacto, et Sacri Evangelii declamatoribus longe utilissimo. Inhibe-

mur, inquit, non enim possumus ejusmodi functiones cum utilitate obire, nisi adsit qui errores corrigat, et modum edoceat; neutrum vero rite posse, qui linguae nostrae est inscius, nemini non liquet. 2° quia non tam commode servari potest communicatio antehac continua Praepositum Hyberniae inter et Rectores hujus Collegii, maximeque utilis alumni hinc mittendis. Haec et alia (quae quia plura et cuiquam facile percipienda referre omittimus) sunt incommoda, quibus medendis ad pedes tuos nos supplices abjicientes quaesumus ut propitius adsis: quam gratiam iterum atque iterum humiliter flagitamus. Porro jam quidem libellum hunc supplicem exhibitori eramus nisi propter spem non exiguam, quam habuimus de adventu Rectoris Hyberni, qua spe nunc freti subscribimus nomina nostra in nostro Collegio Compostellano hac die 27^a mensis Septembris anno 1711.”

This very earnest and filial appeal to the Provincial was not without its effect. It caused him to examine the matter closely, and see if there were really foundation for the points put forward by the students; and the issue of it all was, that in the following year (1712) he withdrew the Spaniard and appointed Father James Harrisson to the government of the College. Father Harrisson was comparatively a young man, full of the energy and zeal necessary to revive the waning institution; he was only thirty-four years of age, but his prudence compensated for his youth. Day by day he watched over his little flock, supplying it with the necessaries of life, and by his unwearied exertions contriving to meet all demands for the space of twelve years, when he went to enjoy the rest he had earned by his faithful labours. We will let Father Payral describe his virtues and labours more at large in the “Common Letter” he wrote on Father Harrisson’s death. He says:—¹

“Tuesday, the 4th of the present month, between nine and ten in the morning, our Lord was pleased to take to Himself, as we hope, Father James Harrisson, forty-six years of age, twenty-one of Society, and eleven of formed spiritual coadjutor, after receiving the sacraments in due time. His disease was a pain in the side, which at first did not appear of any consequence, but fever set in, and, resisting all remedies, carried him off on the ninth day.

“It may be said that Father Harrisson, from the moment he entered the Society, began to labour in it. He studied philosophy and theology in our Seminaries of Santiago and Salamanca till he was ordained; and our superiors discovering, after

¹ I give the Common Letters *de defunctis* in full, as they may serve some future compiler of the biographies of the Irish Jesuit Fathers. As I have said before, Oliver complains of the want of such materials.

a short noviciate, that he possessed all the docility generally produced by the careful training of these Seminaries, employed him in the ministry of teaching rhetoric, which he discharged with great credit and success, till obedience brought him as superior to the College here, which he governed for the space of twelve years with great tact and application, as is well known to all who were aware of its diminished income. Father Harrison's zeal is shown by the fact that he maintained it by the subscriptions he procured for it during all these years, and never refused to receive any student sent to him from Ireland ; for undeterred by the scantiness of means, he placed his whole trust in God, believing that His Divine Majesty would not see an institution so pleasing to Him, and in which were so much interested the preservation of the Faith and the consolation of the poor Catholics of Ireland, want for the means of subsistence. To this solicitude with which Father Harrison attended to the temporal necessities of the College, he united not only the most vigilant care in the training of the students, many of whom made extraordinary progress in virtues and letters in his time, but also close application to the trying labour of the confessional, in which he was indefatigable and employed much time, for great numbers sought him as director of their consciences. He also proved his zeal for the salvation of souls by the conversion of many heretics, and the instruction of those whom the Holy Tribunal of the Inquisition sent him that they might be reconciled to the Church. He united to these acts of charity a religious and edifying bearing, with which even the most scrupulous laymen never found fault ; and so he was held in great regard and estimation in the whole city, in which there was no class of persons who did not appreciate the religious ingeniousness of his manner. Hence the unwonted sorrow of ecclesiastics and laymen of the highest distinction, who have come to us to express the grief the early death of Father Harrison, in which he gave us many proofs of his religious life, has caused them. Before we were aware of his danger he disposed himself by a general confession, and with singular tenderness asked to receive the Viaticum, and afterwards employed himself in various and repeated acts of the virtues like one who knew his end was near, which, I hope in the Divine mercy, has been for him a happy one. I ask your Reverence for the usual suffrages, &c., &c.—Santiago, 9th January, 1724.—José Payral."

He was succeeded by another Irishman of the same name, Father John Harrison, who held the reins for four years, when he was translated in 1728 to the government of the Irish College of Salamanca. There are some documents of his extant, among them a petition to the King asking for more tangible proofs of

royal favour than it was the custom to bestow of late. There is also a letter in English addressed by Father Joseph Delamar, Rector of Salamanca, to Father Harrisson on his appointment, in which he gives him advice in the following terms :—"At last, my dear Father, because I wish in all the good of your College, as of you, I will note Father Walshe's counsel from Bilbao to Father Bath when he came here: speaking of his subjects, he said :—'Have patience; for they are mighty impertinent and never contented with anything. *Rector omnia videat, multa dissimulet et pauca castiget*;' to which he added, 'it's not convenient they know, nor any other under the Provincial, what you do or do not. Give 'em their full duty, as also some indulgence now and then: treat 'em whensoever with much civility, advising 'em alone in their or your chamber the faults that are not scandalous; for so the rudest will perceive that any public check itself is nothing rash, and proceeds from paternal love. No particular amity, nor any exceeding familiarity in common itself, for, as you know, *parit contemptum*.'"

There is another letter in Spanish, written to him from Clonmel, 13th August (S.V.), 1725, by Father Thomas Gorman, on the back of which is written in English :—"We are all well since my last: salutes from all your friends; we dread troubles, but we are your own sons.—Ignacius Roche." After recommending his nephew, James Davin, who had "an intention of taking the cloth," to the care of Father Harrisson, Father Gorman goes on to say :—"The Father Superior, Father Roche, and Father Higgins are well. I have not however seen them once since I came here although they are but six leagues from this. The truth is, I have not time to go to see them, and the same will be the case with them, for truly this is no mission of chickens, but full of risks and toil. Father Hennessy and I take care of the whole of Clonmel and its neighbourhood for a league out. We have to attend to calls constantly by day and often by night. We instruct, each of us after the Gospel of his Mass, on all Sundays and festival days; and we sing Vespers in our own way, after which we explain the Christian doctrine; and it does us good to see with what eagerness the people attend. I can say with truth, that as I write this there are eight Catholics in this district to one heretic. With all our labours and sufferings thank God we have excellent health, and are not wanting in the necessaries of life. At the end of this month Parliament will meet, and God only knows what will become of us, but His holy will be done. I have this moment got a sick call, and I have only time to affectionately salute from my heart that holy and beloved Province, not forgetting Father Delamar nor Father James" (St. Leger).

This Father Gorman is thus referred to by Dr. Oliver :—“Gorman, Thomas, born in Munster, 29th December, 1691; was admitted in the Castile Province of the Society 12th March, 1714: ten years later came to the Irish Mission. His services were bestowed at Clonmell, Limerick, and Cork, where he shone as a preacher. I believe he ended his days in Cork, where I leave him in 1755.” Father Gorman entered the College of Santiago as a student in the year 1709, and consequently in his eighteenth year, as appears from the following Patent sent with him by Father John Higgins and Father Anthony Knowles. The Patent is in English, and was addressed to Father Barnaby Bath from Waterford on the 24th 9^{bre}. (November), 1709 :—“Sir, this accompanies Mr. Thomas Gorman, who goes now via Bilbao, and was delayed all this while for want of a conveniency. Mr. A. K. (Anthony Knowles) despatched him in last July, and I advised you by post of same under cover to Father Aloysius de Valois (Walsh), that a place may be kept for him. His delay will be no hindrance to his progress in his service, for he has some advantage of others in his forwardness, having been for some time at the trade already. Mr. A. K. gives you his very humble service, and will be pleased that you do for this young man all possible kindness, both for his own merits and the good will he owes the lad’s worthy friends. God preserve you and yours as is cordially wished by your most humble servant, John Higgins.”¹ On the back of this letter is the following in Spanish :—“My dear Sir, 9^{ber}. 24, 1709. The bearer Gorman is very talented (*muy capaz*), more so than the common run of those we have here. Hence I doubt not your Reverence will do all you can for him, particularly now, when through the permission of God it is doubtful whether we shall be able to send any more for years. Things here are going from bad to worse (*todo va perdido*). May God console us and guard your Reverence as is desired by your faithful servant, Antonio Knowles.” The last *I* find of Father Gorman is a letter of his dated Cork, 26th August, 1748 (V.S.) Speaking of

¹ Oliver thus speaks of Father Higgins :—“Higgins, John Francis, was admitted into the Order in Portugal, in April, 1681. He reached the Irish Mission in December, 1694, and it seems was socius at Waterford to the Superior Anthony Knowles. After 13th December, 1697, I lose sight of him,” Father Higgins died on the 5th of January, 1732-3, as appears from the following paragraph in a Spanish letter of Father Ignacius Roche’s to Father James de Aranjó, dated Waterford, 17th of that month :—“On the 5th of the present our Lord took to Himself, as we hope, Father John Francis Higgins, full of years and merits, a truly Apostolic man in zeal and charity, and bewailed universally by all in this city. I beseech your Reverence to remember his good soul at the altar, and to make his death known to the students that they may recommend him to God in their prayers.” It is astonishing how well all these men could write Spanish after so many years absence from the country.

Father Knowles, Dr. Oliver, after quoting several letters of his, the last of which is dated 3rd of July, 1714, says that he looks for further details of Father Knowles in vain. The following, taken from a letter of Father Roche's, 13th June, 1727, will be something additional concerning him :—"My beloved Father John Harrisson, I have written to you several times asking for news about your health, which may the Lord preserve to you for many years. Here we are few and frail: Mr. Knowles is incapable of doing anything unless suffer. Señor Tamburini has relieved him of the charge of this poor mission, and has placed it on my shoulders, and I assure you I am tired of it. I am sorry I cannot give a formal Patent to Don Andres Lynch, who will be the bearer of this. His parents are very respectable, and he has the necessary qualities to become an apprentice in your factory." It would appear that Father Roche held the office of superior of the Irish Mission but temporarily, for another would seem to be appointed in 1729,¹ as in a letter of that year, 9^{ber}. 8th, he refers to his being ordered to Poitiers, and one may conclude from one of the first sentences that Father Harrisson was anxious to get to the Irish Mission. He says :—"I see, *no sin dolor*, you are continued in Salamanca—it can't be helped for a time ;" he recommends three new students ; he says he himself has been ordered by the Father General Tamburini to Poitiers, "and God knows what good I will do there. When I will go I cannot tell, but I believe it will be next spring ;" and he announces a bequest of £200 to be equally divided between the Irish Colleges of Santiago and Salamanca, made by a Father John Bodkin in his last will and testament ; "and Mr. Dominick Dean says in his to me, 'I am well pleased if Mr. John Harrisson can employ the money ordered by Mr. John Bodkin for him, and whenever he commands it, his bill shall meet with due honour, which you'll please to acquaint him.—I am of your opinion that it is much better there than here—here goes a draught of a receipt for Mr. Harrisson to sign when the money comes to his hands.'" The receipt runs thus :—"I doe acknowledge to have received from Mr. Xaverius Blake and Mr. Dominick Deane, Exeq^{ts}. to ye last will and testament of Father John Bodkin of Gallway, the sume of two hundred pound^s sterlg. pursuant to ye sayd Father John Bodkin's will, as witesse my hand in N. the day of N. 1729."

Unfortunately this money was never received by the Colleges, as appears from the following endorsement in Spanish

¹ This was Father Thomas Aloysius Hennessy, who, according to Oliver, came to the Irish Mission from France in 1713, *paratus ad omnia pericula subrunā*. He died 14th April, 1752.

in the writing of Father John O'Brien :—" This money should be inquired after ;" and in another hand : " it was inquired after but cannot be recovered." This bequest will serve as an instance of a custom which prevailed from the time of Father James Archer ; and I hope some pious Christians will endeavour to continue it, by dividing with the Irish College of Salamanca a portion of the funds they employ in support of charitable institutions. Among them all there is not one which has the strong claim on the sympathies and gratitude of Irishmen, whether ecclesiastics or laymen, the old House in Salamanca has, which poured a continuous stream of labourers into the vineyard of the Irish Mission during those terrible years of the Penal Laws, and thereby saved the faith of the Island of Saints.

After this letter of Father Roche's I lose sight of Father Harrison, except that he was Rector of Salamanca up to the year 1730. He was succeeded by a Spaniard in Santiago, a Father James Aranjo, to whom Father Roche addressed a letter from Waterford, 8^o January, 1733 $\frac{3}{4}$, in which he says :—" I include a letter and Patent of the present Superior of this Mission in favour of a youth who studied in Flanders, and is going out to you in place of Patrick White, and I am sure you will receive him with your accustomed kindness. I dare say the Superior tells you you should direct your letters to Thomas Aloysius Quades, for fear of the heretics seizing said Patents, which would be very prejudicial to said Superior, according to the laws we have here, when they are machinating against Prelates, Regulars, and Catholic dignitaries, as we are told. As for myself, I don't know what to say, or what they will make of me. The Father General appointed me to go to Salamanca, which I have greatly desired but never solicited, as I would thereby get back to my beloved Province ; but I understand that various efforts have been made to detain me here a slave in this country, without time to think of how I should live or die." Father Roche is not mentioned at all by Dr. Oliver, and I can trace him no further. I suspect Thomas Aloysius Quades above is an alias of Father Hennessy.

Father James Davin, nephew to Father Gorman, who came out, as we have seen, in 1725, as a student of Santiago, joined the Society in Salamanca, and spent his life in the Imperial College of Madrid. There are very many letters of his extant from 1740 to 1756, written to Father John O'Brien, Rector of the Irish College of Salamanca, whom he addresses with all the familiarity of an old schoolfellow. As Father O'Brien was in Salamanca up to 1760, the absence of letters beyond the date I have mentioned would indicate that Father Davin's

earthly career would have closed about that time. While Father Harrisson was still in Santiago he received a letter from Father Francis Pierce, recommending Mr. John Murphy, a native of Dublin, who is also recommended in another letter by Mr. Vanderfosse, his relative, both dated 1727. This Mr. Murphy afterwards became an eminent man about the middle of last century, and was employed by the Archbishop and clergy of Dublin on several very important missions to the Continent, as appears from a letter of his written to Father John O'Brien in 1749, just before setting out on an embassy to Rome, from which he expected great good to come to the Irish Church.

We are now drawing near the close of the annals of the Irish College of Santiago. We meet with no other Irish name among its directors. It ceased to exist in 1769, when, by order of Charles III., it was incorporated, like that of Seville, with the Irish College of Salamanca, to which its students and rents were transferred in November of that year. Its property was always small, and is smaller now than formerly, when it possessed a grant from the King. It consists of about a dozen insignificant mortgages on houses. As to the fruits the College produced during the period of its existence they were considerable; they are thus summed up by Father John Harrisson up to his time in the petition to his Majesty:—"This College has given as witnesses of the Catholic Faith six victims in martyrdom, four hundred evangelical labourers, two Primates, nine Archbishops, seventeen Bishops, ninety apostolical workers among the Jesuits, besides other forty-three persons renowned for their virtue and learned works in other religious orders."

During the whole of its history the lash of the persecutor was ever uplifted, and his hand was never the hand of Christian mercy. He dried up the pure wells of learning at home, and he imprisoned and scourged the fainting youth who sought to quench his thirst in the waters of life in other lands; but in spite of his cruel attempts to prevent them, our brave young fellows, during the period of a century and a half, would contrive to get on board some fishing boat or other, and cross in this frail vessel the boisterous waves of the Bay of Biscay, animated and supported by the inspiration of the Most High, who called them, as he had Abraham, from the land of their fathers, to make of them a great spiritual nation. The heroism of these devoted children, thus led by the hand of God, cannot be conceived in these days of mail steamers, express trains, and comfortable stage coaches. They first braved detection and consequent imprisonment; they then embarked in frail open boats, in which no traveller would

risk his life to-day, to cross one of the most treacherous seas in the world, and be set down without friends, but such as Providence might provide, at some port in a foreign land, with whose tongue they were totally unacquainted. From this port they had to make their way on foot to Santiago, where the College supplied them with the bare necessities of life for three years—years of self-sacrifice and privation—while pursuing their philosophical studies; from the College they went, also on foot, to Salamanca, as the poverty of their old house would not allow it to do more than give them ten shillings travelling charges for a journey of nearly 200 miles, and in Salamanca they spent other three years of privation till their course was finished, and they were ready to return ordained to their native land, to be there exposed to the life of martyrdom their fellow-priests were enduring while consoling their afflicted countrymen, supplying oil to the lamp of faith, and illumining with its rays the abysses of misery and degradation in which the nation was sunk by men who preached liberty of conscience—only for themselves. What nation can glory of having come through the fiery ordeal unscathed as Ireland has through the exertions of heroes such as these? Where is the religion, outside the Catholic Church, could produce such heroes in like circumstances?—could transform children into men capable of doing and enduring what these men did and endured? They suffered miseries and privations for long years—their only reward in after life, new privations—more intense hardships; their only hope the damp cell of a prison or the rope of the executioner. In this life they had nothing to expect and everything to fear; but in the next they looked for the fulfilment of that promise: *Et omnis qui reliquerit domum, vel fratres, aut sorores, aut patrem aut matrem, aut uxorem, aut filios, aut agros, propter nomen meum, centuplum accipiet et vitam aeternam possidebit.* The grace of God bestowed on these young propagators of the seed of Abraham, conquered in them, as in the martyrs of the Church in all ages, that repugnance to pain which nature has implanted in the heart of man, and operated those miracles of supernatural heroism we meet with at every step in the history of those two centuries, at once gloomy and brilliant, of the Church of Ireland.

And if the heroism of the young athletes preparing for the spiritual combat challenges our admiration and enthusiasm, what must be said of those devoted men who dedicated their lives to training them in the use of the only weapons admissible in such a warfare—those men of great talents and unlimited acquirements, who buried themselves uncomplainingly

in a remote corner of a foreign land, to serve their country by providing her with priests who should preserve her faith and nationality—engendering a race of spiritual warriors who should bear aloft in sight of angels and men the glorious standard of the Cross, with its tattered but victorious shreds ever fluttering in the breeze that fanned or swept the hills of Ireland for two hundred years? Truly their nation owes them an immense debt of gratitude; their memory should lie enshrined in the innermost heart of Irishmen, while their deeds live after them to perpetuate their blessed fame. *Non recedet memoria eorum, et nomen eorum requiretur à generatione in generationem. Sapientiam eorum enarrabunt gentes et laudem eorum enuntiabit Ecclesia.*

W. M'D.

CANONIZED PRIESTS.

IT is narrated of the late Father John Baptist Vianney, that on one of the many occasions when against kind or unkind advice he had to defend his penitential practices, he playfully, yet emphatically, replied to his own Prelate: "Many Bishops, my lord, have been canonized, but not many Priests:" insinuating thus that he, a simple priest, should do more to secure his salvation than would appear necessary to or for a Bishop. This saying of the holy Curé, who is expected to be himself canonized ere long, set us a thinking, and our thoughts set us a reading, and the result is this paper, by no means worthy of the subject, yet likely to prove interesting to our readers, and suggestive of a more satisfactory essay to be furnished by some one of them, which we shall be only too happy to welcome and profit by.

Is it, then, a fact that there are but few canonized Priests? We shall investigate and see. It must, however, before all things be clearly understood, that we speak and treat here of Secular Priests, as the Curé did—of simple Priests. There is no question moved concerning Monastic or Congregational Priests. We take the word Priest in its popular not well defined meaning to signify a clergyman exercising his ministry under the immediate jurisdiction of a Bishop—a *Secular*; and we ask, are there many such canonized? Again, with the Curé, we shall take the word canonized to signify the lesser honor of beatification as well as the greater of canonization. Finally, we are to discover and compare the numbers of *Bishops and*

Priests canonized, that we may pronounce judgment on Father Vianney's entire proposition: "Many bishops have been canonized, but not many Priests."

Now the labour of an examination, like the one in hands, is considerable ; but its results are quickly told. Were these results indifferent to us, we would declare them at once and close. But as we are not indifferent, but much interested in this question, and desirous of a solution favorable to the Priesthood, we shall enclose our examination between some remarks and explanations necessary in themselves for the correct appreciation of the Calendar with which, as the results of our inquiry, we intend to conclude.

REMARKS.

I. *All God's Saints are not known to men.* This is a proposition which all will admit, and consider perhaps a superfluous utterance. Let it, nevertheless, be considered briefly ; for it is the first step in a ladder of thoughts put together to lead to the conviction that there is a multitude of canonized Priests. "I saw a great multitude, which no man could number, of all nations, and tribes, and peoples, and tongues: standing before the throne and in the sight of the Lamb, clothed with white robes and palms in their hands."—Apoc. vii. 9. St John here learned that the multitude of the Saints would be immense ; and so it must be. What of the innumerable innocents, pure from the baptismal font, united daily to their martyred patrons? What of the multitude of cloistered religious who make perfection their rule? What of the simple faithful for whose devotions churches enough cannot be raised? What of the souls in purgatory ascending unceasingly to paradise? And what, in fine, of the Priests *who save all others*? Is not the Priest's life such, that humbly, yet confidently, we may assert that it is *impossible* those words should be verified of them: "Many are called, but few are chosen." What, then, if many Priests be not canonized? Shall they in heaven be less for that?

II. *All known Saints are not canonized.* Passing from the vision of all Saints to the history of those known to men, is it not another undeniable proposition that all these known Saints are not canonized? As few, perhaps, are the canonized among the known, as these among all. Sanctity itself is not enough for canonization: circumstances must providentially combine to place the burning and shining light upon the candlestick to illuminate the darkness and warm the coldness of the world ; and, now more truly than ever, the finger of God must be visible in this exaltation ; and it is right that on Him should depend the adornment of

His spouse, the splendor of His tabernacle with men, the models appropriate for the edification of the faithful. The greatest may not be the best suited holiness for canonization; and, doubtless, there may be greater Saints above than any canonized on earth. Ancient and modern history points out countless Saints uncanonized. The Annals of the Propagation of the Faith are martyrologies of the uncanonized. The public journals in these glorious days are becoming records of sanctity and miracles. The process of canonization is something now so almost impossible, that few Saints pass through victoriously. What then? Does man deny the sanctity he cannot prove, or the miracle he cannot establish? The fool may do so; but not the Church. What, then, if few Priests have been canonized? Are there less holy Priests for that? Do we not, perhaps ourselves, know many holy Priests? The very Priest whose words we are commenting upon, and another such our fellow-citizen, and others living still, are known to all. They may never be canonized, but they will still be Saints. Stronger confirmation cannot be desired of the truth of these two remarks than the institution of the Festival of All Saints by Boniface IV., extended to the whole Church by Gregory IV., inasmuch as not merely for the canonized, but for all the Saints of God, was this triumph decreed, that all and particular, the uncanonized, might receive their due glory.

III. *All Canonized Saints are not catalogued.* Confining our attention to the less numerous division of the lesser section of God's Saints, that is, to the Canonized Saints, we might expect the examination and comparison proposed at hand; but it is not so. No authentic record of all the Canonized Saints is to be found in the world. There are Calendars, and Martyrologies, and Collections in great number; but *one authentic record of all* there is not; nay, more, we may safely assert, that the uncatalogued Canonized Saints outnumber far the *authentically catalogued*. This third remark is important; for it explains the source and authority of our concluding Calendar. Did we consult all the Martyrologies of the world? No; we could not do so. Did we look through the Acta of the Bollandists? No; this itself would be for us impossible. Whence, then, our Calendar? From the Roman Martyrology. Doubtless all Canonized Saints are not here catalogued; probably the lesser half again is here. Nevertheless, be it observed, the safer half as well; for of this half *we may be sure*; not so of all the rest. This grave assertion I must here make good by the words of one of the greatest Pontiff-Theologians of the Church. Benedict XIV. speaks thus in his Apostolic

Letters concerning his edition of the Roman Martyrology :—
 “ It having become known in Rome that a new edition of the Roman Martyrology was being prepared, and that we were inscribing in it the names of Saints omitted in former editions, we received many letters, petitions, and dissertations for the introduction of very many names of Saints, *although there was no unexceptional proof of their canonization*. Some of these were styled, servants of God, others blessed, and of these some Saints distinguished by a devotion of one hundred years anterior to the decrees of Urban VIII., our predecessor. This devotion was moreover with great earnestness shown to have been maturely examined and approved of by the Sacred Congregation of Rites, and extended with concession of Mass, Office, Lessons, &c. We unhesitatingly rejected these petitions. For, it not being lawful according to our rules to insert in the Martyrology their names, who, after diligent discussion of virtues and miracles, have been *only* beatified ; much less lawful would it be to place those in the Martyrology who by a *mere* approbation of ancient devotion are called equivalently beatified, but whose virtues were neither examined nor approved of before said approbation was granted, and should necessarily be examined before canonization, &c. Moreover, if the names of all those were to be inscribed in the Martyrology, ancient devotion for whom has been approved of by the Sacred Congregation of Rites, *an immense multitude* would be found, and as this number is continually increasing, *in a short time* the Roman Martyrology would become *a ponderous tome*.” Willingly with the Pontiff we admit the possibility and probability of the canonization of all the Saints of partial martyrologies—an immense multitude ; but look with certainty only on the Roman Martyrology published and guarded by the Vicar of Christ. We turn away thus from an extremely difficult undertaking to one far easier, and find it at the same time more satisfactory. As to the Acta brought together by the learned, and especially by the Bollandists, they are still less authentic than the partial and local Calendars we are passing over. Of these Pope Benedict speaks thus :—“ Erudite theologians, looking through the Acta Sanctorum, put together and presented to us a copious Index of Saints wherewith to enrich the Roman Martyrology, &c. We rejected, however, these unwarrantable demands. We do not deny that Saints canonized according to the ancient practice are to be inscribed in the Martyrology as well as those canonized by the present custom. If, however, we carefully examine the old rite and practice, we find those canonized, devotion to whom originated in the approbation of the Ordinary of the diocese in which

they died, and thence spread into the adjoining provinces, and finally, not without the express or tacit consent of the Roman Pontiff, into the entire world. But the Saints whose names fill up the list presented to us, are not distinguished by the devotion here described, examined in its origin, progress, and propagation, according to the ancient custom." Hence we consult not the Bollandists, nor any other collection, with the confidence with which we read through the Roman Martyrology ; and hence also the certainty that it is not an exclusive Catalogue, admitting as it does in its Preface the possible claims of *an immense multitude* to the honors denied them for the present. Moreover, the name this Catalogue has received and retains points out another reflection to be made, namely : that in the early ages of the Church *Martyrs alone* were inscribed in its pages, and those *only* styled Saints, to the exclusion of Confessors and other Saints, and to the exclusion of Martyrs themselves if *only* Blessed or Venerable. Faithfully these rules were long observed ; and still exceptions, though not uncommon, are looked upon as such, and have by no means become themselves the rule. How, then, could the Martyrology be supposed to be a complete catalogue of the Canonized Saints ? The distinction of Saints into classes or choirs tells us that the Martyrs, though there be an army of them, are but a choir of the many. Reason convinces us that large as their number is, larger still must be that of those who were canonized for bloodless victories, especially in those great days when the words Christian and Saint were synonymous. Experience shows us that far oftener are we called upon to recite the office for a Confessor than for a Martyr since the introduction of the former into the Calendar. Now from all this we may conclude that if few Priests be canonized, *i.e.*, catalogued, it does not by any means follow that few are canonized, *i.e.*, revered as Saints by the Church. Hence the daily termination of the Martyrology itself : "and elsewhere many other holy Martyrs, Confessors, and Virgins."

IV. *All catalogued Saints are not named.* Another subdivision must follow the preceding three, concealing from our knowledge, if not from our veneration, the greater half again of the catalogued Saints. Very many are commemorated by hundreds and thousands ; their multitude, the fierceness of persecution, and the vicissitudes of time, having prevented the enrolment of their glorious names, or destroyed the Dyptics themselves. Baronius, in his Treatise on the Roman Martyrology, demonstrates "the exact diligence of the Roman Church in writing the Acts of the Holy Martyrs," and "the immense loss of Acts of the Holy

Martyrs." He believes the latter to have been principally caused "by the most unjust and savage edicts of the Emperor Diocletian, which doomed all books of the Christian religion to the flames." Many, many, consequently, are the forgotten champions of the Faith, whose names are known to God alone. Who, then, will say that canonized Priests are few, while there are those canonized and catalogued, but unnamed multitude? It will here or elsewhere be remarked that these restrictions on the known Saints are favorable to Bishops as well as Priests. Favorable, yes, to all classes; but more to Priests than Bishops, the number of the former being necessarily so great, and that of the latter comparatively small. These multitudes themselves were of the faithful, marshalled by their Priests, and led by their Bishops, like an army in battle array. The Bishops unknown would thus be few, the Priests many, and the faithful innumerable. Such soldiers followed courageous chiefs, and were doubtless sustained in the contest by their example, as by their doctrine they had been prepared for it. This remark appears so reasonable, that in our Calendar those legions might find their places. Better, however, here to give them a Calendar to themselves, likely to speak and argue for them.

CANONIZED MULTITUDES:—

January—Very many	. Vid. 2nd, 5th, 6th, 28th, &c.
February—Very many	. Vid. 5th, 7th, 11th, 20th, 22nd, 28th, &c.
March—Over 1,500	. Vid. 1st, 2nd, 4th, 18th, 25th, &c.
April—Very many	. Vid. 7th, 16th, 27th, &c.
May—Over 1,800	. Vid. 9th, 13th, 23rd, 29th, &c.
June—Over 3,000	. Vid. 17th, 22nd, 23rd, 24th, &c.
July—Very many	. Vid. 23rd, 27th, 28th, 31st, &c.
August—Very many	. Vid. 9th, 10th, 24th, &c.
September—Over 1,000	. Vid. 5th, &c.
October—Over 6,500	. Vid. 10th, 12th, 15th, 16th, 25th, 30th, &c.
November—Innumerable	. Vid. 3rd, 26th, 28th, 29th, &c.
December—Innumerable	. Vid. 25th, &c.

V. *All named Saints are not titled.* Another subdivision of the named Saints of the Roman Martyrology is this, and an essential one, again reducing the number of *well-known* Saints. The Saints in the Martyrology are *titled*, for example, Apostle, Pope, Bishop, Priest, Monk, Hermit, &c. By these titles we have compiled our Calendar, placing in it every Saint designated "Presbyter," and those only. But by far the greater number have no titles whatsoever, and are therefore *supposed* to be simple

faithful. This, however, is by no means certain: nay, we have positive proofs to the contrary, of Saints, certainly simple Priests, untitled in the Martyrology. We have reluctantly, to be consistent, omitted those glorious names, and are at a loss to understand the omission in the Martyrology. Did it occur, perhaps, that we should have proof positive of the force of our remark, and that we might reasonably suppose many other untitled Saints also to have been Priests? Certainly the omission of the title is an argument for its omission: *i.e.*, for a doubt at all events, but not for more than that. If, therefore, it be said that canonized Priests be few, we may point to the untitled and say: prove that these were not Priests.

(*To be continued.*)

QUESTION REGARDING THE LENTEN FAST.

“WHAT rule is to be followed as regards the collation on fasting days? St. Liguori’s rule, allowing eight ounces of solid food, is the one which I have myself followed for many years. I was under the impression that at all events no more *liberal* doctrine was laid down by any sufficient number of approved theologians.

“Just now, however, on looking over the Ballerini edition of Gury’s Moral Theology, I find what seems conclusive evidence that the theologians,—undoubtedly very numerous, and, many of them, writers of high authority,—who teach that it is lawful to take, at the collation, a fourth part of the ordinary supper (corresponding to our ordinary breakfast), intend in reality, to allow *more than eight ounces*.

“This point has certainly escaped the attention of modern theologians generally. It seems to have been taken for granted by them all, that those writers who assign the “*quarta pars coenae*” are less liberal than those who allow eight ounces.

“But Father Ballerini, with his usual acuteness and accuracy of observation, has discovered in Sporer’s Treatise on Fasting, a passage which establishes, beyond question, the incorrectness of this view. His note on the subject may be worth placing before the readers of the RECORD.

"Commenting on Gury's statement,—'Alii permittendam aiunt quartam coenae partem,' Father Ballerini writes¹:—'Ita fere Theologi Germani. . . . Quod ex mente horum Doctorum, quarta consuetudinis coenae pars *excedat mensuram octo unciarum*, inde patet quod Sporer amice conqueritur de Laymann, quod a regula Germanis consueta discesserit. *Ego, inquit, miror P. Paulum Laymann, alias tam bonum Germanum, in hac sola materia patriotis suis fuisse tam austerum.*'"²

The note to which our respected correspondent calls attention does unquestionably set forth a view which "has escaped the attention of modern theologians generally." But if our reverend friend, instead of relying so implicitly on the "acuteness and accuracy of observation" of Gury's editor, had looked into the Treatise of Sporer, he would have seen that the remark quoted by Father Ballerini, does not furnish the slightest ground for supposing that Sporer regarded the doctrine allowing eight ounces, as less liberal than the rule of the *quarta pars coenae*, adopted by Sporer himself, and by the great majority of the German theologians of his time.

For, in reality, Sporer's friendly complaint of Laymann's departure from the traditions of the German school, implies no comparison of these two opinions. Indeed, although it occurs in his exposition of the law regarding the collation, *it does not refer at all to the question of the quantity which is allowed.*

Our reverend friend will see at a glance that Sporer's chapter on the collation is very clearly divided into four sections, of which the *second* regards the quantity, and the *third* explains the quality or kinds of food which may be taken. The remark regarding Laymann occurs at the close of this *third* section, and refers solely to the subject of which that section treats. Let us look to the context.

Sporer, of course, recognises the obvious principle that, as custom alone has rendered it lawful to take a collation on a fast day, it is a violation of the fast to eat at the collation any kind of food the use of which has not been sanctioned by recognised usage. He, however, lays down that in Germany, in consequence of the custom actually established in that country, no restriction exists as regards the kinds of food which may be taken. He consequently holds that provided the limits regarding quantity, which he has laid down in the previous section, be not exceeded, every article of diet which is allowed at dinner may be taken at the collation as well—fish, eggs, cheese, butter, milk, &c., &c.

¹ GURY, *Compend. Theol. Moralis*. Tom. i., n. 497, *nota*. (Romae 1869).

² SPORER, *Theol. Moralis*. Append. ad 3 Praecept. Decal. Sect. 2., n. 32.

Laymann, however, does not take so liberal a view of the established custom. He holds that for the collation, all restrictions *quoad qualitatem* had not been removed.¹ And Sporer, having stated this opinion of Laymann's, good humouredly expresses his astonishment, in the words quoted by Father Ballerini, that so true a German as Father Paul Laymann should have taken so rigid a view of the obligations of his fellow-countrymen.²

Now, in all this, it is obvious, there is not the most remote allusion to the doctrine of the eight ounces, or to any comparison between it and the German doctrine of the *quarta pars coenae*. In fact, it is not easy to understand how Father Ballerini, supposing him to have read the passage even in the most cursory way, could have imagined that any such comparison was involved in it.

Even his own phrase, which he applies to the authors of the Salamanca Course,—“*oscitantia et negligentia in describendis sententiis*,”³ is an inadequate qualification for a blunder like this. His explanation of a slip which he fancied he had detected in the writings of Illsung and La Croix, comes nearer to the mark :—“*Tota debetur hallucinationi*.”⁴ Or as he says in reference to another theologian of his own illustrious Society, “*Vir placitis suis plus aequo addictus se remque totam, lapsus memoria, misere implicavit*.”⁵

To place this matter in a clearer light, it may be well to state what Laymann and Sporer really lay down in reference to the quantity allowed at the collation. For although as regards this particular question, a statement of their views, now antiquated, can be of no practical utility, it will serve at least to show what little reliance can be placed on the “acuteness and accurate observation” to which our correspondent refers. And this is a matter of some importance. From Father Ballerini's intolerant denunciations of even the greatest theologians on the score of inaccuracy in stating the opinions of others, most readers of his Annotations, having neither time nor opportunity to consult the authorities quoted by him, not unnaturally take it for granted that the accuracy of his own quotations is beyond question. Considering the importance of the questions of which he treats, it is of some consequence to ascertain whether this inference is in accordance with fact. How far it is from being so may be judged, to some extent, from the evidence already examined. A statement of

¹ LAYMANN. *Theol. Moral.* Lib. 4, tr. 8. cap. i. n. 9.

² SPORER. *Loc. jam. cit.* ³ GURY (Ed. Ballerini). Tom ii. n. 730, *nota*.

⁴ GURY. n. 619., *nota*. ⁵ *Ibid.* n. 480, *nota* : n. 457, Q. 7°, *nota*.

what Laymann and Sporer really teach regarding the quantity allowed at collation will make it plain that no reliance whatever can be placed upon Father Ballerini's accuracy.

In the first place, Laymann so far from holding that eight ounces is the quantity allowed, *does not even allude to that opinion*. So that even if Sporer's friendly complaint had reference to Laymann's view regarding the question of quantity, it could not possibly imply any comparison of that rule with the rule of the *quarta pars*, adopted by himself and by the majority of the German writers.

Laymann's teaching, in fact, so far as this point is concerned, is perfectly in accordance with that of the other German theologians of his time. For he quotes with obvious approval the old German rule of the *quarta pars*. "Reginaldus," he says, "non improbabiliter talem regulam tradit 'tunc demum excessum fieri—quando id, quod sumitur, notabiliter majus est *quarta parte* ejus quantitatis quae ad integram coenam sufficeret.'"¹ And so far from adopting *he does not even mention any other rule than this*. Hence, by those theologians—such as La Croix and Saint Alphonsus—who enumerate the writers by whom each theological opinion was defended, Laymann is invariably classed among the supporters of the German rule.

But what makes Father Ballerini's blunder seem most incomprehensible is the fact that *Sporer himself quotes Laymann as holding that opinion*. "Aliqui," says Sporer, "regulas mathematicas praefigunt." And then, having enumerated the opinions of various writers, some allowing only three ounces, others four, others six, *others*, of whom he mentions Fagundez and Tamburini, *eight*, he goes on to state his own opinion that it is better not to lay down any such rule "secundum pondus et mensuram" determined for all. "The quantity to be allowed will vary, he says, for the circumstances of various individuals. "But," he adds, "ut aliqualis recta regula assignetur pro omnibus, *placet sententia Reginaldi et Laymann* quantitatem licitam censi *quartam partem* coenae ordinariae quam quis sumere solet."²

To this plain proof of the utter untrustworthiness of Gury's Roman editor it is almost superfluous to add another, not less plain, which is furnished by a subsequent passage in the same section of Sporer's Treatise. Father Ballerini's note is inexplicable except upon the supposition that in writing it he supposed that an estimate of the actual quantity indicated by the rule of the *quarta pars*, could be ascertained only as a

¹ LAYMANN *Theologia Moralis*. Lib. 4, tr. 8 cap. 2, n. 9.

² SPORER. *Ibid.* n. 26.

matter of inference from the comparison which he so strangely imagined was instituted by Sporer between that view and the rule allowing eight ounces.

But, in fact, Sporer not satisfied with laying down his rule in general terms, applies it to two examples which make it perfectly obvious that he did not regard the German doctrine as more liberal than the one now commonly received. In his first example he makes the *quarta pars* amount simply to *four ounces*. "Si in coena ordinarie soles," he says, "sumere libram, poteris in collatiuncula sumere *quadrantem librae*."¹ In the other example, which he obviously takes as an extreme case, the *quarta pars*, by allowing a little latitude, amounts *almost to eight ounces*. "Si quis in coena," he says, "soleat sumere *ad triginta uncias*, duas *circiter* libras, *quarta pars licite ascendet ad octo uncias*, mediam *circiter* libram."²

And notwithstanding the plain indication of his view, thus given by Sporer himself, Father Ballerini asserts that it is *plain* that theologians, such as Sporer, regarded their rule of the *quarta pars* as more liberal than the rule which allowed eight ounces!

Our reverend correspondent will have no difficulty in inferring from this rather prolix disquisition, that he has no reason to alter the view on which he acted for so many years.

It may not be out of place to add, in conclusion, that instances of reckless inaccuracy of statement, such as that which gave rise to his difficulty on this occasion, are by no means rare in Father Ballerini's Annotations, that the Redemptorist *Vindiciae*, as appears from this instance which they have passed unnoticed, by no means exhaust the list, and that a reader of the Ballerini editions of Gury's Theology, if he would avoid the danger of serious inaccuracy in matters of the gravest moment, must act upon the advice by which Father Ballerini himself slightly sets aside a statement of St. Alphonsus: "si quis de ista questione dijudicare velit, genuinas Doctorum sententias instituat suismet ipse oculis inquirere, potiusquam aliis eos allegantibus, caeca fide confidere."³

W. J. W.

¹ SPORER. ² *Ibid.* n. 27. ³ GURY. Tom i, n. 163, 8^o. *nota.* (Ed. Ballerini).

CHRONICLE.

GERMANY.

"THE Holy Church of Christ, to which the necessary and full liberty of religion had been guaranteed by the solemn and reiterated promises of Sovereign Princes, and by public pacts and conventions, is now in mourning in those regions, stripped of all its rights, and exposed to hostile powers which threaten it with final destruction. For the new legislation aims at nothing less than rendering the existence of the Church impossible. No wonder, therefore, that the former religious peace of that Empire should be so grievously disturbed.

"Wherefore it would be altogether without warrant to throw the blame of those disturbances upon the Catholics of the German Empire. For if it be imputed to them as an offence that they do not acquiesce in those laws in which they cannot acquiesce with a safe conscience, in like manner the Apostles and Martyrs of Jesus Christ are to be accused, who choose rather to undergo the most cruel punishment, and death itself, rather than betray their trust and violate the laws of their most holy religion in obedience to impious commands of persecuting princes."¹

Our chronicle of ecclesiastical affairs in Germany must for some time be a chronicle of persecution. It may be useful, then, to present, in the first instance, a brief summary of the various measures, hostile to the Church, which have been framed since the conclusion of the war with France down to the present time, by the statesmen who exercise so fatal an influence over the policy of the new Empire.

The first sign of the impending storm was the suppression of the Catholic Department of the Prussian Ministry of Worship and Public Instruction. This measure, effected by a Royal Decree issued in July, 1871, not many weeks after the conclusion of the treaty of Frankfort, was not, of its own nature, seriously detrimental either to the free exercise of ecclesiastical authority, or to the full enjoyment of the privileges hitherto enjoyed by the Catholic Church in Prussia. But as an indication of an approaching change in the beneficial policy which, for so many years, had been pursued by the Prussian Government in its dealings with the Church, it could not fail to give rise to the gravest anxiety.

Previous to the war with France and the establishment of

¹ Encyclical *Etsi multa luctuosa*.—21st November, 1873.

the new Empire of Germany, there was scarcely a country in Europe in which the Church enjoyed greater freedom, or received from the State a fuller recognition of her inalienable rights, than in Prussia. The maintenance of the clergy—bishops as well as priests—was amply provided for, the Archbishop of Breslau receiving an income from Government of £1,700 a year, and the other Bishops about £1,100. The religious orders, even those which were proscribed in free Switzerland and in Catholic Bavaria, and which were barely tolerated in other countries under Governments nominally Catholic, were in Prussia encouraged by the Government, honored in many instances with the personal favor of the Royal Family, and entrusted with the charge of some of the most important charitable institutions of the country, under Government control. The public schools, too, in which Catholic children received a Catholic education, were placed, with few restrictions, under the supervision and control of the clergy; and even the State Universities of Breslau and Bonn, Protestant in all other respects, comprised an independent Faculty of Catholic Theology.¹

This policy did not fail to produce its natural fruit in the patriotic devotion of the Catholic subjects of the kingdom. The testimony on this subject borne by the Prussian *Official Gazette* a few years ago, is not without interest now that the statesmen of Germany have alleged the disloyal attitude of the Catholic portion of the population, and especially of the Catholic clergy, as a justification of the policy of persecution which they have adopted.

The words of the *Gazette*, quoted last November by one of the Catholic leaders during a debate on the Ecclesiastical Legislation in the Prussian House of Deputies, are remarkable:—"One of the clearest proofs that Prussia has successfully carried out, in the very heart of Europe, her historical task of civilization, is to be found chiefly in our ecclesiastical legislation. The old State maxim, to respect and allow freedom to religious bodies both to profess their faith and to administer their affairs, with all their rights and with all their distinctive marks, has proved its value in Prussia during the great struggle for the national aims of Germany, as well as in its internal condition and policy.

"The members of different religious confessions live together in remarkable harmony, and vie with each other in the display of their heartfelt patriotism. *Not only the Protestant clergy, but the dignitaries of the Catholic Church themselves*, have exercised the most beneficial influence in Prussia, and have attained the most manifest success in *promoting religious and political concord during these important and critical times.*

¹ See *The Statesman's Year Book*, 1874, pp. 96, 115.

" Nowhere did religious party feeling interfere with patriotic aspirations ; everywhere in Prussia, more especially in the case of the two great religious confessions, we see the most perfect good feeling and reciprocal respect. And, observe, this has been of the greatest value in removing that mutual mistrust which has been purposely disseminated, and that hatred which has been cunningly provoked amongst our own people—by this means *rendering eminent services in furthering the success of our sons and brothers in the army.*

" Thus Prussia is gathering that harvest in the field of religious toleration and liberty, the seeds of which had been sown by its rulers through long centuries."¹

If further proof were needed of the hollowness of the plea urged by Prince Bismarck and his supporters in justification of their policy of persecution, it would be found in the attitude of the Catholic population of Germany during the recent war with France. Nowhere was the outbreak of the war a signal for a more earnest display of patriotic enthusiasm than in the Catholic provinces along the Rhine : no soldiers in the vast army of Von Moltke bore with greater cheerfulness the privations of the campaign, or contributed more effectually by their heroism to its brilliant success than the Catholic Rhinelanders and Bavarians. And the first to give public utterance to the hope of the German people that the old Empire of Germany should be restored, and the Imperial crown conferred upon the Sovereign under whose auspices the nation had achieved so splendid a triumph, was the eloquent champion of Catholic interests and the recognised leader of the Catholic party in the Prussian Legislature, Herr Reichensperger.²

But while Catholic soldiers were freely shedding their blood in defence of the interests of the Fatherland, and Catholic politicians were cordially co-operating in the great work of national union, the statesmen of Germany were arranging the programme of a new campaign. It was to be undertaken when the conclusion of peace with France, and the establishment of the new Empire, had rendered them independent of the support, and indifferent to the opposition, of the Catholic minority.

Within a few weeks after the treaty of Frankfort had been signed, the mask was thrown off. The government took the initiative by suppressing the Catholic department of the

¹ The speech of Herr Reichensperger (November 10th. 1873), in which this quotation from the Prussian *Official Gazette* occurs, is fully reported in the *Tablet*, January 10th, 17th, and 24th, 1874.

² In his speech, November 20th, 1870, in the Parliament of the North German Confederation.

Ministry of Worship. At the opening of the Parliamentary session the Emperor, in his speech from the throne, having proclaimed his determination to "uphold the independence of the State," unfolded the programme of legislation which his Ministry would lay before the House. The "Liberal" majority, thus informed that the time for action, so anxiously expected, had at length arrived, were not slow to execute the task assigned to them. Measures, like the Bill for the suppression of the religious orders, which, when they had been proposed by a few fanatical Deputies previous to the outbreak of the war, had been summarily rejected, were now adopted by overwhelming majorities; and the former allies of the Catholic party, when taunted with their inconsistency in cordially supporting a course of legislation of which they had, a few years before, been the most outspoken opponents, were not ashamed openly to avow the tactics which they had pursued. "True," said Herr Lasker, one of the most active leaders of the National Liberal party, referring to the former rejection of the proposal to suppress the religious orders, "we did not then allow the matter to come to a debate. . . . The union of the German Empire had not been effected, and you would have impeded the union of the North and South had you succeeded in sowing at that time the seeds of discord and religious strife. We took measures to prevent this. If the conflict, we said, must come, let it be when the Empire is constituted. Till then, nothing must occur to separate us still more from one another."¹

In the Imperial (*Reichsrath*), as well as in the Prussian Parliament (*Landtag*), the enactment of the laws against the Church was pushed on with vigour. A law was passed by the Imperial Legislature "to restrain excesses in preaching." This measure, which affects the clergy of all religious professions, encountered scarcely less opposition from Protestants than from Catholics. Indeed, the most vigorous denunciation of its injustice came from the pen of a Protestant writer, Herr Franz.² It was adopted, however (28th November, 1871), by a majority of 179 votes against 108.

By an enactment of the Prussian Parliament (11th March, 1872), the system of school management and inspection which for many years had worked so successfully, placing Prussia in the first rank of educated nations, was radically changed. The right of the clergy to discharge the functions hitherto confided to them was denied, and provision was made for the gradual introduction of a system of lay management absolutely independent of clerical influence. The Minister of Worship and

¹ Speech of Herr Lasker in the House of Deputies, 26th November, 1873.

² *Die Religion des National-Liberalismus* von Constantin Franz. Leipzig, 1872.

Public Instruction, however, alarmed by the smallness of the majority by which the first reading of the Bill was adopted—197 votes against 171—explained that the law would be put in operation against the Catholic clergy alone, and that the Government intended to leave the Protestant ecclesiastical inspectors and managers undisturbed in the discharge of their functions.¹ This intimation had the desired effect, and the second and third readings of the Bill were carried by decisive majorities.

A third law, enacted (4th July, 1872) by the Imperial Parliament, decreed the suppression, within six months, of all the German establishments of the Jesuits, of all religious orders "kindred" (*verwandt*) to the Society, and, finally, of all "similar" religious communities, a phrase of convenient elasticity, which, however, was scarcely necessary, seeing that during the debates on the Bill, it was officially stated by the Minister that the Redemptorist Fathers and the Brothers of the Christian Schools were included under the head of "kindred" orders. Furthermore, the police were authorized to expel from German territory all members of the Society who were not natives of Germany, and the civil authorities were invested with discretion either to expel the native members or to allow them to remain in Germany, restricting them, however, to a certain district, the limits of which should be carefully defined. Finally, in the interval before the actual suppression of the religious houses, the exercise of any function of their order (*Ordensthätigkeit*), whether in the Church, or in the school, or in conducting missions, was strictly forbidden to all members of the Society. Under this section of the law, interpreted in the most arbitrary manner by the police authorities, the Jesuit Fathers were in several instances forbidden "to preach, to give instructions, to hear confessions, to visit the sick, or to say Mass either in public or in private."² The barbarous rigour with which the second section of the law was enforced will be detailed in a future chapter of our Chronicle.

Thus, at the close of the session of 1872, the State had usurped such extensive control over ecclesiastical affairs, that an eminent Protestant writer, the French publicist, M. de Pressensé, naturally expresses his astonishment that the ample authority, thus conferred upon the Government, should not have satisfied their requirements.³ But, in reality, the pur-

¹ A list of great interest and value, containing the names of all the Deputies who voted for and against the first reading of this Bill, is given in the *Revue Catholique*, the organ of the Catholic University of Louvain, Tom. 33, Livraison 5 (15th Mar. 1872), pp. 581-3.

² Notice served by the Prefect (*Landrath*) on the Jesuits of Schrimm (1st August, 1872). See *Revue Catholique*, Tom. 34, Livraison 3 (15th Sep., 1872), p. 325.

³ *Revue des Deux Mondes* (1st May, 1873). *Politique Religieuse de la Prusse*.

pose of Prince Bismarck was not yet accomplished. His policy required that the Catholic population of the Empire should be forced into a position of resistance to the laws of the State. And this result the laws of 1872 failed to effect. For, irritating and unjust as they were, and in the words of the Protestant writer just quoted, "disgraceful to the code of which they formed part," it was possible to submit to them without transgressing the dictates of conscience. So far, then, the policy of persecution had failed.

But the Ministry could not abandon at this point the course upon which they had entered. The opening of the session of 1873 showed that since the last meeting of the *Reichstag* they had discovered the secret of their failure, and that they were determined at any cost to guard against its recurrence. The famous Falck laws were laid before the House. Absolutely inconsistent with the recognition of the supreme spiritual authority of the Holy See, they left no middle course. Resistance to the usurped authority of the State, with its attendant penalties of crushing fines and prolonged imprisonment on the one hand, a schismatical rejection of the Papal Supremacy on the other, these were the only alternatives now presented to the Catholics of Germany.

In the next chapter of our Chronicle we shall examine these enactments in detail.

FRANCE.

I. **T**HE year 1873 has proved scarcely a less eventful one in the history of the French nation than 1870, of unhappy memory. True, there have been no sanguinary conflicts; no fortresses surrendered; no armies subdued; no civil strifes repressed; and, on the other hand, in a material sense, rapid strides would seem to have been made in the process of reconstruction. The foreign occupation has been brought to a close; and the huge war indemnity paid to the last farthing; yet France is still without a constitution, and without any permanent form of government—an easy prey to any one of those many social perturbations with which its history for the past century has made it but too familiar. M. Thiers, experienced statesman though he be, precipitated the crisis of the 24th of May last by his too manifest proclivities towards a Republican form of government—a crisis which may be correctly termed a bloodless revolution; and but for the ready self-sacrifice of the "*modern Bayard*," who, against his inclinations, but in obedience to his patriotic sentiments, came at once to the front and assumed the reins of power—would, more than probable, have proved a repetition, perhaps on a some-

what diminished scale, of the horrors of the Commune. The fitful attempt at a monarchical restoration in the person of the Comte de Chambord (now that we can regard it as a matter of past history), would appear to have been nothing more than a liberalesque intrigue to drag the legitimate heir of the French throne to the edge of the precipice into which Charles the Tenth and Louis Philippe had fallen. Whatever may have been the "*pourparlers*" on the subject, and however they may decipher M. Chesnelong's report of the interview at Frohsdorff, certain it is, and admitted by all, friend and foe, that the King has not been wanting to the uncontaminated loyalty which has ever characterized him. That the project has failed for the present is perhaps to be considered rather a piece of good fortune than otherwise ; for Henry V. preserves his liberty and his royal word untrammelled ; and France will come to her understanding later on, as Belcastel and Francieu expressed a hope, in their letters of the 5th and 9th of November.

2. Meanwhile, another provisional experiment is being tried. Marshal MacMahon, than whom there is none more honest or more trusted, is endowed with supreme power for a term of seven years ; which term, however, may be any day shortened by a repealing vote of the sovereign assembly that conferred the power. Seven deputies of the Extreme Right voted against this prolongation of power. But numbers amongst the Legitimate party, who voted for it for the sake of peace, recorded at the same time their determination to continue their efforts for the restoration of the monarchy. So that France is, at the commencement of 1874, still "*provisionally*" ruled. True, the tried loyalty and military character of MacMahon will guarantee the maintenance of public order, apparently at all events. But the several parties continue their intrigues ; and even in the Assembly the majority is fitful, precisely because it is kept together by mere temporary interests, by no better principles than the dissolving principles of the "*glorious revolution*" of 1789.

3. After the vote conferring septennial powers on Marshal MacMahon, the ministry resigned, but was immediately reconstructed, with slight alterations : the latter being in favor of the parliamentary party and against the Legitimists, properly so called. The Cabinet at present stands thus :—Duke de Broglie, Vice-President of the Council and Minister of the Interior, *vice* Beulé, resigned ; Depeyre (new) Keeper of the Seals and Minister of Justice, *vice* Ernoul, resigned ; Duke Decazes (new), Minister of Foreign Affairs, post previously occupied by the Duke De Broglie ; Magne retains the portfolio of the Finances ; General Du Barrail, Minister of War ; Vice-Admiral De Dompierre d'Hornoy, Minister of Marine and Colonial Minister ; De Fourton (new, ex-Minister of M. Thiers),

Minister of Instruction, Worship, and Fine Arts, *vice* Bathie, resigned ; De Larcy (new), Minister of Public Works, post of De Seilligny; De Seilligny, Minister of Agriculture and Commerce, *vice* De La Bouillerie, resigned. M. Baragnon (Right) is named Under-Secretary of State to the Minister of the Interior.

4. Next in importance to this episode in French politics, came the Bazaine trial. Conducted according to the most approved model of French military tribunals, it lasted nearly sixty days, and concluded by condemning the Marshal to military degradation and death for having infringed the military code of laws, by not doing the utmost that honour and duty prescribed before surrendering the fortress of Metz and the army encamped around it. At the same time they acquitted him of all treasonable or treacherous intentions. The tribunal itself immediately recommended him to mercy, and Duc D'Aumale, the President, presented the recommendation to Marshal MacMahon, who commuted the sentence of death into seclusion in a fortress for twenty years. The island of St. Marguerite, facing Cannes, was selected for his seclusion, and thither he was conducted on the 26th of December. Every possible privilege consistent with his condition as a prisoner of the State has been granted to him ; and his wife and family are to be accommodated with apartments in the fortress. Public opinion in France was gratified with the sentence, but there are many found to justify the Marshal's conduct under the circumstances.

5. In the religious world of France many and many are the signs of regeneration. The pilgrimages continue with unabated vigour, though the season of the year is not so favorable to them ; and the efforts to establish in the large towns, especially in Paris, the "*cercles des ouvriers*," have been attended with the most signal success. The most prominent fact worthy of record is the appointment of the new Cardinals. At the Consistory held before Christmas in Rome, the Holy Father elevated to the Cardinalatial dignity Mgr. Guibert, Archbishop of Paris ; Mgr. Regnier, Archbishop of Cambrai ; and Mgr. Chigi, Papal Nuncio to the French Government. Marshal MacMahon, as Chief of the State, was charged to perform the ceremony of giving the Berretta to the new Cardinals—a ceremony which took place with all befitting solemnity in the Chapel of the Château of Versailles. The Marshal-President made a complimentary address to the new Cardinals, and each of them in turn made a suitable reply, extolling the ability and honor of the soldier-President, and, above all, the virtues and charity of his amiable consort, whom the Archbishop of Paris styled "*an angel of charity and mercy*."

6. The great national work of reparation may now be said

to be fairly commenced. The magnificent temple to the Sacred Heart of Jesus, which is to rise up on the crest of Montmartre, and proclaim to the world the undying faith of France, at the same time that it blots out the traces of her latest and most criminal revolution, is, in a certain sense, a "*fait accompli*." The "*Assemblée Nationale*" of January 30th contained a long advertisement setting forth the dimensions of the new church, and inviting plans and tenders for the building. A brief summary of the principal items in this advertisement may not be uninteresting to many of our readers, whose zeal may have been, or may yet be exerted, in building temples to the Most High. The concursus for plans is to remain open from the 1st of February to the 30th of June. In addition to the church, plans must be also submitted for sacristies and presbytery. The plan of the church must comprise a crypt or under church running under the choir and aisles, communicating freely with the upper church, and accessible from outside. The church will contain a nave, two aisles the full length of the nave, and carried round the sanctuary, and galleries or tribunes above the aisles. The choir and sanctuary to be sufficiently large for pontifical functions, and the entire building so arranged as to admit of twenty side chapels, one larger than the rest, to be dedicated to the Blessed Virgin. The buildings destined for sacristies and presbytery to be connected with the church by a covered way, to be so far distant from the church as not to interfere with its appearance of isolation. The sacristy buildings will comprise six distinct "*locales*": 1. Sacristy for the priests attached to the Church; 2. Sacristy for strangers and priests coming on pilgrimage; 3. Sacristy for storage of sacred vessels, vestments, ornaments, etc.; 4. Offices for the use of the pilgrimages and custody of the archives; 5. Room for the chanters and choir boys; 6. Lodgings for the resident sacristan. The presbytery is to lodge five priests, five or six church officials, and to have some spare rooms for visitors, one larger than the rest, for the reception of a bishop; it must, moreover, contain a cloister, an oratory, a library, two conversation parlours, two dining rooms, one kitchen, with its accessories, etc. The plans must provide not only for the architectural portion of the church, but also for its decoration and furnishing, and each plan must be accompanied by a descriptive and detailed estimate of the total expense. This estimate to be divided into three chapters: the first to comprise the construction of the church, and the ornamental sculpture and statuary work; second, the construction of the sacristies and presbytery; and third, the decoration and furnishing—each chapter to be submitted to competent critics

selected by the jury constituted for the entire work. The jury will be thus constituted: twelve members nominated by His Eminence the Cardinal Archbishop, and forming at present the artistic committee charged with advertising the present concursus; and six members to be elected by the competitors. A public exhibition of all the plans sent in will be held, and will remain open for twenty days, at the expiration of which term the jury will proceed to classify them. The author of the plan which gets first place will receive a premium of 12,000 francs; the second, 8,000 francs; the third, 5,000 francs. The authors of the seven plans classed immediately next in order of merit after the first three, will each receive 1,500 francs, making a total of 35,500 francs, or nearly £1,500 to be spent in prizes for good plans. From the care and great accuracy with which all these details are drawn up, we can easily foresee that the grand work taken in hands, and which is to be exclusively the result of voluntary contributions, will be in every way worthy of the "*grande nation*," greater in the purity and ardour of its faith than it ever has been in its chivalry or in its many deeds of daring; and in that glory, and that alone, surviving a ruin that would have for ever crushed other peoples, less blessed or less ardent in the faith, than they. It will be the prayer of all sympathizers with heroic France that this penitential return of the whole nation to the Sacred Heart of the Saviour, so often wounded by many amongst her children, may bring down upon her blessings both spiritual and temporal, and fit her once more to be, what she is ever destined to be, the defender of the Papacy, and the eldest daughter of the Church.

7. The unexpected, and certainly undeserved, suppression of the "*Univers*" not only created considerable sensation in Paris and throughout France, but even formed the topic of discussion in all the journals of Europe. The act of the government has been variously estimated. For the present we content ourselves with tendering our sincerest sympathy to M. Louis Veuillot and his heroic "*collaborateurs*," who know how to suffer persecution for justice sake.

SPAIN.

IT is by no means an easy task to give a faithful record of events as they are now occurring in Spain. This grand old Catholic country seems to have lost its identity. What with Liberalism, Moderantism, Constitutionalism, and other innumerable and ever-varying phases of the one sad revolution, Spain looks as if it had been blotted out from the map of Europe, its history become semi-mythical, and its grandest

traditions buried away out of sight. A Spanish writer of the present day fancies that a decided "*zoological alteration*," as he expresses it, has taken place in the physical condition of the Spaniards themselves, so different are they now from what we had been accustomed to read or hear of them. We look in vain amongst the present pigmies for a successor to the Conqueror of Peru; in vain for a statesman or an historian like Ximenes; and even the soft mellifluous language of Cervantes has become barbarized beyond endurance by an unwarrantable intrusion of French and German words and idioms, even in the mouths of the best of her modern orators. Pronunciamento succeeds pronunciamento, and one form of government another, with a rapidity that is positively astounding, all having but the one result—a further subdivision of the numerous factions into which this unhappy country is already divided—a further impoverishment of the population, of trade, and commercial credit; with but one link of union between these contending factions, *i.e.*, hostility to the Catholic Church, and thereby to the best and most glorious of the national traditions. If we except the Carlists, who have inscribed on their banner "*God, Country, and King*," none of the other numerous political parties struggling for supremacy seem to regard the Church in Spain in any other light except that of a determined enemy that must be crushed at the very outset. What does the year 1873 register in the pages of Spanish history? The Catholic monarchy of Recaredo, which had characterized Spain for fifteen centuries, and been the source of its many glories, gives place to the short-lived republics of Castelar, of Salmeron, of Figueras, of Pi y Margall, and other such non-entities, clearing the way for the more logical results of Roque Barcia and Contreras. Temples and altars are plundered with more than Vandalic fury, sacred images profaned, sacrilegious hands laid upon the ministers of the sanctuary, and the chaste spouses of Christ mercilessly driven forth from their hallowed cloisters to wander as vagrants on the face of the earth. Blood in the north, blood in the south; the best arsenal in Spain (Carthage), and her fleet, for months in possession of a reckless band of convicts; conspiracies in the Cabinet, and conspiracies outside the Cabinet; a beggared treasury, and flagrant peculation pursued with impunity even in high places; the integrity of the territory threatened in her transatlantic provinces, and foreign intervention preparing the way for the dismemberment of the Peninsula. No alliance with any power, and regarded by European diplomacy as a scandal and a danger. Such was Spain in 1873. The commencement of 1874 does not seem to promise redemption. Before the new year had been quite two days old another

revolution occurs, singularly audacious in character, and yet looked upon by all peace-loving men as a positive blessing. Whilst the Cortes, the presumed representatives of the people, are deliberating, the Captain-General of Madrid, General Pavia, enters the Parliament like another Cromwell, and, with his hand on the hilt of his sword, and his troops ready to fire if resistance had been offered, summarily dismisses the Cortes, and allows Marshal Serrano and his friends to construct a Cabinet, which, if recent telegrams be correct, promises to be despotic in the extreme. How long this arrangement may last is a matter utterly beyond calculation. In any other country some attempt at a guess might be made, but in modern Spain we live from hour to hour. Señor Castelar, to whom had been entrusted the supreme and exclusive government of the country for nearly six months, comes down to the Cortes on the 2nd of January and reads his message. In that message he deplores the fatal insurrection of Carthagená. He acknowledges that the Carlist war has assumed formidable proportions, and traces this result to the disorganization of the army. He recounts the efforts made during his administration to reorganize the national army, and declares that in order to put an end to civil war, new reserves must be called out, and a national militia formed. He concludes this encouraging paragraph by stating that the war expenses alone during the Parliamentary recess (four months) amounted to more than 400 millions of reals. The debate on this message continued from two o'clock in the afternoon to four o'clock on the morning of the 3rd, when a division was taken, and Castelar was defeated by 120 votes to 100. He immediately resigned, and then followed the "*coup d'état*" of General Pavia, as alluded to above. Very shortly after the new government had assumed the direction of affairs, Carthagená surrendered. Some say there was treachery—not at all an unlikely explanation—especially as Contreras and the entire Intransigente Junta, with about 2,500 convicts, managed to escape on board two ships of war. They made for the coast of Africa, and, having reached Oran, they were retained by the French authorities, who delivered up the war ships to the actual Spanish Government, and interned the convicts, awaiting the decision of an international tribunal. The advent of Serrano and the overthrow of Castelar was not received with equal welcome by all parties in the Peninsula. At Valladolid, Saragossa, Barcelona, and the adjacent towns, serious outbreaks occurred, which demanded the utmost energy on the part of the Government troops to repress, and the total disarmament of the volunteers.

But let us come to the Carlist war and its prospects. We doubt not but that this portion of our Spanish chronicle will

prove more interesting to our readers. It is one bright spot in the history of modern Spain, that amidst all the irreligion and impiety that has been triumphant for so many years, the Catholic heart of the people is sound ; and no sooner did the chivalrous and legitimate heir to the throne present himself in the midst of the chaos that ruled supreme, than thousands were found to flock to his standard, and are still bravely fighting in an unequal contest for "*God, Country, and King.*" At present it is estimated there are over 60,000 Carlists in arms throughout Spain. Of these about 30,000, well equipped and fully organized, manœuvre in the provinces of Biscay, Guipuzcoa, Navarre, and the northern portion of Alava ; from 7,000 to 9,000, equally well organized, though not so well armed, in Catalonia ; and about 6,000, indifferently provided, in the province of Valencia. The remainder are scattered in numerous small bands through Murcia, Catalonia, Aragon, Valencia, and the province of Burgos. The chief seat of the war is in the north, and on account of their deficiency in artillery and cavalry, it cannot safely be advanced into the plains of Aragon, and thence towards Madrid, until their armament in these two important branches is more complete, and their exchequer better furnished. At the commencement of December General Ollo was after inflicting a severe defeat on General Moriones, the Republican commander in Navarre, and compelled him to shut himself up in Tafalla ; Lizarraga had Tolosa, capital of Guipuzcoa, closely invested, and its surrender, through scarcity of provisions, was but a question of a few weeks. The only enemy this latter General had to contend with was General Loma, commanding 8,000 men (since reduced to little above 3,000), and well provided with artillery, who made several unsuccessful attempts to raise the blockade of Tolosa and revictual the place. At this juncture the ill-omened Curé, Santa Cruz, reappeared in Guipuzcoa at the head of some bands of his followers, and in disobedience to the orders of the King. A considerable portion of the investing force was detached from around Tolosa and sent in pursuit of these bands. Moriones, who had stealthily moved his army from Tafalla by Pampeluna towards the French frontier, took advantage of this state of things, and by a rapid march effected a junction with Loma's column at Oyarzun, and after a hard battle against vastly inferior numbers, in which his losses were very serious, succeeded in revictualling Tolosa. But he could not afford to shut himself up there with 12,000 men, 1,000 horses, 24 guns, and 1,000 mules. It would have been a repetition of Bazaine at Metz, especially as the Royal troops came hurrying from Navarre in great numbers. A number of steam transports left Santander, some say because

ordered by Moriones, others because sent by Castelar. They anchored in the harbours of San Sebastian and Passage, and at those two points Moriones was able to embark his *corps d'armée* and land them again at Santoña, about half way between Bilbao and Santander. The Carlists were equally smart for him this time, and by several roads they forwarded battalion after battalion in the direction of Bilbao, where they occupied strong positions, and Moriones did not dare to offer battle. Bilbao became completely invested: upwards of 25,000 of the Royal army were gathered round it. The river entrance was stopped by sunken ships, and Portugalete, a strong place guarding the mouth of the river, after a brave defence surrendered to the Carlists at discretion, delivering up a battalion of the Segorbe regiment, a detachment of artillery, a company of engineers, the volunteers of the place, together with 1,300 Remington rifles, 300 Minnie rifles, 3 guns, and a quantity of ammunition and stores. But a few days previous Desierto, and Luchana in the immediate neighbourhood of Bilbao, had come into their possession, so that unless a powerful army come to its succour soon, it must inevitably fall into the power of the King. This would be a great acquisition to the cause, as it is an important city, and seaport capital of Biscay, and the great depôt for the valuable iron that is drawn in great abundance from the surrounding mining districts. Moriones, despairing of making any impression from the northern side, led off his army by a circuitous route down to Miranda on the Ebro, which gives him a better base of operations, and leaves his communication with Madrid uninterrupted. Tolosa, meanwhile, remains strictly invested, and very soon we shall hear of that town having eaten up all the provisions Moriones was able to throw into it, and surrendering at discretion.

An interesting episode of the war is recorded in "*El Cuartel Real*" (Carlist official journal), of the 2nd February. On the 22nd of January the prisoners from Portugalete arrived at Estella, where the King had established his head quarters. They were about eleven hundred, escorted by the 2nd Navarrese battalion. The commanders and officers arrived the day following. They all confessed to have been treated with the greatest kindness since their surrender. The King granted an audience to Lieut.-Colonel Quijana, commander of the Segorbe battalion, taken prisoner at Portugalete. The King received him with the greatest affability, and shook him warmly by the hand, saying, "I deem it an honor to grasp the hand of a brave man." He then invited him to *déjeuner*, and complimented him on the good condition of his men and the heroic defence of Portugalete. "If," continued Don Carlos, "they offer you

a new command, accept it ; for when I am making war I like to find myself confronted with loyal and valiant men." The brave officer replied that he intended doing so, and would continue to fight bravely under the orders of the constituted Government ; "and I swear," he added, "to your Majesty, that if you go to Madrid and establish your Government there, I will serve you with the same loyalty."

The latest movements of the Republican forces is another attempt to relieve Bilbao, by attacking the Carlists from the north-west, Moriones and Prômo de Riveira having joined their forces, and being powerful in artillery. They moved up to Santander and Castro Urdiales, and contemplated a united attack by land and sea, the fleet bombarding Portugalete, whilst the land forces strove to drive the Carlists from their strong positions. But the "*Courier de Paris*" of Monday, 23rd, announces what the "*Union*" of the previous evening had given as official : that after three successive combats, the Carlists had inflicted such serious losses on the Republican forces, carrying all their positions, that Moriones and De Riveira had beaten a precipitate retreat on Santander. The fleet, which put out from Santoña on the 16th, had to put back again in consequence of the heavy sea. The bombardment of Bilbao had not yet commenced.

In the Ecclesiastical world several changes have occurred that augur well for the cause of religion in the Spanish Peninsula. His Holiness, on the 10th of January, made the following episcopal appointments, filling up many Sees that for years had been left vacant :—Metropolitan Church of Compostella, Mgr. Michael Payà y Rico, translated from Cuenca ; Metropolitan Church of Tarragona, Mgr. Stephen Joseph Perez y Martinez, translated from Malaga ; Cathedral Church of Barcellona, Mgr. Joachim Lluch y Garriga, translated from Salamanca ; Cathedral Church of Salamanca, Rev. Narcissus Martin Yzquierdo, priest of the diocese of Signenza ; Cathedral Church of Teruel, Mgr. Victorian Guisasola y Fernandez, priest of Oviedo, secretary and theologian of the Cardinal Archbishop of Seville ; Cathedral Church of Jaca, Rev. Raymond Fernandez y Lafita, priest and dean of the same Cathedral ; Cathedral Church of Malaga, Rev. Fr. Zephyrinus Gonzalez y Diaz Tunon, priest of Oviedo, and professed friar of the Order of Friars Preachers ; Cathedral Church of New Segovia, Rev. Fr. Marianus Cuartero, priest of Saragossa, of the Order of St. Augustine ; Cathedral Church of Portorico, Rev. Fr. John Anthony Puiz y Monserrat, of the Minor Observants of St. Francis. The Archbishop of Valencia was raised to the dignity of Cardinal, and was received on his return from Rome with every demonstration of respect.

THE IRISH ECCLESIASTICAL RECORD.

APRIL, 1874.

A CHAPTER ON ECCLESIASTICAL ARCHITECTURE.

THE subject of this chapter is one, no doubt, upon which already much has been written; and treating of it in its religious aspect, we presume to instruct neither the architect nor the scholar. However, without being instructive to the few, we may be interesting to the many, if we can only succeed in putting before them in a popular way some of the truths and ideas so often established and repeated by *masters* whose province it was to write on this matter in a purely scientific manner.

We believe, too, what a *certain Professor* has written of classical literature in every language, applies to the classical works of architecture in every age. Of the one the Professor says: "The classics of every language are those books which every one feels bound to talk about, but that so very few feel disposed to read." Of the other we might add, that they are those monuments of civilization which every one feels bound to admire and talk about, but of which few can tell in what their merits consist, or to what recognised order they belong. A chapter only, on a subject so varied in outline, so minute in detail, cannot go much into particulars. The object is to give in a general way an account of the origin, progress, and development of artistic taste in church building—to give an outline by which to distinguish some features of the principal orders—the Roman, the Byzantine, the Gothic—under which scientific usage groups most of the productions of church architecture. In this and other countries of course there are churches belonging to no particular style, but are as it were the impromptu expression of the founder's or the builder's ideas. Such the reader cannot expect to be able to classify after finishing the chapter.

From the first it seems to have been man's ambition to raise monuments to his religious feelings, as well as to his domestic requirements and his fame. Wounded in his created perfection by the original fault, he retained ambition enough to aspire to the sublime and beautiful in art. To be able to realise the useful, the true, and the beautiful, time was necessary to gather ideas and develop them; but developed they have been, and the works of man's hand testify to his capabilities. Counting years by the thousand before the Christian era—even in those far off times—we find monuments of art accounted in the latter days among the wonders of the world. The Egyptian Pyramids, the Hindoo temples, the Chinese oratories, the Celtic towers, speak in silent wonder to our age of how much had been conceived, how much executed, before the light of science or faith fully dawned upon the world. But though such progress had been made in this art, at so early an age, the acme of man's success awaited revelation to give outward and abiding expression to his God-like impulses. Ancient temples may have been built in accordance with the heroic grandeur of an Eastern imagination. To them the Magi, the Brachman, or the Druid may have gone up to pray, but they symbolized little in plan or particular except what was of earth—earthly. To Faith and the Church was reserved the duty of spiritualizing the taste, and raising to heaven the soul with its aspirations. In the beginning, Catholicity had not such churches to glory in as sprung up afterwards in every land where the Cross had been planted. The commission given by Him, who gathered together the twelve fishermen of the Galilean lake, was not to be executed at once. The last shadow of its ancient dignity was not to flit away in an instant and expose the grossness of ancient superstitions. The mountain was to be gradually divested of its mystery, and the temple to exhaust its sanctity, and the synagogue buried with honor, before religion inspired art, and faith breathed an immortal spirit into stone, to be afterwards wrought into edifices called churches.

As the revealed truth was to contradict and consume the errors of Paganism, the early Christians, acting up to their beliefs, would admit into the style of their churches no peculiarity or association in common with the Jewish or heathen temples. After emerging from the Catacombs they called their first churches Basilicas. They were mostly the Episcopal or Royal churches of the West, and in most respects of dignity corresponded with our modern cathedrals. The name, Basilicae, they took from the Roman courts of justice of that title. These civil edifices were built in the form of a parallelogram,

surrounded by a collonade, sometimes open, and at others covered at the top. They were principally used for the administration of justice, though oftentimes other public business was transacted in them. They corresponded, in fact, with our own houses of exchange. After the plan of these buildings, as we have remarked, the earliest of our churches were built. In outline or detail the religious and civil Basilica differed little, if any. The portion of the Christian church railed off for the sanctuary and altar, and called the chancel, coincided with that part of the civil court occupied by the judge's chair and throne, whilst two rows of pillars, which ran parallel through the centre of the building, suggested the idea of a nave with side aisles. Though exteriorly the early Christian churches might not be as imposing or grand as those of after times, still the interior was richly decorated; the walls were ornamented with paintings of the most expensive stamp, with mosaics, and with the choicest and most ancient marble pillars. St. Agnes' Church at Rome is said to be the best example of the old Basilica. Gradually, as time wore on, persecution ceased, the faith found a holier sanctuary in the hearts of men, and the church was growing in extent as in security—a more definite church architecture arose. Religion then would fain symbolize its meaning, and the cruciform plan, so appropriate, was adopted in the Eastern and Western churches. From the old Basilica the transition was easy: for it had entrances at the sides, and by arching over those entrances, and throwing out wings to the left and right, the cruciform idea was at once realised. As we said, this was the first step on the way to ecclesiastical perfection in its architecture. As the Cross was the one emblem to which all believers turned with a common devotion, it was peculiar to none of the great orders of the art in any age or in any church.

Upon it, as the ground plan, might be reared the Italian or the Grecian Church, the Byzantine as well as the Romanesque, or the Gothic. In the churches of the West, however, the Italian cross was adopted, whilst in the East and Constantinople, the Grecian cross characterized the edifices of that country. As in plan, so in other details, did the churches differ. In the churches of the West, a square tower or belfry, afterwards developed into the steeple, arose from the points of intersection of the houses, whilst a dome or cupola capped the same points throughout the churches of the East. The dome or cupola was peculiar to the Eastern countries, and is to the present day a recognised feature in the style called the Byzantine, as it was at Byzantium, or Constantinople, the capital of the East, it was first introduced.

When the seat of Empire was transferred from Rome to Constantinople in the year 329, the Romanesque style was introduced for the first time, combining traits of the Italian and Byzantine architecture. The characteristics of this order were the round Roman arch—the massive walls, in which were inserted small and simple windows, the doorways deeply ornamented in zigzag mouldings and semicircular arches, the number of arches which spanned the interior, or rose to domes or arched buttresses through the church. In the Romanesque churches the nave terminated in a semicircular choir around and behind the principal altar; and when such is the arrangement, instead of the chancel, the space so enclosed was called the apse. The new Cathedral just completed at Thurles, according to the superior taste of His Grace the Most Rev. Dr. Leahy, of Cashel, comprises more of the Romanesque features than we remember to have seen in any other church. Of this style, the Roman and Grecian, the Saxon and Norman, were different modifications, and therefore belong to the Romanesque order.

The great style called the Gothic or Ogival, was introduced into Great Britain from the central provinces of France. The date of its origin is not so fixed as in the other named orders. From the sixth to the twelfth century it developed itself, and at the latter date it was well defined and adopted as a system. From that time onwards it took its flight during the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries; and the fifteenth, which was the period of its highest perfection, was also towards its close the season of its decline. In the twelfth century it was called in Great Britain the early *English* style; in the next, the *pure* or *decorated*; and in the fifteenth, on account of the perpendicular lines in the tracery of doors and windows, it was named the *perpendicular Gothic*.

The peculiarities of this style at those different periods we cannot enter upon for the present, as it would be beyond our general purpose. From the old Roman or Grecian churches the Gothic differed in many respects. Stability and ornament were sought for in the former by the use of materials massive in size, and bound together in the simplest manner. In the latter, the architect worked his will with the use of very small stones, which a Roman or a Grecian builder would despise, and sought to add strength and beauty, not so much by the pressure of column or lintel, as from a scientific adjustment of ribs and thrusts of pointed arches, operating in various directions towards the support and symmetry of the entire building. The clustered pillars, the pointed arch, and branching roof, together with a number of

spires and pinnacles pointing to heaven in their airy minuteness, are the unmistakable expressions of the Gothic architecture. In Europe the finest specimen of a Gothic church is said to be Notre Dame, in Paris. It combines every variety of Gothic art, on account of the number of years it was assuming its present proportions, from the twelfth to the present century. In turn, the Gothic style gave place for many years to the various forms of architecture in vogue during the period called the Renaissance. This period set in with the sixteenth century, and evidently manifested a tendency towards the revival of classical or Pagan architecture. It was the time when novelty captivated the minds of the million. Europe was reeling in the throes of a great revolution, as well in the sciences and arts as in religion. To the modern fanaticism, all the old institutions, social and religious, all the old monuments of art, were a contradiction.

The reformed architect, giving wings to his fancy, flit past intervening centuries of mediæval architecture, till he alit on those fanes of Pagan art, and thence brought back to a servile age all that imagination could picture would express the ephemeral nature of its devotion.

The abortive productions of church architecture, that arose under the ægis of Protestantism, pointed the moral if they adorned not the name of the Renaissance period. Whatever is not a copy of the early Christian, or mediæval church architecture, during the period to which allusion is made, is but the supreme expression of artistic imbecility. "We may copy," says a modern writer, "but we can no longer invent;" and the same thing is true of almost every department of human thought, for we have been running new metals into our castings, artistic and intellectual, but it is the ancients, in most cases, who have furnished the moulds. The decline in art which followed the departure from Gothic taste, has been felt, and again the desire to revive it in all its ancient beauty is at once perceived in the number of Gothic churches and civil structures of various kinds springing up on all sides. The followers of Pelladius in Italy, or of Jones in England, are no longer heeded when calling Gothic art of the middle ages by the name *barbarism*. A true taste assigns it a just appreciation, and it again catches the genius of the Christian architect. The grander vistas obtained in its churches, the spiritualised expression, the variety and the harmony, the logic and the meaning, are all peculiarities of this style, sure to revive it and give it lasting expression throughout the church's land.

And it seems to be the privilege of the Catholic Church alone to perfect and preserve its truth and beauty. Other

churches, no doubt, attempt doing so, but they succeed so far as to degrade it, cut it up, and disorganize it in symbol as in expression, with stupid decorations never to accord with pure and simple taste. We are told that all perfection in architecture must grow from utility. Anything got up solely for ornament is false and tawdry. Taste and genius may be displayed in ornamenting a column or a capital, an entablature, an arch, or a window, but when any of these things are put up as an ornament alone, bad taste and incompetency display themselves instead.

The spirit and genius of the Catholic Church to restore Gothic art in her temples have full expression in the number and kind of these edifices within her fold; or, perhaps, the words of the Dominican preacher on the same subject, with which we mean to conclude, more appropriately and pointedly express the Church's instincts:—"Let every arch," he says, "now be pointed; let every pillar spring up as loftily as a spire; let every niche be filled with images of saints and angels; let the high tower be uplifted, upon which swings the bell, consecrated by the blessing of the Church, to fling out on the air around, which trembles as it receives its message, the notes of man's joy, or of Christian sorrow; and high above the tower let the pointed spire seek the clouds, and rear up to heaven, as near as man can go, the symbol of the Cross." Such is the Church's idea, and such the architecture of which she is mother.

J. T.

IRISH ECCLESIASTICAL COLLEGES SINCE THE REFORMATION.

SANTIAGO.—(APPENDIX).

THE following is the letter referred to of Father Lawndry to Father Richard Conway, who was about to proceed to Rome. Father Lawndry was Superior of the Irish Mission, according to Oliver, up to 1625,¹ and was a man of business habits. The letter is dated from his lodging, 4th November, 1611, and is written in English, largely intermingled with Latin. The only change I make is in its antiquated orthography, except where I suggest a surname or Christian name,

"Loving Sir,—Having understood these days past that you were to be shortly with Claudius (Aquaviva, the Father-General), I thought good to take the first opportunity offered

¹ In a list of the Jesuits in Ireland in 1617, Christopher Holywood is given as Superior, and Father Lawndry is not mentioned at all, so that likely Oliver mistakes.

to write both to you and to him, although within this fortnight I have been for twelve or thirteen days continually troubled with mine indisposition, cold and hot fits irregularly succeeding one another, and constrained to keep my bed. And that you may the better understand how things go, I have dismissed admonitor meus, and suffered him to repair to his country and your, where he is assisted by two workmen that desire to wear our livery. If you can pick out any of ours there that hath the Irish tongue of that country, it will be well done to send him to help the good old man, qui qua est charitate, appetit laborem supra virtutem. I have diminished his external mortifications, seeing his age is scarcely able to bear what younger years could. To the south of your country, and about Bowmanstown, Mr. Barnaby (Karney) is in charge, having under him Morris Briones and his nephew Hart. Of the west part of the southern province Nicholas (Leynach) hath care, assisted only by Shine (Thos.), and Bourk (Thos.), save what help he hath of Andrew (Morony), when he is there. We expect Haly (Thos.) when he shall end his studies, and Nicholas promised to procure him viaticum. It is feared that if Bourk leave the country he will miscarry : therefore both his prefect, Mr. Nicholas, and the general vicar of his town, Mr. Arthur, would have him take orders here, and help as he may, but I see not how I may give him *dimissories, quoniam id videtur* pertinere ad forum exterius, and my commission in letters patent, whereby I was declared superior of this mission sic se habet : Concedimus ei omnia privilegia, facultates et gratias in foro conscientiae quas Provincialibus concedere solemus : whence what to make could I never tell, nor yet obtain any exposition, although I have sought it by letter. If it would please our R. Father to grant me without restriction quod solet Provincialibus, excepting after as many things in particular as him list, it would serve to some purpose. Sed ut persequar coeptum institutum : Praefecturum of Thomas Kieran's province I have given to Andrew, quoniam est doctus et gravis, but for so much as he hath to look after his benefactors, the young man Kieran is often left alone, quod sentio inconveniens : and therefore have recommended to our monitor to confer with the consultors how this may be remedied. I have also written to Kieran himself to see whether he may procure viaticum for F. John Brimingan from his friends : for if so, then will I move for him to Claudius.

"To the rest I look immediately myself, save that I have given some care to Patrick (Lenan). In patria Nugentii (Roberti) habeo praeter ipsum Galweum (David) and they assidui sunt in opere, as hereabouts are Patrick and James

(Everard) the elder. James (Sall) tho' younger me levat scribendi labore. Cusacus (Henricus) noster hoc anno quiescit et percurrit materias in scholis non auditas, ut sit ad omne opus aptior. In quodam oppido provinciae P. Florentii Mori sive in 51, 51, 59: incipiet favente numine Joannes Barnewellus residere, ubi habebit candidatum pro socio: and as soon as I shall find that he is able to keep another there, or near him, I will give him a fellow of our own. In the meantime, that must be what may be, and, by the grace of God, I will look so to things as there shall grow no great inconvenience hereabouts. The last proclamation, for matters of religion, being put in execution everywhere by the superintendents and other officers, cause men of your sort to be more wary and private. Since Easter there have been taken and committed to the Castle of Dublin a bishop and five priests, where also lieth still in durance for their conscience the sheriffs Walsh and Hacket, with small hope of liberty during his time that committed them. At the last quarter sessions held at Kilmainham, about the 15th of October, were by Sir James Kerrol, sheriff of the shire, gentlemen of good sort presented for not going to church. About the same time, at Drogheda, did the primate threaten to proceed by way of excommunication against the best of the town, if they would not conform themselves and go to church. Similia aliis in locis facta cogitate. I made a motion, some years past, for Father Andrew Morony, Nicholas Leinagh, and Patrick Lenan, ut ad gradum stabilem in societate promoverentur, informing as much as the time and place could bear: and Claudius answered, that what I wrote in that kind was acceptable, and that he would confer of the matter with Harry FitzSimon when he came (for then was he in Flanders), yet hath all lain dead ever since, and I by that means judged to be careless of those that be under my charge. I pray you, therefore, set this matter afoot again. The information they have themselves in the larger letter of the two, concerning this matter, which they confess to have received: nec attinet quicquam cramben recoquere. Patrick studied his humanity here, and at Oxford. Master of Art he proceeded in Douay, and Bachelor of Divinity in Louvain, where he studied 5 or 6 years under F. Leonardus Lessius, and Doctor Stapleton bonae memoriae, nec illi deest ingenium so as I take him (neque enim à me postulet Claudius informationem per theses, cum citra periculum nostri hic ad tale examen congregari nequeant) to have learning sufficient, ut ad professionem 4 votorum admitatur. And as for the rest, I dare undertake, he is bonus religiosus, et quoad substantialia solidae virtutis. Accedit that by this degree he may with the greater

authority help me to govern these young men : nam is solus ex consultoribus mecum habitat. He hath spent in the Society full 15 years, et est aliunde maturus et gravis, annum agens 53^{um}, ut minimum. As for Andrew, his learning and virtue is to Claudius sufficiently known. Of Nicholas I desired specialem rationem habere, et ex paterna benignitate Claudii, si quid desit, supplere. Nam revera magnum zelum habet honoris ac existimationis Societatis, quem zelum sequitur vigilantia : in suscipiendis negotiis est circumspectus, in exequendis promptus ac efficax. So careful he is to have his faculties always at hand, and what hath been agreed upon for the execution of them from time to time, in every visitation, as I durst trust him with a matter of moment rather than another perhaps of greater speculation. And truly when I heard him preach in a public assembly, he gave me great satisfaction. These three are the sinews of our mission, and of longest continuance here, of whose fruitful labours, in great variety of times, I have been myself an eye-witness these 8 years.

“I have been dealt withal to dispense with three couples which contracted cum impedimento secundi vel tertii affinitatis gradus mixti cum primo ; and such are the causes alleged for dispensing with these parties, as I judge them, all things considered, sufficient ; but do not see how our faculties can be extended so far, for Sanchez, lib. 8, disp. 24, no. 54, negat eum cui conceditur potestas dispensandi in aliquo gradu, posse in eo dispensare, quando is mixtus est cum primo, propter verba motus proprii Pii V. Therefore I pray you be a suitor that I may dispense with some 20 couples in this case. One of ours, Robert (Bath), being returned from fructifying in the North, this last lent, did let me understand that divorces there are seen too frequent, and the common cause to be none other than to say that the marriage was made, non coram parochio, sed coram vagabundo sacerdote. Of this matter I complained to Mr. Rooth at my being in your parts, wishing him to remedy this evil, and acquainting him with the means which I thought fittest. Neither was their case ever worse than now, for besides the Plantation of foreign Calvinists, to whom a great part of that province is given, the Protestant superintendents doth turn out of their benefices such of our clergy as will not be conformable to their proceedings, as the general vicar of Armagh wrote up to us lately, and the above-mentioned Robert (Bath) told me before. Wherefore if it shall please Paul (V.) qui est ordinarius omnium, to authorize us so far, ut possimus sacerdotibus externis, ad hoc delectis, dare licentiam administrandi Sacramentum Matrimonii in omnibus illis hujus regni locis in quibus dicitur decretum Concilii Tridentini

annullaus matrimonium clandestinum fuisse sufficienter promulgatum, et vim suam obtinere, we will help much for amending this evil, while it shall please God to permit the calamities of this time. But this must be had under the Protector his hand, vel alio modo authentico, quoniam pertinet ad forum exterius, et istorum iudices dicuntur nonnihil contentiosi. Neither is it to be feared that by this means the jurisdiction of the ordinaries should be wronged, or just occasion of offence given them: for I mean therein to employ but 2 or 3 of ours, of known discretion, and that with good instruction also, ut solum suppleant defectum Ordinarii, ubi non est, vel concurrant cum Vicariis, qui de validitate suae jurisdictionis vel dubitant, vel timent, ut saepe contigit: vel propter mortem Episcopi cujus fuerunt vicarii; vel creationes novi Episcopi ejus Diaecesis, quae antea habebat Vicarium tantum Apostolicum; vel aliunde. And as for Dean and Chapter, I fear there will be none, or so uncertain, as may be, now of both the Catholic Bishops that were in the North Devanne being taken, and Boile, as it is said, dead: and five Bishoprics thengiven to superintendents, English and Scottish.

“As for our neighbour mission hactenus ista. Primo, when Claudius first acquainted me with his desire, wishing that I should give the Superior thereof two of mine, I had but six; whereof two could not speak the language, and other three were spent, or at least broken, weak, and sickly, and not able to undergo so difficult an enterprise, a thing the Superior himself, at his being here, saw, and therefore motioned for none of them. Withal, for a consideration which I could tell you in your ear, I had rather Claudius had given him two from these. Secundo, understanding that Claud continued still his desire in this behalf, I concluded with the Superior, a little before his departure hence, to assist him with the help of others, which I purposed to send for, and came since: he, in the meantime, promising one of his own, with instructions to conduct them, whom, till March, we still expected. Tertio, in the holy week, upon Wednesday or Thursday, the instructions that came from the old man being received, with a letter signifying that Claud had put all over unto us, with the greatest speed that might be conveniently made, we sent to sound the way and see what might be done: of which labour some fruit hath been already gathered, and more will, if it shall please God. But of this matter the less noise the better.

“The new prior of 58, 54, 41, 49, 47, studio promovendi commune bonum, is willing and desirous to resign up that living for the foundation of a College. What it is you may learn of Nicholas, which came late from St. Andrew's with Morgan;

and his brother Robert will make shift to pay what shall be requisite for despatching that business: *putat ille rem sine invidia posse acquiri*, and that it dependeth of some outlandish abbey there (*si recte memini*) or elsewhere.

"I wish you be inward with some one of the assistants, whom I would always have you acquaint in full with such matters of ours, as Claudius shall be to consult of, for many good motions go to ground in consultations, *quia nemo apprehendit rem ut est in se aut potest occurrentibus objectionibus facere satis*.

"As I was closing up this line, I was told by a gentleman of good sort, that came from Dublin, that Mr. Barnsby, the English priest, which was lately taken upon his landing, offered my Lord Chancellor to take the new oath of allegiance, so much contradicted there with you: adding, he thought him no good subject that would refuse the same. Such men will do us little good: for our Lords and gentlemen hath been greatly threatened, since July last, to be put to this oath: (*de qua re fui saepe consultus*, not only by ours here, and out of Munster, but also by others), yet one thing fell out well, *viz.*, that my Lord Deputy being advertised of the foresaid proffer made by Mr. Barnsby, and the Chancellor requiring therein his pleasure, he answered *hoc modo*: he will swear anything: I will not grace him so much as to put him to the oath.

"Mr. Wosell, in his last, named five ready for us, and as he writeth *exceptione majores*, whereof Lombard (John), as I understand from thence, is advertised by Claudius to come. Concerning Breminigan (John), I wrote you my mind already, and as for the others, James Butler, William White, and Ambrose Wadding, I will confer with the prefects and consultors whether it be expedient to send for them, and what means may be made for compassing them a *viaticum*. I understand by diverse that Johannes Baptista Duigin would be profitable for his country, which is destitute of help: wherefore I pray that you see him applied to his studies, and made ready for us, *si aliunde videatur idoneus*, for which, and other things concerning us, peruse and observe such notes as Mr. Hart carried from hence and left there.

"There came into my hands not long since a letter written by a friend from Drogheda, certifying it to be credibly reported that Knox, the governor of the redshanks (him the King terms his swaggering Bishop), and this summer, he being in Dublin, did his endeavour to induce the State to a bloody persecution, after taking view of the Bishopric or lands given him in the North, committed in his way homeward sacrilege not left altogether unpunished. *Sic autem post alia habet*

epistola. Knox in his way took occasion to visit the superintendent Bishop of Derry (Anglus hic erat, et Babbington, ni fallor, illi nomen) who, after conference, seeking to take his leave, was requested by the said Bishop of Derry, that as he did pass to Coleraine, he should enter into a little church by the way, wherein a fair picture or image of the B. Virgin was, which finding, prayed him to pull down the said image and to burn the same, for that the people (as he said) went thither of superstitiony to worship the same, which the said Knox promised to do, and in passing that way, went into the church and found the image there accordingly, whereupon he commanded his men to go and pull down the said image, which his people loathing and refusing to do, he ascended himself, and pulled down the image, and caused one of his men to carry it to Coleraine, where he caused a great fire to be made in the midst of the town, and had the image cast therein, which remaining a long time in the fire, till the fire was near spent, and taking no hurt, it was taken up out of the fire, and a new fire made, whereunto the said image was cast again, which, notwithstanding, took no great hurt by the said fire; and being admired of many, the said Knox, fearing farther notice should be taken thereof, sent for a carpenter, and caused him to bore several great holes into several parts of the image, whereunto he also caused a company of small dry sticks to be thrust with powder and tar, which being kindled, the image took fire and was burned. The same day the Bishop of Derry suddenly died, being in perfect health an hour before; soon after the aforesaid Knox took shipping to go for Scotland, and being at sea, was overtaken by a foul storm, and since nothing heard what became of him, a just judgment for so foul a fact. The day the Bishop of Derry died, was to come before him the clergy of his diocese, and such as would not conform should lose their benefices, who coming (with what resolution I know not) found him dead. The church wherein the image was is but six miles from Coleraine, wherein remains to this day many monuments of the several miracles wrought by visiting thereof, as the lame and blind to receive their limbs and sight: my cousin Gilbert Lambint, with several others of this town, hath seen the monuments, and saith that in their lives they never saw a fairer image. Hactenus epistola. And this I write because I hear it talked of, and partly acknowledged by the Protestants themselves. Saluta, quaeso ex me R^{esim.} nostrum Petrum (Lombardum) et purpuratum nostrum Robertum mihi Ferrariae et Petavii notum, item collegas quondam meos D. Antonium Mariam Menù et D. Paulum Vallem, to whom I am very thankful for his kindly using Hart as he passed by

there. Quod superest Deus tibi et mihi concedat plene cognoscere et perfecte adimplere ejus Sanctissimam Voluntatem. From my lodging, 4^o November. 1611.

"Your always assured,

"THOMAS LAWNDRIE.

"Since the writing hereof, I spoke with one that was in Drogheda the other day, who says it is held for certain there that Knox is drowned, he for whom the poor inhabitants of the Island durst not almost look upon any that might acquaint them with the means of their salvation. James Sall also telleth me more, that he was in Coleraine himself, at the burning of the image in the manner aforesaid. There is feared greater scarcity of coin, for the customs are very — send a part of the army to cut off the sending of treasure out of England hither."

Such is as true a copy as could possibly be made of the original letter of Father Lawndry, which is very difficult to read. It is backed thus: "*Integerrimo suo amico D. Richardo Conweo, Madridii.*"

The following is the first paragraph of a letter written by Father James Carney's confessor, Father Bartan, to Father Peter Redan, on the 19th June, 1648, in which he refers to Father Carney's prophecy of the time of his death:—

"My dear Father Redan,—With deep grief I write to your Reverence, on account of the occasion it is. You will have already heard of the holy death of Father James Carney, saintly in life and death, as he can be called with great confidence. From the intimacy with which I treated him these many years past, I hold it for certain that he had a revelation of his death, and on the first day of his illness he gave me to understand so much. Three days before he died, he mentioned the day and the hour at which he should depart, and he died at the very hour he named. The rest you will see in the Common Letter."

Copy of the Report sent to Don Diego Brochero, by Eugene Carty, on the Students of Santiago, in 1612.

"In fulfilment of your order, commanding me to send you an account of the manner of life of the students, I have to say that, glory be to God, they are getting on well, and making great progress in their studies, and also in virtue, which is seen from the fact that persons of great parts have left, and others are still in this house, and though many disorders usually occur in universities, our Lord was pleased to guard ours from all infection of vice. They live with such singular purity and honour, that for the seven years they are here their

good name and fame have never been tarnished. They keep themselves very healthy by their temperance and moderation, and besides, the place suits them exactly, so that not one has died in the years I have mentioned.

"They have not, and never had any constitutions beyond the private regulations we adopt for living regularly and virtuously, such as to recite twice a day rosaries, litanies, psalms, and other prayers for his Catholic Majesty, for the kingdom, for the propagation of the Faith, and for all their benefactors; to go to confession and communion every fifteen days; to live in peace, concord, and amity; to go out together in a body to class, and return in the same way, besides other regulations to the number of fifteen, which, for the sake of brevity, I omit. They do not take an oath to become priests, nor does his Majesty oblige them to do so, for as they are the children of people of noble birth given as hostages of the loyalty their fathers have sworn to his Majesty, he made no farther disposition with regard to them than that they should be trained in virtue and letters without farther restriction; and, besides, their parents and friends, in recompense of whose services and losses his Majesty maintains this house, would not be pleased they should be compelled to do anything to which they did not feel inclined; and they say that if it is necessary to have priests in Ireland, so also is it to have gentlemen educated in a Catholic way, to receive and protect them, for if there were none such the priests could not hold their ground. They also say that professional men are wanting, particularly canonists, to judge ecclesiastical cases; that there is indeed a very great want of these, as there are none but such as study in these foreign kingdoms, for the king of England does not tolerate any schools but such as are taught by heretical masters.

"But though the students of this house are under no obligation to become priests, they do so of their own spontaneous will, and thus have come from it Fra. Cornelius O'Driscol, Benedictine monk; Fra. Eugenius Fildeus, Franciscan; Fra. Daniel Hangle, Franciscan; and Don Philip O'Sullivan, nephew of the Lord of Berehaven, master of arts and bachelor in canon law, wants to be ordained. The rest are artists, philosophers, and canonists, some with degrees, and others about taking them. There has come from it also the bachelors Molina Canty and Raymond Hussey, the one a theologian, the other a jurist, besides Don Thadeus O'Driscol, heir of Don Dermotius, with three years of arts, another Don Thadeus O'Driscol, with three years of arts and two of canons, son to the Lord of Castlehaven, Don Daniel O'Driscol, son to the Lord of Baltimore, whom his Majesty appointed to

the army in Flanders, as soon as he finished his studies, and Don Thomas Geraldine, heir to the Knight of the Valley, whom his Majesty also appointed to Flanders.

“This is the true state of our affairs, from which you may gather four things :—1st, That this Seminary admits the sons of lords and gentlemen who employed their services and property in defence of the Faith and on behalf of his Majesty ; 2nd, The notable improvement made by those who entered children of eight, ten, and twelve years ; 3rd, That they voluntarily, and without any co-action, become priests and religious ; and 4th, That his Majesty honours and employs in his service those who have been educated in this house.”

As was said in the first article, the Society of Jesus hesitated for over two years to accept the direction of the Santiago College, because the province was deeply in debt, and the superiors were unwilling to run the risk of adding to their liabilities by going to a house which had no visible means of subsistence, except the small subscription his Majesty allowed it. The Irish Fathers, knowing what a great advantage it would be to their country to have the College under the Society, left no stone unturned to overcome the very strong repugnance and fear of the Provincial and his counsellors. For this purpose they drew up a list of reasons why the Society should not hesitate, and answers to the probable objections that would be made to them, with a special examination of the allegation that the Irish Fathers, already employed in the service of the College of Salamanca, had cost the province a considerable amount of money ; and I quote this solely because it gives us some incidental particulars of several Irish Jesuits then in the service of their country in Spain :—

“But descending to particulars which have occurred within the last twenty years, we know that the government of the College of Salamanca was all the time in the hands of Father James Archer, who was never a charge to the province ; or Father Thomas White, who was only a little over two years a burden to it, and during that time served as minister and confessor even in his noviciate ; or of Father Richard Conway, and he was a charge only during his philosophical and theological studies, for he passed his noviciate in Portugal, and being ordained priest two years before he finished his studies, became confessor, and he afterwards went on missions, and discharged other duties in service of the province, and ever since, though he has been in charge of the College, he has acted as a missionary in service of the Society. Father Wm. White was educated in Andalusia, and is only one year a charge

here; Father Richard Walsh is lecturing these two years, and neither of these has been a charge more than for his food, for the Irish College provides them with clothing and other necessaries. Well, if in twenty years the Fathers of said College have been no more charge than stated to the Society, what wonder would it be if it should not hesitate to accept this new college, when it does not hesitate at things of much greater importance.

"Besides, they avail themselves of Father William Bath, who was never a charge to the province, and was brought here for the service of the College, and employ him in the different ministries, to the great glory of God and with great honour to the Society. We leave aside the brothers and fathers of the seminary and Irish nation, received into the Society, of whom it has availed, and will avail itself again, as it does of its other subjects; so that when looked into, it would appear quite evident that during these twenty years it received value for whatever it expended on the Fathers it educated for these seminaries, for there is none of them who does not act also as a labourer in the Jesuit College wherever he be. And if the province cannot or will not undergo the expense, they can be called from other parts, as Father Archer came from France, and Father Wm. Bath from Italy; and, besides, the Father-General has many educated under his own eye in Rome, where the province is overcharged, whom he would gladly send to these seminaries. Who knows but God, if the province willingly undertake this business, may send an increase of means and houses and colleges in reward for this pious and holy work: *Quaerite primum regnum Dei, et haec omnia adjicientur vobis.*"

The following is one of the few documents we meet with in English. It refers to the suppression of the liberties of Waterford, as mentioned in the text, and has an appendix in the shape of a commentary on the different points made by his Lordship. It is headed: *The L. Chaunceler is Speach upon his graunting a ceasure of the Liberties of Waterforde*. Divested of its antiquated orthography, it says:—

"I am very unwilling to pronounce this sentence against the city of Waterford, for in mine own experience since my coming unto this kingdom, and by the relation of others before my time, this city of Waterford was of the most ancient cities of this kingdom, and have performed (a) many excellent and acceptable services to the queen of England, in so much as they deserved the *posie* of 'Urbs intacta manet,' but no sooner was the late Queen Elizabeth, of blessed memory dead, but that this corporation entered into a tumult (b) in

manner of rebellion, and were grown so bold, as they propounded conditions (c) to the viceroy of the kingdom, that he should enter into the city with some private counsellors, for which he should have hostages of the aldermen of the city (d) ; and a papish instrument, whom they had there, preached publicly, at the market cross, that for the preservation of their conscience, it was lawful for them to take arms against their king, non ignota loquor, for I followed the L. Deputy in that service, and was present. But the city of Waterford which thus flourished, and the inhabitants and citizens thereof, whom I know to be equal for all manner and breeding, and sufficiency to any within the king's dominions, or in Europe, yet when they yieldeth their heart to *foreign states* (e) (which is the principal part of man), then they neglected their *duty and fidelity* (f), and one error heaped on another, and thousand inconveniences ensued, so far forth as being directed by popish priests and Jesuits, they could not within their whole corporation find (g) *one man* to serve the king's majesty in the magistracy of mayor (h) *for want of conformity*. And it is well said of Lactantius (i), *posito quod sit Deus*, then must he be served as he will, and not as any man can devise, and so of the king, *posito quod sit rex* (k), he must be served according his laws and instructions, and always for mine own part howsoever I wished that corporation very well for mine affection towards particular men there well worthy of it, yet I always doubted *this would be the end of this corporation* (l), and so I pronounce that a seizure be awarded of all their liberties, but the execution thereof to cease and be suspended until further direction from his majesty."

Now come the comments or notes:—

"(a). The greater ought your shame to be, that returns evil for the good done to you, who will ever trust your treacherous nation with requiting great services by destroying the servitors for not forsaking the ancient true religion their ancestors professed.

"(b). It was no rebellion, but zeal of Catholic religion, for knowing the king's promise to favour Catholics, and thinking he would perform his royal word, they were so bold as to hallow churches, have public masses, sermons, and processions.

"(c). They never propounded such conditions, nor denied to admit him, or any of his, who had free access every day to the city, only they feared his violence, seeing him come with an army, he being a heretic.

"(d). Doctor White was the papish instrument, but he never preached such doctrine, as many that heard all his

sermons can and do testify. Only he persuaded to exercise Catholic religion, hoping the king would be as good as his word, in permitting Catholics their functions; when they resisted to proclaim the king, it was not juridically notified to them he was admitted in England, and it was well known that cities were severely punished for proclaiming kings of England in such occasions not being yet received in England.

“(e). He means the Pope, to whom Waterford men are said to have yielded their hearts, because they stick unto him, and yield him obedience in matters of faith and religion, to whom wholly they rely as to a true head visible of God’s church on earth, they must needs neglect their duty and fidelity here mentioned.

“(f). Which is nothing else but to become Protestant, take the blasphemous oath, and follow the king’s religion, acknowledging him head of the church in his dominions, and this is the duty and fidelity which Waterford men neglect, and will neglect, God willing, for ever, but they cannot be accused by their adversaries of any want of duty or fidelity becoming a Christian subject.

“(g). Not one Waterford man who may truly be so termed, that is, a man of any worth, birth, or ancient standing in the city, was, or is found conformable to the king’s religion, and therefore not fit to serve him in the office of mayor.

“(h). This is our glory and the greatest commendation we may have given us, and testified by our adversaries, that the cause of losing our liberties is want of conformity in religion to the king’s majesty, who will admit none to bear public office but such as will take the oath, and go to church here, forsake God’s church and become of Satan’s congregation, such as Waterford affordeth not.

“(i). Lactantius argueth well, for God nec falli potest nec fallere, and therefore we are bound to obey him in faith and religion, with blind obedience, not examining what he commands.

“(k). But the L. Chancellor infers very ill, for *dispar est ratio*, for our king can be both deceived as he is in matter of religion, and deceive, as I believe he doth, for I think he is not persuaded himself that his own religion is the true, but doth in that point against his conscience as Queen Elizabeth did; moreover if the L. Chancellor’s argument be good, let him also infer that whereas Diocletian was a king he should have been served according his laws in matters of religion, and therefore Christians, his subjects, should have adored his idols; the great porte is a king, and therefore should Christians living in his dominions serve him according his statutes, and

adore Mahomet, as the L. Chancellor will have Christians in Ireland serve the king of England according his laws and statutes, which is to adore him head of the church.

“(1). Because you saw them at all times rely so steadfastly to Roman religion, and moreover of your speech may be well gathered your companions and your statesmen, or Machiavellians, had mind these many years to overthrow Waterford for that cause, but you dissembled while you had need of them in time of war, showing them friendship which was but English friendship that hath still a black tail.”

W. M'D.

CANONIZED PRIESTS.

(Continued from page 265.)

BEFORE passing to the sixth remark, we call the reader's attention to the preceding five, stated and proved last month, viz. :—I. All God's Saints are not known to men. II. All known Saints are not canonized. III. All canonized Saints are not catalogued. IV. All catalogued Saints are not named. V. All named Saints are not titled.

VI. *All titled Saints are not calendared.* The knowledge of many missionary Priests is derived in great part from the Breviary—no bad source of varied information; but as its very name implies, compendious. It is not a Martyrology, nor a history, nor a copy of the Scriptures, nor a collection of the Fathers, although there is much of all this in its sacred pages. In its front, as also in the Missal, is the Calendar, and in this Calendar the Saints best known to all. How few, how very few, of the great multitude are here! How few they know who know no more! The choice of Saints for the Calendar, which is still far from being filled up, is a jealous care of the Roman Pontiffs. Providentially are these Saints singled out from the many, whose lives are judged more edifying and whose invocation is found more salutary. The Saints of the Martyrology named and titled, compared with the Calendar Saints, are *an immense multitude*. Again, the Saints in the Calendar itself are not all titled, and hence may be, though commemorated, yet in a manner unknown. A Priest becomes intimately acquainted with the Breviary, but not so with the Martyrology, unless living in community. Hence he may judge, amongst other things, of the various classes of Saints by their representatives in the Breviary. This judgment may not be imprudent, so far as numbers are concerned, if they be taken relatively. It may be another proof of order and wisdom in the Church that she commemorates Saints from

every class, but that most are taken from the largest. It would, however, be rash to conclude that as there are few of a class in the Breviary, therefore that class is small in itself. There may be few Priests in the Calendar, and nevertheless many of them named and titled in the Martyrology.

VII. *All Calendar Saints are not universalized.* The spirit of Catholicity, even as its name, is universal unity. The Divine Founder of the Church prayed that all Christians might be one, as perfectly as possible; and this though the faith was to be preached to all nations, so different in all save nature—in faith they were to be one. Now liturgy is an expression of faith; and hence the desirability of liturgical unity throughout the universe. As various tongues can utter thoughts identical, so various liturgies can express the self-same truth; nevertheless, there is in this variety an obstacle to perfect unity which the Roman Pontiffs have often implicitly and gently, for obvious reasons, found fault with. No obstacle, however, to unity in its perfection is the invocation of national Saints; even as no obstacle is the immediate dependence on national pastors, no obstacle prayers for national necessities. The Church would perfect, not wound, human nature. Nationality, however, is natural; and hence the Church approves of national festivals and commemorations as well calculated to efficaciously promote the piety of the faithful to trust in the protection and imitate the holiness of their own fellow-countrymen or Patron Saints. Hence comes it that all Calendar Saints are not always celebrated liturgically throughout the whole Church, and consequently that they all are not equally well known. It follows, therefore, that before drawing a comparison of classes even from the Breviary, the Breviary itself should be carefully looked through in its entirety. If the Breviary of Calendar Priests be few, we should not make them less.

VIII. *All universal Saints are not celebrated.* The universalized Calendar Saints should be, and doubtless are, well known throughout the world, to those at all events who recite the Office. Some, however, of these Saints may be little cared for in particular: no churches perhaps dedicated to them, no devotions practised, no tales narrated of them, no pictures seen, no person even named after them. This may naturally occur, universal favorites turning all eyes on themselves, and God perhaps confirming the choice by miraculous favors. And choice is clearly made by the Church herself distributing degrees of rite and order of commemoration. Unheeded Saints might well be Priests; and so they are. Hence we might think them few: few from the fact of few being cele-

brated ; few in the Calendar, in the Martyrology, and in Heaven ! These eight remarks prove we may think how imprudent it would be to say the Saints of any class are few, while there may be many uncelebrated, more universalized, more uncalendared, more untitled, more unnamed, more uncatalogued, more uncanonized, and more unknown. And, again, as we said before, these eight remarks increase the number of Bishops canonized, but *much more* the number of canonized Priests.

EXAMINATION.

I. *The Litany.* One Priest is invoked in the Litany of the Saints—a truly great Priest, worthy to be the special patron of every simple Priest—ST. JEROME, PRIEST AND CONFESSOR, DOCTOR OF THE CHURCH. The Bishops of the Litany are more than twenty, Apostles and Popes fairly included. One is certainly not much compared with twenty.

II. *The Canon.* In the Canon of the Mass there are a few Saints doubly canonized. We find one Priest, St. Marcellinus, not much known, though he has a lesson in the Breviary. The Bishops again are more than twenty. We must remember our remarks, or we shall begin to side with the Curé.

III. *The Breviary.* The titled Priests of the Breviary or Calendar are only three—St. Felix, January 14th ; St. Valentine, February 14th ; St. Jerome, September 30th. By looking cautiously through the entire Breviary we have discovered seven others, viz. : SS. Eventius and Theodulus, May 3rd ; St. John Nepomucene, May 16th ; St. Marcellinus, June 2nd ; St. Nicomedes, September 15th ; St. Rusticus, October 9th ; St. John Cantius, October 20th. Finally, the Irish supplement gives us four of the Gorcum Martyrs for July 9th ; but not even one Irish Calendar Priest. The Breviary Priests are, therefore, about fifteen. The Bishops, on the other hand, are at least eighty ; and with those of the Supplement more than one hundred and ten. Fifteen are certainly few compared with one hundred and ten.

IV. *The Martyrology.* Amongst the titled Saints of the Roman Martyrology we have found one hundred and seventy-five Priests, and about one thousand and fifty Bishops. This, then, is the real result of our examination—1,050 Bishops, 175 Priests. There are, therefore, as many canonized Bishops as there are now Bishops in the world ; and there are not as many canonized Secular Priests as there are now exercising their ministry in the diocese of Dublin. Was the Curé right or wrong ?—We think he was right. Notwithstanding the force of our remarks, and we made them as strong as we well could,

the disproportion of these numbers is certainly remarkable. By dwelling on the numerical superiority of Priests, we established that there must be more unknown holy Priests than Bishops ; but what can be opposed to the *a pari* application that *omnibus perpensis* there should be more of them also known ? We confess that the well-known words of St. Paul to Timothy, often enough made a joke of, come now to mind with a deeper meaning than ever before, and furnish us with the principal of the explanations we subjoin of the *relatively* small number of canonized Priests. The number in itself is not a small one ; but comparatively taken, it is sure to be judged such ; and hence we admit the Curé's proposition, who was right in many a more subtle investigation, and offer thereon the following

EXPLANATIONS.

I. Let it not be forgotten that Bishops are for ever Priests. Raised from the ranks, they are soldiers still, of whose virtues and glories the humblest of their comrades may well be proud.

II. Let it be remembered that the Holy Spirit has much to do with the choice of Bishops from amongst the Priests, and that, consequently, and by law and practice of the Church, the best are chosen for promotion.

III. Let us further reflect that the holy Bishops of the Martyrology known to us were Saints while yet but simple Priests ; nay, mostly from their earliest days.

IV. Let it be observed that Bishops have many special means of sanctification more than the simple Priest, neglect of which would be unpardonable, and use of which cannot fail to sanctify. This is the Pauline explanation given in these words of his first Epistle to Timothy :—"If a man desire the office of a Bishop, he desireth a *good work*. *It becometh therefore a Bishop to be blameless*, sober, prudent, of good behaviour, chaste, given to hospitality, a teacher, not given to wine, no striker, but modest, not quarrelsome, not covetous, but one that ruleth well," &c., &c. (iii. 1, 2, &c.) A good work truly the office of a Bishop if it render the Bishop blameless. His special means of sanctification that occur to us are these of the many :—The first is the particular grace of the Episcopate, given no doubt for greater things than that of the Priesthood, and therefore more sublime and efficacious. The second is the conspicuous position taken and held by the Bishop, who feels with the Apostle that he should be faultless, and that he is expected to be such by his clergy and people : nay, and by outsiders as well. The third is the retirement from innumerable worldly dangers and distracting occupations, in the midst of which the simple Priest is forced to spend his life.

The fourth, not to look for others, is the independence of authority, as powerful for good as for evil, and as for the welfare of others so principally for one's own sanctification.

V. Our last explanation is the facility with which holy Bishops will win for themselves the esteem of Kings and Popes, as well as that of their Priests and people, far more readily than holy Priests, known only to a few generally of no particular influence. How appropriately and naturally the honors of the altar are granted to these who, personally known to the Pontiffs, are prayed for as patrons by those whom they governed and edified.

We thus explain the results of our examination, leaving to our readers the further consideration and more satisfactory solutions of the difficulty, and here appending reverently and confidently our Calendar of Canonized Priests compiled from the Roman Martyrology, and given in its very words. May these priests above pray incessantly for their brethren on earth, that working for others we may not neglect ourselves; that obliged to care for worldly things, we may ever care more for heaven; that like them, our representatives, we may accomplish our course, preserve the faith, and win our crowns of glory.

KALENDARIUM SANCTORUM PRESBYTERUM.

Januarius.

1. S. Concordius, Presb. M., Spoleti, sub Antonino.
4. S. Priscus, Presb. M., Romae, sub Juliano.
7. S. Lucianus, Pr. M., Nicomediae, sub Maximiano.
8. S. Lucianus, Pr. M., Bellovacii in Galliis.
9. S. Antonius, Pr. M., Antiochiae, sub Diocletiano.
10. S. Marcellinus, Presbyter, Constantinopoli.
12. S. Tigrisus, Pr. M., Constantinop., sub Arcadio.
13. S. Gemesindus, Pr. M., Cordubae.
14. S. Felix, Presb., Nolae in Campania.
28. S. Joannes, Pr., in Monast., Rhemensis.
30. S. Hippolytus, Pr. M., Antiochiae.
31. S. Julius, Pr. Conf., in Prov. Mediolani.

Februarius.

1. S. Pionius, Presb. M., Smyrnae.
11. S. Saturninus, Pr. M., in Africa, sub Diocletiano.
14. S. Valentinus, Pr. M., Romae, sub Claudio.
- „ S. Cyrion, Presb. M., Alexandriae.
15. S. Severus, Presb., in Provincia Valeriae.
17. S. Fintanus, Presb. Conf., in Scotia.
19. S. Gabinus, Pr. M., Romae, sub Diocletiano.
20. S. Zenobius, Pr. M., in Phoenicia, sub Diocletiano.
23. S. Polycarpus, Presbyter, Romae.

Martius.

11. S. Eulogius, Presb. M., Cordubae.
12. S. Egdunius, Pr. M., Nicomediae.
13. S. Rudericus, Presb. Mart., Cordubae.
19. S. Landoaldus, Presbyter, Gandavi.
22. S. Basilius, Pr. M., Ancyrae, sub Juliano.
23. S. Theodulus, Presbyter, Antiochia.
24. S. Epigmenius, Pr. M., Romae, sub Diocletiano.
26. S. Montanus, Presb. Mart., Sirmii.

Aprilis.

7. S. Peleusius, Presb. Mart., Alexandriae.
10. S. Appolonius, Pr. M., Alexandriae, sub Maximino.
11. S. Eustorgius, Presbyter, Nicomediae.
17. S. Elias, Presb. Mart., Cordubae.
18. S. Perfectus, Presb. Mart., Cordubae.
20. S. Marcianus, Presbyter, Antisiodori.
21. S. Abedechalas, Pr. M., in Perside, sub Sapore.
- " S. Ananias, Pr. M., in Perside, sub Sapore.
- " S. Arator, Pr. M., Alexandriae.
22. S. Aithalas, Pr. M., in Perside, sub Sapore.
- " S. Jacobus, Pr. M., in Perside, sub Sapore.
- " S. Joseph, Pr. M., in Perside, sub Sapore.
- " S. Chrysotelus, Presb. M., in Perside.
- " S. Helimenas, Presb. M., in Perside.
- " S. Parmenius, Presb. M., in Perside.
23. S. Felix, Pr. M., Valentiae in Gallia.
26. S. Richarius, Pr. Cf., in Mon. Centula.
30. S. Aphrodisius, Pr. M., Alexandriae.
- " S. Laurentius, Pr. M., Novariae.
- " S. Amator, Presbyter, Cordubae.

Majus.

3. S. Eventius, Pr. M., Romae, sub Hadriano.
- " S. Theodulus, Pr. M., Romae, sub Hadriano.
10. S. Calepodius, Pr. M., Romae, sub Alexandro.
11. S. Anthimus, Pr. M., Romae, sub Diocletiano.
13. S. Lucius, Pr. M., Constantinop., sub Diocletiano.
16. SS. Septem, Presbyteri MM., in Perside, sub Isdegerde.
19. S. Ivo, Presbyter Conf., in Britannia.
21. S. Secundus, Pr. M., Alexandriae, sub Constantio.
24. S. Vincentius, Presb. in Monast. Lirinensi.
26. S. Simitrius, Pr. M., Romae, sub Antonino.
27. Venerabilis Beda, Presbyter.

Junius.

1. S. Fortunatus, Presbyter, in Umbria.
- " S. Pamphilus, Pr. M., Caesareae, sub Maximiano.
- " S. Paulus, Pr. M., Augustoduni, sub Aureliano.
2. S. Marcellinus, Pr. M., Romae, sub Diocletiano.
3. S. Liphardus, Pr., in territorio Aurelianensi.
- " S. Caecilius, Presbyter, Carthagine.
5. S. Dorotheus, Pr. M., Tyri, sub Juliano.
7. S. Petrus, Presbyter, Cordubae.
9. S. Columbus, Presb. Conf., in Scotia.
16. S. Ferreolus, Pr. M., Vesontione, sub Claudio.
17. S. Avitus, Presb. Conf., Aurelianis.
23. S. Felix, Presb. Mart., Sutrii.
- " S. Joannes, Pr. M., Romae, sub Juliano.
26. S. Maxentius, Pr., in pago Pictaviensi.
27. S. Joannes, Presb. Conf., Turonis.
- " S. Sampson, Presb., Constantinopoli.
30. S. Alpinianus, Presb., Lemovicis.
- " S. Austriclinianus, Presb., Lemovicis.
- " S. Cajus, Presbyter.
- " S. Ortianus, Pr., in territ. Vivariensi.

Julius.

1. S. Theodoricus, Pr., in territorio Rhemensi.
6. S. Goar, Presb., in pago Trevirensi.
8. S. Colomannus, Pr. M., Herbipoli.
11. S. Abundius, Presb. M., Cordubae.
- " S. Cindeus, Pr. M., in Pamphylia, sub Diocletiano.
14. S. Marcellinus, Pr., Daventriae in Belgis.
26. S. Pastor, Presbyter, Romae.
27. S. Hermolaus, Pr., Nicomediae, sub Maximiano.
28. S. Peregrinus, Presbyter, Lugduni.

Augustus.

1. S. Bonus, Presbyter M., Romae
4. S. Tertullianus, Pr. M., Romae, sub Valeriano.
8. S. Severus, Pr. Conf., Viennae in Gallia.
9. S. Numidicus, Pr. M., in Africa, sub Valeriano.
13. S. Wigbertus, Presb. Conf., in Germania.
14. S. Eusebius, Pr., Romae, sub Constantio.
17. S. Myron, Pr. M., in Achaja, sub Decio.
18. S. Crispus, Pr. M., Romae, sub Diocletiano.
- " S. Joannes, Pr. M., Romae, sub Diocletiano.
19. S. Donatus, Pr. Cf., in Gallia.
20. S. Maximus, Pr. M., Ostiae, sub Alexandro.

26. S. Felix, Pr. Cf., Pistorii in Italia.
29. S. Andreas, Pr. M., Constantinop., sub Leone.
- „ S. Medericus, Pr., Lutetiae, Parisionim.
30. S. Felix, Pr. M., Romae, sub Diocletiano.
- „ S. Pammachius, Presbyter, Romae.
31. S. Caesidius, Pr. M., Transaquis, sub Maximino.

September.

6. S. Faustus, Pr. M., Alexandriae, sub Decio.
7. S. Clodoaldus, Pr. Cf., in territ. Parisiensi.
15. S. Nicomedes, Presbyter Mart., Romae.
16. S. Abundius, Pr. M., Romae, sub Diocletiano.
17. S. Justinus, Pr. M., Romae, sub Claudio.
19. S. Seguanus, Pr. Cf., in territ. Lingoniensi.
22. S. Jonas, Pr. M., in pago Castrensi.
- „ S. Florentius, Pr., in pago Pictairensi.
24. S. Audochius, Pr. M., Augustodini, in Gallia.
26. S. Amantius, Presbyter, Tiferni.
29. S. Grimoaldus, Presb., in Pontecurvo.
30. S. HIERONYMUS, PRESB., E. D., in Bethlehem.

October.

1. S. Piaton, Presb. M., Tornaci, sub Maximiano.
- „ S. Severus, Pr. Conf., in Urbeveteri.
5. SS. Evaldi duo, PP. MM., apud Saxones.
7. S. Augustus, Pr. Cf., apud Bituricas.
- „ S. Helanus, Presbyter Rhemensis.
8. S. Artemon, Pr. M., Laodiceae, sub Diocletiano.
9. S. Rusticus, Pr. M., Lutetiae Parisiorum.
11. S. Quirinus, Pr. M., in Vilcassino.
- „ S. Anastasius, Presbyter Martyr.
12. S. Eustachius, Pr. Conf., in Syria.
20. S. Joannes Cantius, Pr. Cf., in Polonia.
21. S. Astesius, Pr. M., Ostiae, sub Alexandro.
23. S. Theodorus, Pr. M., in Syria, sub Juliano.
- „ S. Domitius, Pr., in territ. Ambianensi.
24. S. Audactus, Pr. M., Venusiae, sub Juliano.
- „ S. Januarius, Pr. M., Venusiae, sub Juliano.
25. S. Protus, Pr. M., Turribus in Sardinia, sub Diocletiano.
- „ S. Georgius, Pr., Petrogaricis in Gallia.
26. S. Rogatianus, Pr. M., in Africa, sub Diocletiano.
29. S. Zenobius, Pr. M., Sidone in Phoenicia.

November.

1. S. Julianus, Pr. M., Terracinae in Campania.
- „ S. Benignus, Pr. M., Divione, sub M. Aurelio.
- „ S. Jacobus, Pr. M., in Persia, sub Sapore.

3. S. Valentinus, Pr. M., Viterbri, sub Maximiano.
4. S. Clarus, Pr. M., in Vilcassino.
- " S. Hermas, Pr. M., Myrae in Lycia.
- " S. Pierius, Presbyter Alexandrinus.
5. S. Felix, Pr. M., Terracinae in Campania.
- " S. Laetus, Pr. Cf., Aurelianis in Gallia.
8. S. Clarus, Presbyter, Turonis.
12. S. Æmilianus, Pr., Turiasone in Hispania.
19. S. Hippolytus, Pr. M., in Sardinia, sub Alexandro.
- " S. Maximus, Pr. M., Romae, sub Valeriano.
23. S. Trudo, Pr. Conf., Hasbaniae.
24. S. Romanus, Pr., in Castro Blavio.
25. S. Moysis, Pr. M., Romae, sub Decio.
26. S. Marcellus, Pr. M., Nicomediae, sub Constantio.
27. S. Acacius, Pr. M., Sebaste, sub Diocletiano.

December.

1. S. Diodorus, Pr. M., Romae, sub Numeriano.
2. S. Eusebius, Pr. M., Romae, sub Valeriano.
6. S. Polychronius, Pr. M., sub Constantio.
10. S. Carpophorus, Pr. M., sub Diocletiano.
20. S. Eugenius, Pr. M., in Arabia, sub Juliano.
- " S. Macarius, Pr. M., in Arabia, sub Juliano.
21. S. Glycerius, Pr. M., Nicomediae, sub Diocletiano.
24. S. Gregorius, Pr. M., Spoleti, sub Diocletiano.
28. S. Eutychius, Pr. M., Ancyrae in Galatia.
- " S. Domnio, Presbyter, Romae.
31. S. Zoticus, Presbyter, Constantinopoli.
- " S. Barbatianus, Presb., Ravennae.

(To be continued.)

CHRONICLE.

ITALY.

CRESTING the southern ascent of the Palatine is the Convent of San Bonaventura. Here lived St. Leonard, of Port Maurice, a great part of his religious life, and here he died. Looking from the Convent across the Via Sacra, at that part where it has just passed under the arch of Titus, and where the ancient pavement yet remains, one discovers in close proximity the noble ruin of the Colosseum. To every student of history this majestic pile is full of the most stirring inte-

rest ; but in the Christian breast its very name awakens the most lively sentiments of religious reverence and enthusiasm. To the humble friar of S. Bonaventura, as he gazed upon it from the garden terrace of his *Retreat* with the active imagination of an Italian, and the intense love of a saint, it seemed ever peopled with the multitude, hardly less furious than the beasts which they called forth, who made the air resound with their clamours—" *Christiani ad leones* ;" to him it spoke of the martyrs' conflicts, and the martyrs' crowns ; to him it was a memorial of the victory of the cross, dearer and more hallowed than the splendid arch beside it, which records the fulfilment of the heavenly assurance to Constantine—" *In hoc signo vinces*."

Full of this idea, and of ardent devotion to the Passion of our Lord, the saint asked and obtained leave from Benedict XIV., then Pope, to erect a large cross in the centre of the arena, and little chapels containing the *Stations* of the *Via Crucis*, around its internal periphery. His Holiness at the same time declared the Colosseum a *Santuario*, or sacred place. Under his auspices, too, there was formed a lay association, called the arch-confraternity of the *Via Crucis*, or the " *Amanti di Gesu e Maria al Colosseo*," which has continued in existence up to our own time. To this association the *Stations* belong. Cardinal Giudi is the director of it, and the Pope himself is its protector. Members of the association were, until now, wont to assemble, on Sundays and Fridays, to perform the devotion of the *Stations* in this holy place, and afterwards return in procession to the *Retreat* of S. Bonaventura, whence they started. It was in truth a moving and consoling spectacle to see, as we have seen, these devout Christians, having at their head a Prince of Holy Church chaunting the glories of the "crucified" as they walked along that way, which, though styled *sacred* in the days of Paganism, was profaned and polluted, like everything else, under that abominable system.

But alas for the Christian instincts of our age ! The cross has been uprooted, and the " *Stations* " swept away from the Colosseum ! " *Europe*," wrote Ferrari, in his *Federazione repubblicana*, " has declared a war of religion against Rome, nor can we advance a step without pulling down the cross."

Behold the step has been taken, and that in Rome itself ! Under pretence of excavating to discover ancient monuments in the amphitheatre, the cross has been, in reality, pulled down ! Commendatore Rosa, who is the director of excavations in the city, wrote some time ago to Cardinal Giudi, intimating to him the projected operations, and the consequent necessity of having the sacred emblems removed. The Cardinal replied that he should consult the Pope. His Holiness being made

aware of the matter refused to sanction the removal, and declared that all concerned in it would be excommunicated. Notwithstanding, the work of desecration was proceeded with, and now the Colosseum is Pagan once more.

During the process of demolition, several hundreds of persons visited the amphitheatre, and knelt in prayer at the places where the Stations used to be. But even this was prohibited by the police agents; and on one occasion a Bavarian countess was actually placed under arrest for being thus daring in her devotion.

The "*Popolo Romano*," rejoicing in the profanation of the Colosseum, announces to its readers as not far distant the restitution of the Pantheon, now the Church of *S. Maria ad Martyres*, to something approaching its original distinction, namely, as a temple to the memory of the great men of Italy. Thus is it that religion is now respected in Rome under the Government of the Catholic King Victor Emmanuel.

Meanwhile, protests are offered from every side, and chiefly by means of religious expiatory services. By direction of Cardinal Patrizi, the Vicar of Rome, a Triduum was held in the Church of *S. Andrea della Valle*, to implore the Divine mercy in consequence of the profanation. The cross, removed from the large arch at the southern side of the Colosseum, was exposed to the veneration of the faithful in a side chapel specially fitted up for that purpose. Large numbers of persons were in attendance each day of the Triduum. Thus the impiety of the usurpers gives occasion to the genuine Romans to exhibit their love for religion, and their devotion to His Holiness.

2. The Bismarck La Marmora controversy still continues. General La Marmora was President of the Italian Ministry in 1866, when war was proclaimed between Austria on the one part, and the allied powers of Prussia and Italy on the other. He was also the unfortunate Commander-in-Chief of the Italian troops at Custoza, and a short time ago, being no longer in the Ministry, he published a book which he entitled, "A little more Light on the Affairs of '66." In this book certain revelations are made which cannot be accounted as very flattering to Prince Bismarck. In fact, he is therein accused (and the accusation seems well supported) of being more Prussian than German, and of having on one occasion declared that, to forward Prussian interests in another direction, he would have had no difficulty in ceding to the French Emperor the whole tract of country between the Rhine and Moselle. Further, it is imputed to him by the General, that he suggested and offered to co-operate in fomenting revolution in Hungary

at a time when his nation was yet at peace with Austria. Charged by the German Deputies, Mallinckrodt and Scheslamer, on these two points, and referred to La Marmora's work for proof, Prince Bismarck bluntly denied its authority. "I am constrained to declare," he said, "that this is an impudent lie invented to calumniate my person." However, General La Marmora felt himself also constrained to thrust back the lie, and chose a very effectual way for doing so. He deposited the original documents substantiating the charge (one a despatch from Gerone, Italian ambassador at Berlin, and another, a letter from Count Usedom, Prussian Minister at Florence), with a public notary, in whose office every one may read them. It is hardly necessary to say that they have been found in perfect accord with the statements made in La Marmora's book. These events gave rise to an interpellation made in the Italian Parliament by the deputy Nicotera, who demanded of the Government—first, an explanation of the ex-Minister's conduct in publishing documents relative to affairs of State ; and second, if the laws at present in force could not reach him for perpetrating such an act, and did His Majesty's ministers intend to remedy defective legislation in this important matter. The reply of Signor Visconti Venosta was eminently *diplomatic*. It amounted to this : that while they should all acknowledge the great services of General La Marmora to the State, it could not be disguised that in giving publicity to the above-mentioned documents, he committed an act which the Government deplored and disapproved of ; but that it was their intention to propose a law which would in future visit with punishment such an abuse of official authority. After this La Marmora sent in his resignation as deputy to the President of the Chambers, who, however, did not accept it, but at the suggestion of Nicotera conceded the General leave of absence for two months, which was as much as to say : "We have had to sacrifice you to the wrath of Bismarck, but we know you are innocent, and wish you to remain with us." In order, however, to appease further the anger of the great man of Berlin, a draft law has been already presented by one of the Italian ministers to punish any future infraction of official secrecy similar to that committed by La Marmora. It is fair to the latter to add that, in publishing the documents in question, he regarded them (whether rightly or wrongly we do not undertake to pronounce), not as State papers, but "letters of a private and confidential character." The public, however, will not concern itself much about this part of the controversy, when the facts revealed have not only such an important but such a sensational interest.

3. The excesses of the Carnival of this year seem to have outdone those of past years, since the advent to Rome of the "*Restorers of moral order*." Masquerades were instituted ridiculing the *Via Crucis*, the processions of the Blessed Sacrament, the holy Sacrifice of the Mass, priests, friars, and even the gentle and heroic Sisters of Charity. The burlesques, which had a political character, found special favor, and were awarded prizes at the public expense. Amongst these was one which vilified the person and dignity of the Sovereign Pontiff, and this with impunity, under the eyes of a government bound to respect and make respected the law by which the rank and honors of Sovereign are *guaranteed* to his Holiness.

Another masquerade which obtained a prize was that which represented deridingly the French army coming to liberate the Pope. The *Riforma*, a journal of *liberal* politics, remarked of it: "It was quite complete; nothing was wanting; the line, the artillery, the mitrailleuse, the cavalry, the train, the ambulance with wounded and physicians, and even the *vivandiere*." The *Riforma* forgot to mention that the chaplain was represented by a wretch who, with obscene buffoonery, sought to degrade in the eyes of the public the sacred ministry and sacerdotal character. Who can deny that such scenes bespeak the restoration of "*moral order*"?

4. Whilst the public money is thus expended in impious and grotesque saturnalia, the humble classes in the city are suffering from want of the ordinary necessities of life. It is now proposed to institute economic kitchens and bakeries where the poor may buy soup and bread at a low figure. Up to the passing of the law of the 25th of June, 1873, there were many such establishments—beyond a hundred—in the convents of the friars and nuns, who did not sell, but gave gratuitously, for the love of God, articles of sustenance to the poor. But this was Christian charity, which did not fall in with masonic ideas of philanthropy, and which was then inveighed against as an encouragement to laziness and idleness.

5. This dearth of provisions, and the means of buying them, has, perhaps, had its part in calling forth the reclamations, now not very inaudible, against the excessive expenditure of the *civil list*. In a letter to one of the public journals, dated December, 1873, Senator Pallavicino writes thus:—"I have been told that people do not live on air. Very true: people do not live on air. But President Grant has not four millions to live in ease, and to represent as he might, in ordinary cases, the greatest people of our age; 250,000 *lire* suffice for him, precisely the half of the appanage voted by our Chambers to the Duke D'Aosta. And yet, even in America, people do

not live on air! . . . I have read in the *Soir* that the Sultan, seeing the difficulties of his Government, has given up seven millions of Turkish *lire* from his *civil list*. A fine example for the King of Italy. . . . Strong in my convictions as a citizen, I speak and write, not caring whether my words please or displease the powerful ones of the day. I say to the Monarchy: grave perils threaten you; seek to ward them off, and to win popular favor by a spirit of sacrifice." His Majesty, if ever he read the Senator's letter, does not seem to have been much influenced by it. For very lately we hear of his agents having purchased another extensive suburban villa, in addition to the many possessed by him already. Moreover, the alterations and improvements carried out in adapting these citizens' seats to royal residences are said to be on a scale of imperial grandeur.

6. Signor Minghetti has been successful in carrying his bill for the continuation of the forced paper currency. Practically, in most cases, the holders of Italian notes have now nothing to expect save notes. Gold cannot be obtained except at a monstrous per-centage. Fortune, however, did not smile on Signor Scialoja, the Minister of Public Instruction, in passing his bill for compulsory education, as it did on the Finance Minister in protracting the forced paper currency. The proposal of the former was rejected by a considerable majority. This prompted him to offer his resignation, which was accepted. He it was who fiated the desecration of the Colosseum.

Another bill has been presented to the Chamber of Deputies for legalizing divorce by a Sig. Murelli, who has signalized himself as a patron and vindicator of the merits of wicked women. This honorable gentleman, though proposing a measure fatal to society, is not inconsistent. For once acknowledged the theory of civil marriage, as it is acknowledged by the State in Italy, divorce follows from it as a direct and logical corollary. The same Sig. Murelli seeks a new claim to *honorable* distinction by proposing the abolition of the distinction between legitimate and illegitimate offspring, on the ground of its being contrary to the rights of nature. All children born out of wedlock are to take the mother's name, and no prejudice is to affect the "moral position in society" of such offspring. The father may at any time he pleases give the children his own surname in addition to that of the mother. All this, be it remembered, is to be effected "in the interests of order, liberty, and civilization," and "in homage to justice and the dignity of man!"

7. Cardinal Antonelli, in a circular to the Pontifical representatives at foreign courts, has given a direct denial to the

authenticity of the Papal Bull which pretended to regulate the proceedings of the next Conclave. The forging of this document, and the zeal with which it was spread by the journals in the pay of Bismarck, is only a sample of the political morality of continental *liberalism*. We would here take occasion to warn our readers from giving immediate credence to the telegrams from Rome, which appear sometimes in newspapers, on matters connected with the Papacy. It is no secret that one at least of the telegraph agencies is not in friendly hands. The intelligence conveyed in the letters of "our own correspondents" to various German, French, and even influential English journals, is very often not much more reliable.

8. Within a short interval the S. College of Cardinals has lost two of its most distinguished members, Cardinal Barnabò and Cardinal Tarquini. The latter—the only Jesuit created Cardinal by the present Pope—enjoyed the purple but two months. By his mother's side he was descended from the Lambertini family, which gave the great Pontiff Benedict XIV. to the Church. Before his elevation to the Cardinalate, Father Tarquini had been for twenty years Professor of Canon Law in the Roman College, where he not only distinguished himself by his extensive erudition and clearness of ideas, but also endeared himself to all with whom he had relations, by his gentleness of manner and holiness of life. The publications by which he acquired most fame were those in the *regium placet*, and two dissertations in the form of letters to M. de Benald, on the nature of Concordats. On the 20th of October, 1873, when the law of *expropriation* was applied to the Jesuit establishments in Rome, Father Tarquini was compelled to leave the College and take shelter with a priest, an acquaintance of his, at the Hospice of S. Giovanni dei Fiorentini. There he remained in quiet and retirement, most happy in being able to visit frequently the Blessed Sacrament in the church contiguous, and sorrowful only in being separated from his beloved brethren of the *Society*. He seldom went out, except to be present at the Congregation of the Holy Office, to which he was consultor, or to go to confession to one of the fathers of his own order. Thus had he been living for two months, when he received the unexpected and unwelcome announcement of his elevation to the Roman purple. His promotion gave general satisfaction. Every one was pleased at it but himself. Shortly after he was attacked with acute pleurisy, which he seems to have contracted in the Basilica of S. Lorenzo, where he remained praying, on a very severe day, for about an hour. The disease proved too violent for the skill of his physicians, and he succumbed to it on the 15th of February,

at the age of sixty-four years. It is said that the Pope, when his death was announced, was much affected, and observed, "I have felt few sorrows like this."

Of yet greater fame, and in a yet more influential position, was the lamented Cardinal Barnabò, Prefect of Propaganda, who expired on the 24th of February. Our readers are probably already aware of the principal features of his chequered and honored career. Cardinal Franchi, late Nuncio at Madrid, has been appointed his successor. Cardinal Capalti, who filled for so long a time and so efficiently, the post of Secretary to the Congregation of Propaganda, had been looked forward to as the future Prefect, but a serious ailment (apoplexy) by which he has been for some time prostrated, rendered him quite unequal to the arduous duties attaching to that office, for which he was otherwise so eminently fitted.

9. F. Peronne, though in his 80th year, is still indefatigable in fighting, as ever, the battles of the Church, and its Supreme Head. A new work from his pen has been published by the Marietti firm of Turin, to which he has prefixed the title, "*De Romani Pontificis infallibilitate, seu Vaticana Definitio contra novos haereticos asserta et vindicata.*" It is an octavo of 224 pages, the price being three Italian lire. The author's name alone is sufficient to recommend the book.

GERMANY—PRUSSIA.

IN pursuance of the resolution of the Ministry to force the Catholic minority of the population, and especially the Catholic Clergy, into a position of resistance to the laws of the State, Dr. Falck, the Minister of Instruction and Public Worship, laid before the Prussian Parliament, early in 1873, a scheme of legislation, compliance with which would be absolutely incompatible with the allegiance due by Catholics to the Holy See.

The measures thus proposed, received, as a matter of course, the sanction of the Deputies. Indeed, the overwhelming preponderance of the "Liberal" section of the House enabled Prince Bismarck to calculate with absolute certainty upon the adoption of these or of any other measures which he might think fit to introduce for the persecution or for the extermination of the Catholic religion in Germany.

That, in fact, the aim of the Falck laws is to exterminate the Catholic Church in Germany, does not admit of doubt. Even the leading organ of English Protestant opinion, enthusiastic in its approval of every enterprise previously undertaken by the German Chancellor, has been constrained to

admit that the new laws are hopelessly at variance with the first principles of the Catholic Religion. "We cannot," said the *Times*, in an article upon a letter of the Archbishop of Westminster, "feel any surprise that the Roman Catholic Prelates declare such laws as Dr. Manning quotes, incompatible with allegiance to the Holy See, and if the Prussian Government thinks them compatible, it is, we fear, under a misconception. These laws simply assert a right which it is the pride of Englishmen [that is to say, of English Protestants] to have established three centuries ago: the very first section simply establishes the Royal Supremacy in Prussia—neither more nor less. The obvious aim of the King and his advisers is to render the Catholic Church in Prussia *national instead of Roman*." And, as the same journal declares, a plain precedent for the fundamental principle of the code is furnished by "that famous declaration—'*that no foreign Prince, Prelate, or Potentate, hath or ought to have, any jurisdiction, power, pre-eminence, or authority, ecclesiastical or civil, within this realm*' of England." No wonder that the *Times*, in the same article, should express grave doubts "whether the Prussians have *adequately measured their strength for this undertaking*."¹

Candid, however, and accurate as this sketch of the general drift of the Falck laws unquestionably is, it fails to convey an adequate idea of their oppressive and malignant character. For this purpose it is necessary to examine them in detail.

To begin with the law regarding Ecclesiastical Jurisdiction, its "very first section" referred to in the article just quoted, declares that, in future, "such authority shall be exercised by *German ecclesiastical authorities alone*." Having thus laid down the principle of national independence in ecclesiastical affairs, the law goes on to regulate the mode in which ecclesiastical jurisdiction may be exercised by the Bishops of Germany. The ecclesiastical penalties which a Bishop may inflict upon his clergy, for offences against the laws of the Church, are specified: and the Governor of the Province (*Ober-Präsident*)—a civil official, appointed directly by the government—is authorized to inflict a fine of a thousand thalers (about £150) upon any Bishop transgressing the limits thus marked out.

Every priest upon whom any ecclesiastical penalty is inflicted by his Bishop is authorized to appeal to a new Court, entitled the Royal Court for Ecclesiastical Affairs: in certain cases the Governor of the Province is empowered himself to institute an appeal *ex officio*; for instance, when he considers

¹ The *Times*, Wednesday, October 22nd, 1873.

that the public interest is concerned. This Court is to be composed of eleven members—all of course nominated by the Government.

The judges of the tribunal, thus constituted, are empowered to require the production by the Bishop of *all documents connected with the case* which has been brought before them, and to inflict upon him, in case of refusal, a fine of a thousand thalers, which may be exacted again and again until he submits.

The Court is also empowered to *decree the deposition of Priests and even of Bishops* : and a Bishop or Priest presuming to exercise, after such deposition, any act of ecclesiastical jurisdiction is to be fined a hundred thalers for the first offence, and a thousand thalers for each subsequent transgression.

Finally, *appeals to Rome are declared illegal*, for, in the plain words of the law, "the Court for Ecclesiastical Affairs decides finally, to the exclusion of all further appeal."

In comparison with the fundamental legislation of this measure, violently severing the union of the Catholics of Germany with their Supreme Pastor, the encroachments on the rights of the Church enacted by the other laws of the Falck series are of trifling importance. Yet, viewed in themselves, they are of such a character that in any free country in Europe they would be deemed intolerable.

Thus, for instance, the law regarding the Education of Ecclesiastics enacts that an ecclesiastic shall not be deemed eligible for any ecclesiastical office or benefice until he has passed an examination before a Government Board, in history, philosophy, and similar subjects. He must, moreover, produce a certificate of having completed the ordinary course of studies in some one of the Gymnasia or State Schools of Prussia. He must have spent three years in the study of Theology at one of the State Universities, although, under the present administration, University Professors, who publicly devote themselves to the propagation of heretical opinions, are maintained by the Government in their chairs of Catholic Theology. And lest any ecclesiastical supervision should be interposed to shield the young aspirant to the ministry from the countless dangers to which he must inevitably be exposed during his sojourn of three years in a German University town, it is enacted, with malignant ingenuity, that during the prescribed University course, *the student must not belong to any ecclesiastical seminary*. Moreover, all ecclesiastical seminaries are placed under the direct control of the State, and their revenues are declared liable to confiscation in the event of any violation of the laws enacted for their management.

The second portion of the same law provides that before appointing a cleric to any ecclesiastical office, the Bishop is bound to give notice of the intended appointment to the Governor of the Province: the same notice is required when an ecclesiastic is about to be transferred from one office to another. The Governor can, by his veto, prevent the appointment: and one of the grounds specified as sufficient to call for the exercise of his authority, is "*when the education of the candidate has not been conducted in accordance with the provisions of this law.*" There is no appeal from the decision of the Governor, except to the Minister of Public Worship or to the new Court for Ecclesiastical Affairs.

Finally, in case a Bishop should fail to make, within a year, a "suitable" appointment, the Governor can peremptorily order him to fill up the vacancy, under penalty of a thousand thalers, and the punishment may be inflicted, again and again, until the law is complied with.

Another law, which professes to determine the Limits of Ecclesiastical Authority, forbids the "defamatory" publication of ecclesiastical censures, permitting the Bishop to notify them only to religious communities. The phraseology of this enactment is so obscure and vague that it seems almost impossible for a Bishop, whose duty may require him to exercise his canonical authority, to escape the penalties by which the law is to be enforced—fines varying from two hundred to five hundred thalers, with the alternative of imprisonment for one or two years.

When the proposals of the Ministry were laid before the House, in January, 1873, the Archbishops and Bishops whose dioceses are situated, either wholly or in part, within the Prussian dominions, lost no time in protesting against the intended legislation. It has been conjectured that in undertaking to constitute a Catholic Church in Germany, independent of the authority of Rome, Prince Bismarck was not without hope that the clergy of Prussia would weakly consent to purchase the favour of the State by a sacrifice of their allegiance to the Holy See. And indeed, it is not easy to comprehend how so astute a statesman could, without some such expectation, have engaged in a policy which, in any other event, could not fail to endanger the stability of the new Empire. But the folly of such anticipations, so far at least as regarded the Episcopacy, was unmistakably demonstrated by the Protest addressed from their meeting at Fulda to the Minister of Public Worship.

In language worthy of the Fathers of the early Church, the Bishops pointed out the incompetence of the State to legislate

upon ecclesiastical affairs, the incompatibility of the proposed laws with the fundamental doctrines of the Catholic religion, and the perils to the peace of the kingdom which legislation, so repugnant to the convictions of the inhabitants of the Catholic provinces, could not fail to bring. And having declared that it would still be their duty to refuse submission to these enactments, even if sanctioned by the legislature, they went on to express their confidence that if it should fall to their lot to be cited before the new Ecclesiastical Court, or before any other tribunal similarly constituted, God, in his mercy, would not leave them destitute of strength to profess the faith with equal firmness in the presence of their judges, to suffer with joy whatever punishment might be inflicted upon them for the faithful discharge of their duties, and to walk without faltering in the way which had been trodden before them in past ages, and even in our own time, by many Bishops of the Church.¹ Similar Protests were addressed to the members of both Houses of the Prussian Parliament, and to the Emperor-King.

Meanwhile, addresses from the priests of their respective dioceses assured the Bishops that in the coming struggle the loyal support of their clergy would not be wanting. And crowded meetings in the chief towns of the kingdom attested the determination of the lay Catholics of Prussia to sustain their devoted pastors.

During the discussions in the House of Deputies, a noble, but of course a fruitless resistance, was offered by the small section of Catholic members to the proposals of the Minister. The efforts of their leaders, Von Mallincrodt, Windshorst, and the two Reichenspergers, were ably seconded by some members of the advanced Liberal party, or party of Progress (*Fortschritt*), and by many of the leading Conservatives.

But regardless of all opposition, the Ministry persisted in their course of persecution. The obsequious support of the "Liberal" Deputies, enabled them to carry their measures, with scarcely a check, through the Lower House. Even when it was pointed out that the proposed laws were at variance with the articles of the Constitution of 1852, those articles, framed originally by the Liberals themselves, were altered to meet the emergency.

Thus, for instance, the fifteenth article which guaranteed to the Catholic Church freedom in the administration of its ecclesiastical affairs, and secure possession of its ecclesiastical endowments, was deprived of all significance by the insertion of the words printed in italics:—"The Evangelical and the Roman Catholic Churches, as also all other religious

¹ The Protest may be seen, in full, in the *Times* of Monday, February 10th, 1873.

bodies, shall have the free disposal and administration of their own affairs : *but subject to the laws of the State, and to the supervision of the civil authorities, as the law may provide. Within these limits*, every religious body shall continue in possession of its institutions and foundations, and of any property which may be set apart for the purposes of Divine worship, of education, or of charity." The addition of the new clauses was carried by 262 votes to 117, the minority comprising, with the Catholic members, the main strength of the small Conservative section and a few Deputies of the party of Progress. By a similar majority the eighteenth article was nullified in a similar manner. In its original form it provided that, except in the case of army chaplains and of the ecclesiastical officials of public institutions, the State should not interfere in "nominating, presenting, electing, or approving the appointment of ecclesiastics to any ecclesiastical office or dignity whatsoever." By 255 votes to 114, the addition of the following clause was carried : "*In future, the law shall regulate the rights of the State over the education, appointment, and deposition of priests and other ministers of religion ; it shall also determine the limits of the disciplinary power of the Church.*" The difficulties presented by "that sheet of paper," as the Constitutional Charter was contemptuously designated by the late King of Prussia, having thus been overcome, the legislative proposals of Dr. Falck received, as a matter of course, the sanction of the Deputies. The Peers, disheartened by a crushing defeat which they had sustained in the preceding session, did not venture to reject the bills sent up to them. And so, after some spirited debates, in one of which a characteristic speech was delivered by Prince Bismarck himself, the measures were approved by the Upper House, and speedily received the Royal assent. They were promulgated on the 11th, 12th, 13th, and 14th of May, 1873.

A few days subsequently, the Archbishops and Bishops of the kingdom, once more assembled at Fulda, solemnly protested against the new legislation, declaring that for their own part, faithful to their trust, they would take no part in the administration of its provisions, and do no act implying a recognition of its validity.

And thus, within two years of the close of her deadly struggle with France, Prussia was involved in a new conflict, the leading events of which we trust we shall be able to chronicle in an early number of the RECORD. As yet no sign has appeared that Prince Bismarck, flushed with so many victories, is prepared to abandon the struggle on which he has entered. But his staunchest admirers, even those who most ardently desire the downfall of the power which he has dared

to assail, await with apprehension the issue of this conflict. "The coercion by force of a clergy conscientiously and irrevocably pledged to resistance," wrote the *London Times*, a few months ago, "is not justifiable, and is still less likely to prove possible. It may be necessary for the Prussian Government to make the experiment of reforming the Roman Catholic Church within their country: and if they could succeed, it would be an admirable achievement. *But, for our part, we think it more likely that they will fail.*"¹

SPAIN.

THE concluding paragraph in our last Chronicle of the Carlist war, which recorded the defeat and retreat of the army of Moriones, was (with the exception of a slight misarrangement of dates) substantially correct. Bilbao is the great centre of interest in this painful but hopeful struggle. Since we wrote last of it, it has become even more important; for, if the Royal forces compel its surrender, as they seem likely to do, and have a second successful engagement with the army of relief, there is no force remaining in Spain to retard or oppose their march to Madrid. The actual bombardment of Bilbao had not then commenced, but batteries were being put in position, and on the 21st of February the first shell was discharged by way of warning, which, not being heeded, the regular bombardment of the city commenced on the following day and still continues. For the first fortnight two hundred projectiles *per diem* were launched by the Carlist batteries, and since that time they have doubled the number; whilst, on the other hand, the batteries of the defending garrison reply but feebly and uselessly. The guns of the Carlists are so placed as to command the ramparts completely, and are of such a calibre as to send shells into the very middle of the town; so that unless an army succeeds in relieving it, its surrender is but a matter of days. But what are the prospects of its relief? General Moriones, after perpetrating a feint in the direction of Estella in Navarre, so as to divide the forces of the King, suddenly moved his whole force (nearly 30,000 strong, with abundant artillery) by rail to Santander, and thence to Castro-Urdiales on the Cantabrian coast, contemplating a united attack of the fleet and land forces on the Carlist lines investing Bilbao. The Carlist columns, that had been drawn into Navarre by the clever *ruse* of Moriones, discovering his plan, succeeded, by forced marches, in accomplishing the distance from Estella to Bilbao in thirty-six hours, and were ready to meet the enemy on the

¹The *Times*, Wednesday, December 11th, 1873.

ground chosen by himself. We now leave it to official documents to detail the sequel. The "*Gaceta*" (Ministerial) of the 28th of February published a telegram from Moriones, dated from head-quarters, La Rigida, 25th of February, to the following effect:—"The army could not force the redoubts and entrenchments of San Pedro de Sommorostro—our own line has been broken. Send reinforcements and another General; we preserve our position at Sommorostro and communications with Castro-Urdiales." A second telegram demanded a reinforcement of six battalions, and seven batteries of artillery, with 500 rounds of ammunition each. Primo de Riveira was wounded, but keeps his command. Another Madrid paper, and hostile to the Carlist movement, wrote on the 1st of March:—"The news from Moriones has produced indescribable excitement. It is now ascertained that in the battle of the 25th, the army of Moriones was cut in two, one division re-crossed the river at Sommorostro, the other remained on the Bilbao side in the midst of the Carlist lines, and completely at the mercy of their artillery. Primo de Riveira, who commanded the advance guard, 8,000 strong, was drawn into an ambuscade between Portugalete and Bilbao; more than 3,000 men were massacred, not a gun saved, and he himself wounded." Side by side with these startling despatches, revealing the seriousness of the situation, we think it but right to place the official report, calm and modest as it is, of the Carlist commander, General Ollo.

"The God of armies vouchsafed, on yesterday, to the arms of our Sovereign Lord the King (whom God preserve) the most signal victory of the present campaign; it will be a page of glory for Catholic Spain.

"You know the well-founded importance which the enemy attaches to our operations against Bilbao; and, utilising the railways, he was able, after a feint upon Estella, to concentrate 25,000 men upon the line of Castro-Urdiales and the heights of Sommorostro.

"The advanced guard of this *corps d'armée*, commanded by Primo de Riveira (grievously wounded yesterday according to the prisoners) left Castro-Urdiales on the 15th, and advanced in the direction of Salto-Caballo. General D. Castor Andechaga obstructed his advance with one battalion and two companies, the only force he had available. Such was the bravery of these troops, and of a Castilian battalion which came up later as a reinforcement, that the enemy, having suffered considerable loss, made a retreat on Castro more hurried than honorable. This result was obtained although the enemy occupied the height of Salto-Caballo, the key of the line which on that day was the theatre of the combat.

“General Andechaga, understanding that his small force would not allow him to cover the whole line of battle of Salto-Caballo, led his men to San Pedro de Abanto, two kilometres from Sommorostro, the heights of which were occupied by the enemy. Notwithstanding the small distance which separated us from the enemy, General Andechaga constructed the entrenchments which form our first line. It is still too extended ; but it is the best that can be formed up to Castrejana ; the right resting on Pico de Mantas, it stretches on through San Pedro de Abanto, Santa Juliana las Carreras, and the railways, down to the foot of the hills of las Cortes.

“The enemy, having reunited all his forces on Sommorostro, Muzquiz, and the surrounding heights, endeavoured, on the 24th, to envelop our left wing, formed by the brigade Berriz, of the Pelasco division. You will have read in the detailed report of the Brigadier Commanding, that the enemy only succeeded in dislodging two of our companies from some houses of the Memorea quarter, and that these two companies withdrew in good order to the entrenchments on the railway. This false attack, the fact of establishing four battalions, and a battery of Krupp guns on the heights of Jandos and Pico de Kamos, the presence near Ciervana of nine steamers and a multitude of launches, convinced me that the supreme effort of the enemy would, on the following day, be directed against our right wing. In fact, about nine o'clock in the morning, the batteries in position on the heights, and the squadron, commenced a terrific cannonade against of lines, which never ceased the entire day. The superiority of the enemy's artillery, placed upon the heights commanding the valley and centre of our line, obliged me to throw up entrenchments. At a quarter before ten the enemy's infantry commenced a general attack ; two divisions against las Carreras, and the mill of Frenedo, that is to say, against our centre ; three divisions against the Pic de Mantas, after having forded the river near Muzquiz. It was of the last importance to the enemy to possess himself of this position on our extreme right, for there there was a road which would have enabled him to turn us. A sixth division at the San Martin quarter was charged to keep engaged our left wing and the troops commanded by brigadier Navarrette.

“Matters being thus disposed, we opened fire at the same time all along our line—well sustained, incessant, and so destructive, that it prevented the enemy from advancing a single step up to three o'clock in the afternoon. At that hour, the ranks of the enemy appearing in confusion, the first and second battalions of Navarre, with detachments of the sixth, judged it a fitting moment to make a bayonet charge, which drove him back in disorder, and left sixty-five prisoners in our

hands. The enemy immediately utilised his reserves, renewed the attack, and obliged me to reinforce my first line with some battalions from the second. This was sufficient to crown the day worthily, and oblige the enemy to retreat towards Muzquiz and Sommorostro. Thanks to the concurrence of Generals Lizarraga and Mendiri, my orders were executed with admirable precision. General Andechaga, the Brigadiers Rada and Gamundi, as all the other chiefs and officers of our army, fought with the valour and enthusiasm which our holy cause deserve. It is needless to add, that with the Duke de la Roca, chief of the Royal Household, you had the honor of accompanying on the battle field His Majesty the King. You saw how the presence of the Sovereign in the midst of them roused the ardour of our soldiers, and how their attack derived redoubled vivacity from their enthusiastic *vivats*, which added to the confusion of our enemies. He deserves all this devotion and this enthusiasm, the valiant King who shares the perils of war with his loyal defenders.

"The appendix to this report will inform you of our losses. Those of the enemy I have not yet been able to make out exactly, but they must have been considerable ; for he fought without cover, was under fire for ten hours, and, finally, the bayonet charge completely routed him ; some battalions suffered immense loss from the men drowned in trying to recross the river of Muzquiz. The battle field is covered with dead and wounded (our troops have not yet been able to gather in all), and he left in our hands 633 muskets and a quantity of ammunition.

"A reconnaissance made this morning, proves that he is in full retreat. We are burying the dead to-day.

"San Salvador del Valle, 26th February, 1874.

"The Commander-in-Chief *ad interim*,

"NICHOLAS OLLO."

This signal victory achieved by this valiant little army led to the precipitate evacuation of Tolosa, capital of Guipuzcoa, that had been so long blockaded. We will leave a correspondent of the London *Standard* to describe this event, and the reception accorded to the King. This correspondence is dated San Sebastian, March 14th :—

"I happen to have seen the Republicans leaving the old capital of Guipuzcoa. It was a melancholy sight along the road from Andoaïn to Irura. Some 400 carts, covered with furniture, mattresses, trunks, and often with a woman and children actually fixed upon the vehicles with cords, were escorted by miguelets and volunteers. Eight or nine hundred men came with this convoy, and General Loma carried off his

guns, seven in number, and almost all his ammunition. Now I am obliged to say that it was a wretched sight, on a cold winter's day, with a pouring rain, to look at these volunteers flying away when they could have remained. The Carlist officer, Ceballos, and a deputation of Royalists, had offered to protect all Liberals who chose to stop in the town. Some did accept after all, as only a few hundred departed out of a population of six thousand. The next day brought a wonderful change. Bells pealed merrily, the peasantry flocked in with provisions and cattle, long unheard of in blockaded Tolosa, and the Royalist forces marched in to occupy the same places where the miguelets had spent so many months. Andoain also was occupied directly Loma fell back on Hernani. Now I can assure you that not one fort, nor a single wall was blown up by the retreating army, and the place is just as it had been during the siege. Not that the fortifications are of any importance. A wall runs round exposed parts of the town. The houses facing the river and bridges have their windows walled up, and an earthwork protects the approaches on the Navarre side. A single gun, properly handled, from the heights of Izascum, ought to have reduced Tolosa in twenty-four hours. The town lies in a narrow valley on the left bank of the Oria, and all around is commanded by heights. A few days after the evacuation, Tolosa gave Don Carlos a merry welcome. Thousands thronged along the roads from Tolosa to Andoain to gaze on their favorite Prince. He came only with a small escort and a few officers. He galloped to a hill beyond Urmita, and from there looked upon the Republican redoubt of Hernani. Returning to Tolosa, the Prince slept in the Casa Idiaquez, and a *Te Deum* was sung at the church of Santa Maria, amidst the most numerous concourse of Basques within record. Since the first Carlos had visited the capital of Guipuzcoa the Liberals had held this town through the last and present rising. The Carlist commander was ordered by Don Carlos to treat the people very leniently, and to levy moderate imposts only. I am told he left on Tuesday last for Biscaya. The Guipuzcoan battalions of Chacon, Aizpurna, Ceballos, have followed the rest of the forces into Durango. Even in the provinces a few *partidas valantes* and companies of recruits are all who remain to guard the Carlist territory. The peasantry are delighted to enjoy a momentary lull during the great struggle in Biscaya. They hope to see their "Caserios" spared from the stern work of destruction which has marked the passage of Loma's column in this province. I have often seen twenty, and once thirty-four, burning in a single afternoon!"

In Catalonia the success of the cause is equally marked.

The redoubtable Saballs has resumed his command in Upper Catalonia, and has already made himself felt. On March 15th he addressed the following curt letter to his wife at Perpignan:—

“My dear Wife,—A great victory; the column of General Nouvilas routed; 2,500 infantry, 130 horses, 4 cannons, and the General himself in my hands—a rich booty.

“SABALLS.”

FATHER BALLERINI ON THE LENTEN FAST.

[We have received the following letter in reply to a paper which appeared in the last number of the RECORD on “Father Ballerini and the Lenten Fast.” We cannot agree with our Rev. correspondent in thinking that the paper in question was an “unfair and inconsiderate attack on the professional character of Father Ballerini.” We should be very sorry to admit into the RECORD an unfair or inconsiderate attack upon anyone, much less upon so distinguished a theologian as Father Ballerini. But, assuredly, there is nothing unfair or inconsiderate in one theologian pointing out what he considers an inaccuracy in the writings of another, provided his language be temperate, and his assertions not altogether groundless. If there be anything unfair and inconsiderate in so doing, then is Ballerini himself the most unfair and inconsiderate of writers, for in his notes he is continually pointing out what he considers the inaccuracies of others. W. J. W. has merely exercised an undoubted right, a right which every theologian uses, and which a defender of Father Ballerini ought to be the last person in the world to dispute. We felt bound to say this much in our own defence. We leave it to W. J. W. to sustain the charge of inaccuracy which he made against Father Ballerini.—ED.]

TO THE EDITOR OF THE IRISH ECCLESIASTICAL RECORD.

SIR,—I must ask your permission to offer a few words of remonstrance to W. J. W., the writer of a paper in the last RECORD, on what I cannot but designate as his unfair and inconsiderate attack on the professional character of Father Ballerini. It is based on a note by Ballerini on the doctrine of fasting laid down by Gury. Gury having stated the more common rule, that eight ounces are allowed to fasters at collation, adds: “others, however, say that the fourth part of supper is allowed.” On this Ballerini says: “So, for the most part, the German Theologians, having regard to places where more abundant food is required. That the fourth part of the ordinary supper exceeds, in the mind of these Doctors, the measure of eight ounces, is evident from this, that Sporer complains amicably of Laymann’s having deserted the customary rule of the Germans. ‘*I wonder,*’ says Sporer, ‘*that Father P. Laymann, otherwise so good a German, should on*

this matter alone have been austere with his compatriots.'"¹ It is clear that Ballerini infers from this extract—first, that the rule of the fourth part, as distinguished from that of eight ounces, was claimed by the Germans in consequence of the circumstances of their climate; secondly, from this he deduces that the German rule was more liberal than the other. One who is not familiar with the peculiar controversy on this subject which was carried on between the German Theologians on the one side, and the Italians and Spaniards on the other, can hardly at once see the force of the argument here implied; but a little explanation will, I think, make it clear.

The Germans, as Ballerini says, for the most part defended the rule of the *quarta pars*; the Italians and other southerners that of the eight ounces. Moreover, the Germans maintained that with regard to the *quality* of food allowed at collation, there was no restriction beyond what was established for the principal meal: the Italians limited the quality to certain kinds of lighter food, which they enumerated. Laymann, as quoted by Sporer, adopts the German rule of quantity, and gave as his reason the allowance that ought to be made in consideration of the difference in climates and persons. But, on the question of *quality*, he decided against the Germans, and with the Italians and Spaniards.² Sporer indulges in a little good humoured banter on this, as was natural, seeing that the controversy had assumed humorously almost the character of a national dispute. "I wonder," he says, "at Laymann, who on another matter [the question of quantity] is so good a German [as to furnish an argument and give his voice in our favour] in this question alone [of quality] should show himself rigorous to his compatriots." If Laymann was more severe than the Germans on the quality, he was as liberal as they on the point of quantity. But his liberality on this point is in admitting the special claims of his compatriots, on the ground of their cold climate, to the *quarta pars* instead of the eight ounces. Sporer's remark can have no other meaning; that this is the true interpretation of his words is elucidated and confirmed by the whole text of the second and third sections, which treat of the quantity and quality, and which wind up with the text given.

In the second section he rejects the rule of eight ounces, because it does not make allowance for the different circumstances of persons and places. "Without doubt," he says, "a man of mature age requires and can take more than a boy. . . . A man living in these cold regions, more than those in the warmer climates of Italy and Spain." For this reason he adopts the rule of the *quarta pars*, namely, because it meets

¹ Vol i., n. 497.

² Lib. iv. tr. viii. cap i. n. ix.

the special claims for more abundant food in Germany. He then tells us that Diana, Turrianus, and others (who defended the rule of eight ounces), objected to the *quarta pars* on the ground of its being "*too lax, improbable and less safe in practice.*"

We now see the grounds on which the German view of the question of *quantity* was propounded and attacked. But how does Sporer meet the objection of laxity? By saying that his rule was more stringent than the other? Nothing of the kind. He simply answers; "Let them (the Italian and Spanish Theologians), send to the Germans in the fasting season their warm sky, their food and rich wines, their fruits and preserves, &c., and we will fast with them." They are all agreed that the German rule is more liberal, but the Germans give a good reason why it should be so. It is true, Sporer, as well as Tamburini, tries to show that, practically, and for ordinary persons, there is no great difference between the two rules, that most people, as they do not eat more than thirty-two ounces at their ordinary supper, are not affected by the difference; but they also admit that there is some difference, and that this must be in favour of those who exceed the common quantity. Instances brought by Sporer to show that commonly the two rules coincide, do not prove that they always coincide.

Now, W. J. W. understands Father Ballerini to suppose that Laymann differed from the Germans on the question of quantity. This is unquestionably a mistake. Not only is there no vestige of any such insinuation in Father Ballerini's notes, but his argument shuts out any insinuation; it is based on the supposition that Laymann is with the Germans on this point and against the Italians. Therefore, the lengthy proofs by W. J. W. of what Laymann held on the question of quantity, and what Sporer represented him to hold, is a fruitless paralogism. He has mistaken the whole drift of Father Ballerini's argument, or rather of the argument which he suggests, and wastes his space in proving what we are all agreed in, and which no Theologian of ordinary judgment and reading could be ignorant of. But when he says that Sporer intended no comparison between the two views on the subject of quantity, he is again mistaken; for, if so, what can be the meaning of his congratulating Laymann on adopting the German side of the question?

Your readers can judge whether the inference pointed out by Father Ballerini is legitimate or not; and, even though they do not accept it, I would ask their candid judgment on the language which W. J. W. has used against him. I will ask them to consider whether the language used by this writer

is courteous, modest, just? He tells us that "no reliance whatever can be placed upon Father Ballerini's accuracy"—that in his annotations "instances of reckless inaccuracy of statement are by no means rare." He attributes to him "indolence and negligence in alleging authorities"—"a man who, too much addicted to his own views, has, by a *lapsus memoriae*, miserably involved himself and the whole question." I expect that such language will do little injury to Father Ballerini. It, as well as the arguments made use of against him, will but serve to let the world understand better the great accuracy and admirable Theological criticism which pervade all his writings.

I am, Sir,

Yours, &c.

J. JONES, S.J.

St. Beuno's College, March 21, 1874.

DOCUMENT.

PII DIVINA PROVIDENTIA PAPAE IX., CONSTITUTIO SUPER VICARIIS CAPITULARIBUS NEC NON ELECTIS ET NOMINATIS AD SEDES EPISCOPALES VACANTES.

Pius Episcopus Servus Servorum Dei ad Perpetuam rei Memoriam.

ROMANUS Pontifex, pro munere sibi divinitus collato regendi ac gubernandi universam Christi Ecclesiam, non solum SS. Canonum observantiam urgere, sed etiam illorum certum et authenticum sensum declarare satagit, si quando quidpiam dubitationis in aliquo occurrat, ne diversis interpretationibus materia praebeatur, atque inde Ecclesiasticae disciplinae unitas rumpatur, cum magno Ecclesiastici regiminis detrimento.

Sane iuxta antiquam Ecclesiae disciplinam, Sede Episcopali vacante, Dioecesis administratio ad Capitulum Cathedralis Ecclesiae devolvitur; quod olim per se ipsum Dioecesim, toto tempore, quo Sedes vacabat, administrare poterat, vel uni, aut pluribus Dioecesim administrandam committere, libera eidem relicta potestate deputatos eligendi, eisque delegatam jurisdictionem, sive quoad usum, sive quoad tempus arctandi, et constringendi.

At vero Concilii Tridentini Patres animadvertentes gravissima, quae passim oriebantur incommoda ex administratione viduatae Ecclesiae coetui personarum diversi fere ingenii con-

credita, ad ea vitanda sapienter decreverunt: ut *Capitulum, sede vacante, Officiale seu Vicarium, infra octo dies post mortem Episcopi, constituere, vel existentem confirmare omnino teneatur, qui saltem in jure canonico sit Doctor, vel Licentiat, vel alias quantum fieri poterit idoneus. Si secus factum fuerit ad Metropolitanum deputatio hujusmodi devolvatur, et si Ecclesia ipsa Metropolitana fuerit, aut exempta, Capitulumque, ut praefertur, negligens fuerit, tunc antiquior Episcopus ex suffraganeis in Metropolitana, et propinquior Episcopus in exempta, Vicarium possit constituere.*¹

Hujusmodi vero decretum varie interpretati sunt privati canonicarum rerum scriptores. Quidam enim censuerunt posse Capitulum in constituendo Vicario aliquam jurisdictionis partem sibi reservare; alii putaverunt fas esse Capitulo ad certum tempus Vicarium deputare; nec defuerunt qui arbitrati sunt, licere Capitulo Vicarium pro arbitrio remove, et alium substitutere.

Recensitae Scriptorum sententiae a nonnullis Capitulis libenter exceptae sunt: quo factum est, ut in hac re tam magni momenti disciplinae uniformitas deficeret, et Tridentinum decretum optatum finem plene non attingeret. Quamvis autem SS. Urbis Congregationes has sententias, suis responsis in casibus occurrentibus, pluries reprobaverint, ita ut ex earum responsis manifeste appareat, quae fuerit mens Patrum Tridentinorum in edendo decreto superius relato; attamen cum nondum omnia ubique ad eam mentem exigi videamus, ad submovendam prorsus quamlibet dubitationis causam vel obtentum, iisdem responsis et declarationibus Apostolicae auctoritatis robur adjiciendum censemus. Quocirca Motu proprio, ac certa scientia, et matura deliberatione Nostris deque Apostolicae Potestatis plenitudine declaramus et decernimus: totam ordinariam Episcopi jurisdictionem, quae vacua Sede Episcopali ad Capitulum venerat, ad Vicarium ab ipso rite constitutum omnino transire; nec ullam hujus jurisdictionis partem posse Capitulum sibi reservare, neque posse ad certum et definitum tempus Vicarium constituere multoque minus remove, sed eum in officio permanere quousque novus Episcopus Litteras Apostolicas de collato sibi Episcopatu Capitulo, juxta Bonifacii VIII Praedecessoris Nostri Constitutionem,² vel Capitulo deficiente, ei exhibuerit, qui, ad normam SS. Canonum, vel ex speciali S. Sedis dispositione, vacantem Diocesim administrat, vel eiusdem Administratorem, seu Vicarium deputat.

Quamobrem pro nullis habendae sunt limitationes, seu quoad

¹ Sess. 24, cap. 16, de Reform.

² Extravag. *Injunctae* de Electione inter comm.

jurisdictionem, seu quoad tempus adjectae a Capitulo electione Vicarii Capitularis, qui idcirco, iis non obstantibus, officium semel sibi rite collatum, toto tempore, quo Sedes Episcopalis vacua fuerit, totamque ordinariam jurisdictionem Episcopalem libere et valide exercere perget, donec novus Episcopus Apostolicas canonicae suae institutionis Litteras, ut diximus, exhibeat.

Hac autem occasione declaramus etiam, et decernimus ea, quae a Gregorio X Decessore Nostro in Concilio Lugdunensi 2^o de electis a Capitulis, constituta sunt¹ comprehendere etiam nominatos, et praesentatos a Supremis publicarum rerum Moderatoribus, sive Imperatores sint, sive Reges, sive Duces, vel Praesides, et quomodocumque nuncupantur, qui ex S. Sedis concessione, seu privilegio jure guadent nominandi, et praesentandi ad Sedes Episcopales in suis respectivis ditionibus vacantes, abolentes idcirco, cassantes, et penitus annullantes usum, seu potius abusum sub quovis titulo, vel praetenso et asserto privilegio, quaesito colore, et quacumque causa, licet speciali et expressa mentione digna, in quibusdam Regnis seu regionibus praesertim longinquis invectum, quo Capitulum Ecclesiae Cathedralis vacantis obsequens invitationi seu mandato, licet verbis deprecatoriis concepto, supremae civilis potestatis concedere, et transferre praesumit, ac de facto concedit et transfert in nominatum et praesentatum ad eamdem Ecclesiam illius curam regimen et administrationem, eamque nominatus et praesentatus sub nomine Provisoris, Vicarii Generalis, aliove nomine gerendam suscipit ante exhibitionem Litterarum Apostolicarum, uti superius dictum est, de more faciendam, remoto proinde Vicario Capitulari, qui ex iuris dispositione toto tempore vacationis Ecclesiae eam administrare, ac regere debet. Confirmantes autem alia etiam Decessorum Nostrorum, et praesertim sa : me : Pii VII Decreta et dispositiones, declaramus et decernimus, ut si interea Vicarius Capitularis decesserit, aut sponte sua muneri renuntiaverit, aut ex alia causa officium ipsum legitime vacaverit, tunc Capitulum, vel Capitulo deficiente, qui potestatem habet deputandi vacantis Ecclesiae Administratorem, seu Vicarium, novum quidem Vicarium, vel administratorem, eligat, nunquam vero electum in Episcopum a Capitulis, aut a laica potestate nominatum seu praesentatum ad dictam Ecclesiam vacantem, cujus electionem ac deputationem, si eam Capitulum, vel alius, uti supra, peragere praesumpserit cassamus, annullamus, et omnino irritam declaramus.

Confidimus autem Dignitates, et Canonicos Cathedralium Ecclesiarum vacantium, ac illos qui, deficientibus Capitulis, Vicarios deputant, aut vacantes Ecclesias legitime administrant, plene exequuturos quae hisce Nostris Litteris declarata et

¹ Cap. *Avaritiae* de Electione in 6^o.

decreta sunt ; ubi vero, quod Deus avertat, ea exequi detrectaverint, ac concedere et transferre in nominatum et praesentatum ad eandem Ecclesiam ejus curam, regimen et administrationem sub quovis titulo, nomine, quaesito colore ausi fuerint, praeter nullitatem jam decretam praedictae concessionis et translationis, praefatos Canonicos ac Dignitates excommunicationis majoris, nec non privationis fructuum Ecclesiasticorum beneficiorum quorumcumque, aliorumque reddituum Ecclesiasticorum per eos respective obtentorum, similiter eo ipso incurrendis poenis innodamus, et innodatos fore decernimus, et declaramus ; ipsarumque poenarum absolutionem seu relaxationem Nobis et Romano Pontifici pro tempore existenti dumtaxat specialiter reservamus.

In easdem poenas pariter reservatas ipso facto incurrunt nominati, et praesentati ad vacantes Ecclesias, qui earum curam, regimen, et administrationem suscipere audent ex concessione, et translatione a Dignitatibus et Canonicis aliisque, de quibus supra, in eos peractam, nec non ii, qui in praemissis paruerint, vel auxilium, consilium, aut favorem praestiterint, cujusque status, conditionis, praeminentiae, et dignitatis fuerint.

Praeterea Nominatos, et praesentatos jure, quod eis per nominationem et praesentationem forte quaesitum fuerit, decernimus eo ipso privatos.

Si vero aliqui ex praedictis Episcopali caractere sint insigniti in poenam suspensionis ab exercitio Pontificalium, et interdicti ab ingressu Ecclesiae ipso facto, absque ulla declaratione incidunt, S. Sedi pariter reservatam.

Insuper quaecumque a sic nominatis et praesentatis in administrationem vacantium ecclesiarum intrusis fiant, mandentur, decernantur et ordinentur cum omnibus et singulis inde quovis modo sequutis, et quomodocumque sequuturis omnino nulla, invalida, inania, irrita, et a non habentibus potestatem damnabiliter attentata, et de facto praesumpta, nulliusque valoris, momenti, et efficaciae esse, et perpetuo fore tenore praesentium declaramus et decernimus, illaque damnamus et reprobamus.

Haec volumus, statuimus, ac mandamus, decernentes has Nostras Litteras, et omnia in eis contenta nullo unquam tempore a nemine cuiusque conditionis, et dignitatis etiam Imperialis, et Regiae, sub quovis titulo, quaesito colore, ac praetenso et asserto privilegio, quod si forte sit, cassamus, et annullamus, infringi, impugnari, vel in controversiam revocari posse, sed semper firmas et efficaces existere et fore, suosque plenarios, et integros effectus semper sortiri et obtinere debere. Non obstantibus Apostolicis generalibus vel specialibus Constitutionibus et ordinationibus, ac Nostris et Cancellariae Aposto-

licae regulis, praesertim *de jure quaesito non tollendo*, caeterisque etiam speciali mentione dignis contrariis quibuscumque.

Volumus autem, ut facta harum Litterarum publicatione per affixionem transumptorum ad valvas Basilicarum Urbis, omnes ubique Fideles, ad quos spectat, qui quomodocumque noverint eas, prout dictum est, Romae fuisse promulgatas, ad earum exequutionem perinde obstringantur, ac si personaliter singulis notificatae fuissent.

Volumus pariter, ut earundem praesentium Litterarum transumptis, seu exemplis etiam impressis manu tamen alicujus Notarii publici subscriptis, et sigillo personae in Ecclesiastica dignitate constitutae munitis, eadem prorsus fides, ubique locorum habeatur, quae haberetur ipsis praesentibus, si forent exhibitae, vel ostensae.

Nulli ergo omnino hominum liceat paginam hanc Nostrarum declarationis, decisionis, annulationis, irritationis, statuti, praecepti, mandati et voluntatis infringere, vel ei ausu temerario contraire. Si quis vero hoc attentare praesumpserit, indignationem Omnipotentis Dei, et Beatorum Petri et Pauli Apostolorum ejus se noverit incursurum.

Datum Romae apud Sanctum Petrum Anno Incarnationis Dominicae Millesimo Octingentesimo Septuagesimo tertio, quinto Kalendas Septembris, Pontificatus Nostri Anno Vigésimo octavo.

F. CARD. ASQUINIUS.

C. Gori Subdatarius, Visa De Curia J. De Aquila e Vicecomitibus.

Loco ✕ Plumbi

I. Cugnonius.

Reg. in Secretaria Brevium.

Anno a Nativitate Domini Millesimo Octingentesimo Septuagesimotertio Die vero V. Mensis Octobris Indictione I. Pontificatus autem Sanctissimi in Christo Patris et D. N. D. Pii Divina Providentia Papae IX. Anno XXVIII. supradictae Litterae Apostolicae affixae et publicatae fuerunt ad Valvas Basilicarum majorum Urbis per me Vicentium Benaglia Apostolicum Cursorem.

Philippus Ossani Magister Cursorum.

THE IRISH ECCLESIASTICAL RECORD.

MA Y, 1874.

SOME NEW FACTS ABOUT LOUISE LATEAU.

IT is now about eighteen months, since I called attention to the history of Louise Lateau, in the pages of the IRISH ECCLESIASTICAL RECORD.¹ During that interval, several important works have appeared on the subject. In Belgium, Doctor Lefebvre has issued a second edition of his valuable memoir, recording the progress of the case, down to the fourteenth of March, 1873. An excellent translation of this Volume has been published in England, under the editorial care of Doctor Spencer Northcote, President of Saint Mary's College, Oscott. And a study of somewhat the same character, has come out, in France, from the pen of Doctor Imbert-Gourbeyre, Professor at the medical school of Clermont in the province of Auvergne. The titles of these works are set out in full below;² and a short account of their contents will, I am sure, have an interest for those who desire to follow the history of this extraordinary case.

Doctor Lefebvre's new Volume contains but little fresh matter. That little, however, is highly important. The first symptoms of the Stigmas were noticed in the month of April, 1868; and Doctor Lefebvre's work was first published in April, 1870. At that time he had been in regular attendance on Louise a little more than a year and a half. Three years elapsed before the second edition appeared, and during that time, as he tells us in his preliminary Notice,³ he never lost

¹ See vol. ix. pp. 65-71, 115-129, 176-186.

² Louise Lateau ; sa Vie, ses, Extases, ses Stigmates. Etude Médicale par le Docteur F. Lefebvre, Professeur de Pathologie générale et de Thérapeutique, à l'Université Catholique de Louvain. Seconde Edition. Louvain, Peeters. Louise Lateau : a medical Study by Doctor F. Lefebvre ; translated from the French. Edited by Rev. J. Spencer Northcote, D.D., President of Saint Mary's College, Oscott. London, Burns and Oates. Les Stigmatisées, par le Docteur A. Imbert-Gourbeyre, Professeur à l'école de médecine de Clermont-Ferrand. Paris, Victor Palmé.

³ p. vi.

sight of the Ecstatic girl. Yet with all his additional experience, he sees no reason to change any of the opinions he formerly expressed; but on the contrary, after a long and minute examination, on the fourteenth of March, 1873, he is able conscientiously to affirm the perseverance of the Stigmas and the Ecstasy down to that date. Accordingly he leaves the text of his work as it originally stood, and is content to subjoin, in the form of footnotes, such new facts as appeared to him especially worthy of attention.

The work of Doctor Imbert-Gourbeyre is more comprehensive. It is divided into two volumes, of which the first deals chiefly with the history of Louise Lateau, while the second is mainly occupied with an account of Palma, the celebrated Ecstatic woman of Naples;—a case scarcely less interesting than that of Louise Lateau, though not yet authenticated with the same degree of scientific exactness. Besides treating at large of these two living Ecstatics, Doctor Gourbeyre refers to many other similar cases in the history of the Church; and discusses, at some length, the general question of Stigmatic marks and Ecstasy, with a view to the objections of modern rationalists.

For the present, we are concerned only with what he tells us about Louise Lateau. A Professor in the medical school of Clermont, he had not the same opportunities for constant observation as Doctor Lefebvre. In fact, he saw Louise on three occasions only: first, in October, 1868; again, in April, 1869; and lastly, in October, 1871. But on all these occasions he was afforded very special facilities for examining the facts of the case, as well during the Ecstasy as before and after; and he was allowed, without restriction, to apply whatever tests, and to employ whatever experiments, medical science could suggest.

Besides what he saw himself, during these visits, he has collected in his Book a number of striking incidents, which he received from various members of the Commission of Inquiry appointed by the Bishop of Tournay to investigate the case. This Commission was nominated on the fourth of September, 1868, and consists of the following persons:—Monseigneur Ponceau, Vicar General of the diocese; Père Huchant, a Redemptorist; Père Séraphin, a Passionist; Doctor Lefebvre, Professor of Medicine; and Monsieur Dechamps, Minister of State. These distinguished men have carefully watched the progress of the case, from the date of their appointment to the present time. And although they have not yet published their formal report, as a Commission, it will hardly be questioned that any statements sanctioned by their authority, even as individuals, are entitled to the highest respect.

Those who desire to study the history of Louise Lateau, in all its details, will no doubt consult for themselves the works of Doctor Lefebvre and Doctor Imbert-Gourbeyre, which are certainly the most full and trustworthy that have yet been published on the subject. I have thought it well, however, in the interest of the general reader, to collect, from these authentic sources, such incidents as may help to fill up and to illustrate my own meagre sketch, and such new phenomena as have been developed since that sketch first appeared in the IRISH ECCLESIASTICAL RECORD.

The Rappel. This is the name given to the act of recalling Louise from her Ecstasy. The command of her ecclesiastical superior will bring her back, at all times, to a state of consciousness, no matter how profound the Ecstasy may have been, up to the moment the command is given. A single word is enough, and it may be softly spoken; but it must come from one who has power. Her own Bishop can recall her, and the Primate of Belgium, and the Parish Priest of Bois d'Haine, and her Confessor, and even Doctor Lefebvre, to whom authority for the purpose was delegated by the Bishop. But not one of her numerous visitors, destitute of jurisdiction, has ever succeeded in awakening her from the state of Ecstasy.

This wonderful sensibility of the Ecstatic girl to the voice of ecclesiastical authority, has been tested by countless experiments, and established by proofs and counter proofs. Over and over again, when she was lying prostrate on the floor, her face touching the ground, her limbs stretched out in the form of a cross, without any sign of consciousness, and with hardly a sign of life, the simple word "Louise," spoken by one who had authority to command, brought her at once to her feet, and the Ecstasy passed away like a dream. When she was left again to herself the Ecstasy returned as quickly as it had vanished. Two Bishops came to her, from a distance, at different times. One was Monseigneur Dechamps, Archbishop of Malines: the other, Monseigneur Gravez, Bishop of Namur. Both tried to recall her from her Ecstasy. The Archbishop of Malines, who had jurisdiction over her, as Primate of Belgium, succeeded: the Bishop of Namur, who had no jurisdiction, failed. Even her mother could not recall her, though she tried hard to do it. And Doctor Lefebvre, too, failed, on one particular day, when his authority was withdrawn for the purpose of the experiment.¹

The following instance of the *Rappel*, recorded by the critical and cautious pen of Doctor Lefebvre, may be taken as a typical

¹ Imbert-Gourbeyre, vol. i. pp. 60, 65, 90, 92, 107-8, 135-6.

example of this remarkable phenomenon. On the fourteenth of March, 1873, immediately before the second edition of his Book issued from the press, he paid a long visit to Louise ; and was present, conversing with her, at the moment she passed into her Ecstasy. Wishing to test by experiment how far she was insensible, he pricked her sharply with his penknife, on the hands, face, and neck ; but he was unable to detect the smallest sign of pain, or the least movement of surprise. In the mean time, her breathing became more gentle ; her countenance more serene ; her pulse rose to eighty beats in the minute ; and her lips were parted with a smile.

After a little, the usual crowd of Friday visitors arrived, and Doctor Lefebvre retired to make room for them. He returned about half past three : the visitors were gone, and he found Louise alone. "She was stretched out on the floor, in the form of a cross ; her skin was cold ; her pulse feeble and thread-like ; her insensibility complete. I knew that I had still the power to recall her from this state ; and I desired to make the experiment. Standing in the middle of the room, while she had her face turned in the opposite direction, I said to her, in an undertone, 'Louise, get up.' In a moment, she was on her knees, and then rising hurriedly, she sat down on her chair. Her features were entirely relaxed : she looked at me with the greatest calmness, entered into conversation, and answered divers questions which I put to her. While speaking, she wiped away the blood which had continued to flow from her hands, and which was now beginning to trickle again from her forehead. After ten minutes conversation, I bade her farewell, and retired some paces towards the door, still observing her attentively. Suddenly her eyes turned upwards, her arms became extended, she fell abruptly to the ground, and remained there motionless, as if nailed by an invisible power to an invisible cross."¹

Discernment of Blessed Objects. The Abbé Harcourt, chaplain to the hospital at Nivelles, was the first to notice that Louise Lateau, during her Ecstasy, possesses the faculty of recognising objects that are blessed. This discovery he made on the eleventh of December, 1868. For some time, little attention was paid to his statements on the subject. But, after about a month, it happened, one Friday, that five doctors found themselves together in the room of Louise :—Doctor Lefebvre, Doctor Rollin of Roux, Doctors Ferange and Delcroix of Braine-le-Comte, and Doctor Alfred Boulain. The occasion was thought a favourable one for testing this alleged power

¹ Lefebvre, pp. 394-5.

of discerning blessed objects, and the following experiments were made.

A number of medals and crosses were first procured, some of them blessed, and some not blessed. These were then presented to her singly, at short intervals of time. Whenever a blessed medal or cross was applied to her lips, she smiled: if the object was not blessed, she remained insensible. In like manner, when these objects were placed in contact with her hand, she pressed them closely if they were blessed: if they were not blessed, her hand continued motionless. The medical men were struck with wonder at this singular manifestation; and one of them, Doctor Delcroix, who before had been a free-thinker in religion, became from that time forth a good Catholic.

Some time later, another member of the medical profession, Doctor Cloquet, who was unwilling to believe such a story on the report of others, came one Friday to make the experiment for himself. He brought with him two Rosaries, one blessed the other not. He applied them successively to the lips of Louise; and she distinguished them at once, with unerring instinct. This was in the autumn of 1868. Since then, five years have elapsed, during which the experiment has been repeated numberless times, and always with the same result. I will mention only one instance more. On Friday, the twenty-fifth of March, 1870, Monsieur de Cabrières, Vicar General of Nîmes, spent several hours in the chamber of Louise. While she was absorbed in profound Ecstasy, he drew from his Breviary a picture of the Crucifixion, and placed it on her lips: she remained insensible to its presence. He turned round for a moment, and blessed it unperceived; then placed it again, as before. She smiled, and a visible movement of joy played across her face.¹

Sensibility to Prayers. Nothing is more beautiful to witness than the varied emotions of piety and joy which light up the face of Louise, when prayers are recited, during the time of her Ecstasy. I have already related what I saw, in this respect, on the occasion of my own visit. But I cannot deny myself the pleasure of now adding some further details from the observation of others.

Louise, in her ordinary state, it need hardly be said, knows no language but her own. Nevertheless, during her Ecstasy, she is equally sensible to the influence of prayers, whatever may be the language in which they are recited. Monsieur Dechamps, a distinguished statesman, and brother to the

¹ Imbert-Gourbeyre, vol. i. pp. 142-4, 147-9.

Archbishop of Malines, tells us he was present on the ninth of January, 1870, when a priest read Psalms and Litanies, in various tongues. The effect was always the same. Louise was visibly stirred with emotion, smiled angelically, fell on her knees, and seemed to join in prayer with the priest.¹

Two months later, Monsieur Cabrières, of whose visit I have already spoken, tested this faculty of Louise by a simple but decisive experiment. After reciting the Litany of the Blessed Virgin, and the *Salve Regina*, with the usual results, he fancied that the girl, without understanding what he said, might possibly conjecture, from the tone of his voice, that he was reading the prayers of the Church. He, therefore, turned to the general rubrics of the Breviary, and continued to read in the same tone. Louise became motionless. After a little, without any interruption, or change of tone, he passed to the Office of the Annunciation. The face of Louise was once more lit up with smiles and emotions of joy.²

A similar experiment was made, in the presence of many distinguished witnesses, in the month of October, 1871. It was on the occasion of Doctor Gourbeyre's last visit to Louise: and here is the account he gives of what he saw and heard. "The attendance of visitors was large. Besides Père Rouard, Provincial of the Belgian Dominicans, and Monsieur Riko, a young poet from Holland, there were present also Monsieur Dechamps, the Duke de Lorge with the Princess de Croÿ, his daughter, a Benedictine priest from England, an English family, and some other persons. When Louise, in her Ecstasy, fell prostrate on the ground, we proceeded at once to make the experiment of the prayers. As had been agreed beforehand, Père Rouard took out his Breviary, and began to read, in a loud voice, the *Imprimatur*, that is, the Bishop's permission to print the book. Louise remained motionless. Then, without changing his tone, he reads, still in Latin, the opening verses of the Magnificat. Hardly are the first words heard when the prostrate girl rises to a kneeling posture, stretches out her arms, and by visible emotions of joy takes her part in this hymn of gratitude and triumph. The priest next passes to the *De Profundis*, and at once the countenance of Louise is overshadowed: she looks sad and full of commiseration. At the end of the first two verses, Père Rouard takes up the Magnificat again: the emotions of joy return. The Father goes through the same changes, a second time, with the same results. When the prayers are over, the Ecstatic girl once more falls prostrate to the ground."³

The experiments on this point have not been confined to

¹ Imbert-Gourbeyre, vol i. pp. 146-7. ² Id. ib. p. 149. ³ Id. ib. pp. 122-3.

the Latin language. Prayers have been recited before her, in Greek, in German, in English; nay, Monseigneur d'Herbomez, Bishop of British Columbia, repeated the Our Father, and Hail Mary, in a wild dialect of the American Indians; and in every case, whatever the language was, the sentiments of the prayer seemed mysteriously to vibrate through her frame, and to find a lively expression in the movements of her countenance. One Friday, during her Ecstasy, a priest repeated aloud some verses from Homer, in Greek. Louise remained insensible. Then, without changing his voice, he went on with the Lamentations of Jeremias, in the same language; and, at once, she fell on her knees, and raised up her hands, in supplication, to Heaven.¹

It is worthy of notice that there are degrees in the manifestations of joy and sympathy produced by different prayers. She seems chiefly affected by whatever touches on the Passion of our Lord, on the Sacrament of the Eucharist, and on the Blessed Virgin Mary. In particular, the most lively emotions are produced by the Magnificat, and by that beautiful prayer, *O bone et dulcissime Jesu*, to which a Plenary Indulgence has been attached by the Holy See.

Recent Changes. Within the last three years, certain important changes have taken place, in the condition of Louise, which seem deserving of a brief notice. First among these is the remarkable physiological fact, that she now scarcely ever sleeps. She passes her nights in prayer, on her knees, at the foot of her bed; and only in obedience to the wishes of her superiors, does she lie down, for a quarter of an hour, twice a week. But even then she cannot sleep, except for a very few minutes, at long intervals of time.³

Next, it is to be observed that the duration of her Ecstasy is now much shorter than it used to be at first. Formerly, it lasted nine or ten hours, every Friday: at present, it lasts but three. "The Ecstasy now begins," says Doctor Lefebvre, "at half past one: the prostration takes place at half past two: at three o'clock precisely Louise puts herself in the form of a cross: and at half past four the Ecstasy comes to an end."⁴ I should mention also that the death agony, which used to constitute such an appalling feature of the Ecstasy, towards its close, has of late but rarely appeared.⁵

Some changes, too, have come about, as regards the flow of blood from the Stigmas. In a note which bears date, December 25, 1872, Doctor Lefebvre states, with great preci-

¹ Imbert-Gourbeyre, vol. i. pp. 145, 151.

³ Id. ib. pp. 113-4.

⁴ Lefebvre, p. 42.

² Id. ib. p. 150.

⁵ Id. ib. p. 43.

sion, what was actually observed at that time. The bleeding began, as usual, on the night between Thursday and Friday, a little after twelve o'Clock. When the Holy Communion was brought, on the morning of Friday, about six o'Clock, blood was flowing abundantly from the coronet round the head, from the side, and from the hands. The bleeding of the feet was less considerable than it had formerly been. Towards eleven o'Clock, the flow of blood from the head began gradually to grow less ; the bleeding of the hands still continued as before. During the whole duration of the Ecstasy, the hands never ceased to bleed.¹

Abstinence from Food. But the most remarkable phenomenon that has been developed in Louise, of late years, is her complete abstinence from food. From the time that the Stigmas first appeared, she was observed to eat sparingly on ordinary days, and never at all upon Friday. Her usual practice was to dine lightly at mid-day on Thursday ; and from that until about eight o'Clock on Saturday morning, she took no food but the Blessed Eucharist. She felt no need of it ; and if she took it, she could not retain it. Doctor Lefebvre tells us that, during this period, he often commanded her, on a Friday, to take some food. She obeyed without resistance ; but, after a few minutes, it was sure to be rejected again.²

A great change came towards the end of March, 1871. Since that time, she eats absolutely nothing, and drinks only a few mouthfuls of water in the week. Even this she takes, not because she feels any want of it, but simply to obey the command of her superiors. She has been often obliged, in like manner, under obedience, to swallow a morsel of solid food : but she did so with difficulty and pain, and her stomach has always refused to bear it. Notwithstanding this extraordinary abstinence, her general health is excellent ; her complexion is fresh and clear ; and she gets through no small amount of manual labour, with energy and spirit.³

Once, indeed, during the last three years, her strength failed her ; and the occasion is worthy of record. On the eighteenth of July, 1871, the Curé forbade her to approach the Holy Communion ; wishing to try what effect this privation would produce upon her. She submitted without a murmur. In the evening, when the Curé went to her cottage, he found her pale and exhausted. On inquiry, he learned that, during the day,

¹ Lefebvre, p. 33.

² Lefebvre, p. 45 ; Imbert-Gourbeyre, vol. i. p. 125.

³ Imbert-Gourbeyre, vol. i. p. 126-8.

she had been unable, from weakness, to attend to her domestic duties. The next morning, she made her way to the Church with great difficulty. But no sooner had she received the Holy Communion than her strength returned, and she was able to resume her accustomed work.¹

In regard to this complete abstinence from food, Doctor Lefebvre expressed himself with characteristic caution and moderation. "According to the highest testimony," he says, "Louise Lateau, for the last eighteen months, has been living absolutely without food, and yet this want of nourishment has not caused any loss of flesh, or affected in any way her health, which still continues good. This phenomenon, even more extraordinary than that of the Stigmas and of the Ecstasy, cannot receive the stamp of scientific authentication, until it be submitted to proofs similar to those that have been applied to the other facts with which I have dealt. Having made it an absolute rule to affirm nothing, in my work, but the facts that I have been able to test, and to establish by irresistible proofs, I content myself here with pointing out this new phenomenon ; and I shall defer speaking of it from the standpoint of science, until I have been able to examine it personally, under these exact and rigorous conditions which such a study demands."²

But whilst admiring this prudent reserve, and awaiting with interest the judgment of science, we must not forget that the moral evidence already existing, in favour of this wonder, is very strong indeed. There can be no question of delusion here. Either it is a genuine fact that Louise eats nothing, or else she has entered into a conspiracy with her mother and sisters, to deceive the world by a mean and impious fraud. But I have already shown that the arguments against such a supposition are entirely overwhelming.

In conclusion, I cannot forbear to quote the simple modest words of Louise herself, on the subject of her abstinence. Doctor Lefebvre went to see her on the fourteenth of March, 1873. He examined the state of her health, and found it excellent, in every respect. Her pulse beat sixty-eight in the minute : her breathing was calm : her tongue moist and clean. "What do you eat?" he asked. "I feel no need to eat," she said ; "and as food hurts me, they have allowed me, for a long time, not to eat anything."—"Then you eat nothing at all?"—"No Sir."³

¹ Imbert-Gourbeyre, vol. i. p. 130.

² Lefebvre, pp. 45-6. ³ Id. ib. p. 391.

ON DEVOTION TO THE SACRED HEART OF JESUS.

I.

THE SACRED HEART OF JESUS IS A LEGITIMATE OBJECT OF SUPREME HOMAGE AND ADORATION.—In our last paper we showed that the immediate object of devotion to the Sacred Heart of Jesus is the real, physical, living Heart of our Blessed Lord. We now come to prove, or rather explain, that this Sacred Heart is a legitimate object of the supreme homage and adoration of men and angels.

Before we begin to try to unfold some of the wondrous mysteries of love of the Sacred Heart of Jesus, a clear exposition of the doctrine of this devotion cannot fail to interest most, and enlighten some of our pious readers.

In everything that concerns faith and morals—in every devotion—it is well and profitable clearly to know, and to understand, the teaching of the Catholic Church, which cannot deceive or teach error, because built upon a rock, which is Christ, who “will be with her all days even to the consummation of the world,” (Matt. xxviii. 29), and assisted by the Spirit of God who “will teach her all truth,” “the gates of hell,” sin or error, “shall not prevail against her.”—(Matt. xvi. 18). For the good Catholic it is sufficient to know that the Holy See has put her seal upon the devotion. As the earthly prince puts his stamp upon the metal in circulation to certify to his subjects that the glittering coin is not gilt but genuine gold, so in all devotions the stamp of the Church of God, the approbation of the Holy See—of the Infallible Vicar of Jesus Christ—is the guarantee, the absolute certainty that the devotion is good and holy—the inspired of God.

Everything sacred in the Church of God has been assailed and insulted by the unbeliever or heretic. The very existence of the Almighty Himself has been denied. The word of God says, “The fool said in his heart there is no God. They are corrupted and become abominable in iniquities.”—(Ps. lii. 1). Wicked men, by their sophistry, and specious, though false reasoning, try to sap the very foundations of our holy faith and religion. They aim their deadliest shafts at the adorable mystery of the Incarnation—the very foundation of Christianity—and at that of the Blessed Eucharist—the centre of all our love and all our affections. Like the Jewish soldier, they have pointed their lance at the Sacred Heart of Jesus, and by blasphemies and insults pierced It through. In this age of bold infidelity, when the spirit of darkness stalks abroad to

insult everything sacred, every Catholic should not only glory in his holy faith, and defend it by his heart's blood if necessary, but should be prepared to confute the heretic, and give an account of the faith that is in him: hence we shall place before our reader the clear doctrine on the devotion to the Sacred Heart of Jesus.

Approaching a subject so sacred, so Divine, we pause: we fear to draw too near the God of all glory before whom the "pillars of heaven tremble;" we call to mind His infinite sanctity, purity, and love. His admonition to Moses rises before our mind. The recitation of the simple, but beautiful passage, cannot fail to fill our minds with awe and reverence for God's presence.

"The Lord appeared to him (Moses) in a flame of fire out of the midst of a bush, and he saw the bush was on fire and not burnt. And Mosesaid: I will go and see this great sight, why the bush is not burnt. And the Lord saw he went forward to see, he called to him out of the midst of the bush, and said: Moses, Moses. And he answered: here I am. And he said: Come not nigh hither: put off the shoes from thy feet, for the place whereon thou standest is holy ground."—(Ex. iii. 2, 3, 4). With reverential awe and love we approach to contemplate the Sacred Heart of Jesus, to try to unfold Its Divine perfections—Its mercy, Its love, Its goodness. Not only is the ground on which we walk holy, but we fear to be overwhelmed by the dazzling brilliancy of the rays of Divine love issuing from the Sacred Heart—the centre of the Sun of Justice—"He that is a searcher of Majesty shall be overwhelmed by glory."—(Prov. xxv. 27). But, O my God! we feel a child-like confidence, we confess, before Thee—that in examining Thy Sacred Heart, Its doctrine and Its nature, our object is not vain curiosity; but to try by Thy grace to unfold and make known Its hidden treasures—that seeing Thy wondrous love, mercy, and goodness, we may never offend Thee, but love Thee "daily more and more."

II.

THE INCARNATION AND SACRED HEART.—The Catholic Church teaches that there are *two natures*—the Divine nature and the human nature—in the *one* adorable *person* of our Blessed Redeemer Jesus Christ, the second person of the most adorable Trinity. Thus, when the time of man's Redemption had come, the Holy Ghost formed a perfect body out of the purest blood of Mary's heart; a perfect soul was created in heaven, and joined to this body. Here we have the Humanity; but before this human heart had begun to beat, or the mind

to think, before the will had time to form one affection, the Eternal Word—the Son of God—the Second Person of the most adorable Trinity descended from heaven, and was united hypostatically to the Humanity, thus forming *one* Divine Person and *two* distinct natures.

The Archangel Gabriel said to the Blessed Virgin: “Behold thou shalt conceive in thy womb, and shalt bring forth a son, and thou shalt call his name Jesus.”—(Luke i. 30). And “The Holy Ghost shall come upon thee, and the power of the Most High shall overshadow thee.”

The Word, says St. John, was made flesh, and dwelt amongst us, the glory as it were of the only-begotten of the Father, full of grace and truth.—(Chap. i. 14). The Divinity of our Blessed Redeemer was defined in the General Council of Nice in the year 325, when the blasphemous heresy of Arius was condemned. “THE WORD WAS MADE FLESH,” says the Gospel. God the Father, at the Transfiguration, by a voice from heaven, declared “This is my beloved Son in whom I am well pleased.”—(Mat. xvii. 5). With a firm faith St. Peter said to the Redeemer, “Thou art Christ the Son of the living God.”—(Matt. xvi. 16). St. John the Baptist says of our Blessed Saviour: “I saw, and I gave testimony that this is the Son of God.”—(John i. 34). And St. Paul says of our Saviour: “Who being in the form of God, thought it not robbery to be equal with God: But emptied himself, taking the form of a servant, being made in the likeness of men, and in habit formed as a man.”—(Philip ii. 6). In the Incarnate word of God there is but one personality, and that the Divine person. This article of faith was defined in the Third General Council at Ephesus in the year 431. Nestorius, a wicked heretic, asserted that in Christ there were two distinct persons—that of God and that of man—and that the Blessed Virgin was the mother of the sacred Humanity only, and should not be styled the Mother of God. The Council, assisted by the Holy Ghost, condemned the blasphemous error, and to the glory and exultation of the whole Church vindicated the dignity of the Blessed Virgin in proclaiming her *ΘΕΟΤΟΚΟΣ*, that is, MOTHER OF GOD. How beautiful are the words of St. Cyril, bishop of Alexandria. “I am astonished,” says the Saint, “how any Christian can call in question the Divine Maternity of the Blessed Virgin Mary, or doubt whether she is to be styled the Mother of God. For if our Lord Jesus Christ is God, the holy Virgin who brought him forth must consequently be the Mother of God. This the Apostles taught, this all our predecessors have delivered to us, this is the Catholic doctrine, and the belief of Christ’s Church; not that the Divine Word had a beginning from

Mary, but that in her was formed a pure body, animated with a rational soul, to which the Word was hypostatically united, and so became man in *one* and the same *Divine* Person. Thus, in the order of nature, a woman who bears a son is truly called his mother, although she only concurs in the formation of his body, and has no part in the creation of his soul."

These words, though written in the *fifth* century, sound as if pronounced in the Vatican Council of the *nineteenth*: thus showing the faith of the Catholic Church is the same "yesterday, to-day, and for ever." The truths of faith are as immutable as their Author—God Himself.

In the one Divine Person of Christ, our Blessed Saviour, are two distinct natures—the Divine and Human. In this one person the two distinct natures exist unitedly, not separately, and without being confounded. The union is real, indissoluble, and eternal; but with regard to the manner in which it takes place, the union is inexplicable and incomprehensible.

This article of faith was defined by the General Council of Chalcedon in the year 451.

The infallible St. Leo sent a doctrinal epistle to the Council. When the assembled Fathers heard it read, they unanimously exclaimed: "This is the doctrine of our forefathers: this is the doctrine of the Apostles: it is Peter himself who spoke by the mouth of Leo." In this Council Eutyches and his heretical followers were condemned.

As we remarked, the two natures exist, not *separately*, but *unitedly*; neither the one or the other is exclusively in any part of His glorious body, but the smallest particle of this sacred Person contains all His Divine and all His Human nature; and hence the plenitude of the Godhead—the plenitude of the Divinity exists in all and in every part of the human frame and nature of Jesus Christ. Χριστὸν, υἱὸν, κύριον, μονογενῆ, ἐκ δύο φύσεων ἀσυγχύτως, ἀτρέπτως, ἀδιαιρέτως, ἀχωρίστως γνωριζόμενον οὐδαμον τῆς τῶν φύσεων διαφορᾶς ἀνηρημένης διὰ τὴν ἑνωσιν, σωζομένης δὲ μᾶλλον τῆς ιδιότητος ἐκατέρας φύσεως, καὶ εἰς ἓν πρόσωπον καὶ μίαν ὑπόστασιν συντρεχούσης. "Christum, Filium, Dominum, unigenitum in duabus naturis inconfuse, incommutabiliter, indivise, inseparabiliter agnoscendum, nusquam sublata differentia naturarum post unionem, magisque salva proprietate utriusque naturae, et in unam personam atque subsistentem concurrente."—The words of the Council (Collect. Hard. tom. ii., Cal., 455). Therefore, according to the rigid canons of faith, every part of our Divine Lord's body—His sacred head crowned with thorns, and bleeding for our sins—His sacred hands tied to the pillar—His sacred feet nailed to the Cross—His sacred side pierced with a lance—His sacred Heart bleed-

ing and burning with divine love—is worthy of the supreme homage, adoration, and love of men and angels.

The sacred Humanity of Christ is to be adored by the same supreme homage and worship as His Divinity. This article of faith was defined in the Fifth General Council, and Second of Constantinople, in the year 553.—*Si quis in duabus naturis adorari dicit Christum, ex quo duae adorationes introducuntur sed non una adoratione Deum Verbum incarnatum cum propria ipsius carne adorat sicut ab initio Dei ecclesiae traditum est talis anathema sit, etc.*—(Can. ix.) *Conclusio certa est adorari etiam humanitatem Christi eadem prorsus latraria qua Verbum divinum.*—(De Lugo. De Incar. Desp. 34. q.)

We have seen that the Divinity exists in the whole and every part of the sacred Humanity of Christ, and that in Christ there is no human personality at all; therefore, when we adore the sacred Humanity, we adore the *one* Person—that *one* Person is Divine, the Eternal Word of God. In adoring our Blessed Saviour it is unlawful to separate, even by abstraction in our minds, the sacred Divinity from the Humanity, for the union between both is indissoluble and eternal. St. Paul says: “Thou art a priest for ever not according to the law of a carnal commandment, but according to the power of an indissoluble life. . . . Jesus Christ, yesterday, to-day, he is the same for ever.”—(Heb. xiii. 8). This holy doctrine is expressly taught in the inspired text. St. Paul says, when “He (God) bringeth in the first begotten into the world, He saith: and let all the angels of God adore Him.”—(Heb. i. 6). And again, “In the name of Jesus every knee should bow, of those that are in heaven, on earth, and under the earth.”—(Phil. ii. 18). In like manner, the wise men expressed their faith in the infant Jesus: the Gospel says, “And entering into the house, they found the child with Mary his mother, and falling down they adored Him.”—(Matt. ii. 11). Jesus said to the man born blind, “Dost thou believe in the Son of God. And he said: I believe, Lord: and falling down he adored Him.”—(John ix. 38). After the Incarnation, the Archangel Gabriel adored the sacred Humanity of Christ with the same supreme worship which he paid to the Divine Word—the Eternal Godhead before the Incarnation. The Blessed Virgin adored and loved the Incarnate Word whilst yet shut up in her holy womb. When born, she heard the voice of the Almighty saying: “Adore him all you his angels.”—(Ps. xcvi. 7). She joined in their homage. How often she pressed to her heart the rosy, beautiful child, whose gentle breathing hardly met her ear as He slumbered in her arms. Yet she knows He is the Omnipotent God by whom all things were made. He gently breathes—He is the

God whose voice broke upon the silence of eternity. He is in her arms—planets and system revolve in His Immensity. He advances, like any other child, “in age and wisdom”—new ideas seemed daily to flow upon His intellect—yet she adores the hidden Omniscient God.

From the Passion we gather clear ideas of the sacred Humanity of Jesus, and the faith of Mary. In the Passion the red stream of Blood is ever present to our minds. In the garden of Gethsemane this sacred Blood rolled down in crimson beads from His adorable body, till His garments were stained, and the green grass beneath the olive trees bedewed with the precious drops. The hall of Pilate was purpled over with the Blood of Jesus. The scourges and thorny crown were clotted over with Its dark red stains. It streamed on the road to Calvary, and covered the ground in large pools beneath the tree of the Cross. Yet, O mysteries of Divine faith, round that Precious Blood adoring angels with outspread wings hovered, and kept watch and ward.

The Divine Person of the Godhead was still united to It; and on the third day every drop was to be restored to the Sacred Heart from whence It flowed. On the highway to Calvary, as well as at Calvary, Mary saw the Precious Blood and adored It. O Precious Blood of Jesus! without either learning or theology we know, from the very instincts of Christian faith, It is the Blood of our Blessed Redeemer, the fountain as well as the price of our salvation. The dead body of Jesus was taken down from the cross and laid on the knees of His holy mother. The Blessed Virgin kissed and adored these lifeless limbs, that pallid brow, that sweet face serene in death, with the same supreme homage as when, in the first joys of her maternity, she worshipped, in the stable at Bethlehem, her new-born child as the Eternal Word—the God of heaven. The reason of this is clear from what we have already stated. By death the soul of Jesus was separated from His body; but in death, as in life, the Divinity was never separated either from the soul or body, or from any part of the body; for the hypostatic union of the Divine and Human nature is eternal and indissoluble. The celebrated Bull (*Auctorem Fidei*) of Pius VI., promulgated in the year 1794, is clear on this point. This Pontiff condemned the pretended Synod of Pistoia, “because it (the Synod) blames the worshippers of the Heart of Jesus for not observing that neither the most holy flesh of Christ, nor any part of it, nor even the whole Manhood separated or abstracted from the Godhead, is to be adored with the worship of *Latria*. As though the faithful did adore the Heart of Jesus separated, or abstracted from the Godhead, when they adore it as the Heart of Jesus, the Heart of the Person of the

Word to whom it is inseparably united. In the same way the bloodless body of Jesus Christ, during the three days of death, is adorable in the tomb, being neither separated nor abstracted from the Godhead."

The clearer we understand the plain, rigid doctrine of the Church of God on the holy Eucharist, the warmer will be our love, the more profound and intense will be our devotion to that most august and most holy of all the Sacraments. So it is with the Incarnation and Sacred Heart of Jesus. The more we meditate on the mysteries of the Incarnation, the clearer we understand, the more accurate and full our knowledge of the teaching of the Church on that great dogma of faith—the beginning and foundation of our Salvation—the more intensified will be our reverential awe, the more confident our hope, the firmer our faith, the purer our love for Jesus Christ, our ever Blessed Saviour. The hypostatic union renders the sacred Humanity adorable, and every part of it is equally worthy of the same supreme homage; the Sacred Heart, therefore, as containing the fulness of the Divine and human nature, is worthy of all the love, praise, homage, and adoration of men, the saints, the nine choirs of blessed spirits in heaven, and of the Virgin Mother beyond them all, for time and eternity.

A perfect knowledge of the teaching of the Catholic Church on this devotion cannot but deepen and intensify our love and reverence for the Sacred Heart. We can kneel before the representation or symbol of this devotion—the burning Heart, surmounted with a cross of suffering, and surrounded with flames of burning love. From this representation we can lift up our minds to heaven, where is the reality—the real living and loving Heart of Jesus; or without thinking of heaven, we can turn towards the tabernacle, containing the "Holy of Holies," the most holy Eucharist, the adorable Body and Blood of our Lord Jesus Christ. Here we have the *same* Sacred Heart that beat in Mary's womb, that bled upon the cross, that is now glorified with the sacred Humanity in heaven. Before this most adorable and Sacred Heart we can pour forth our soul in love and praise; we can wish to offer to this sweet Heart the holiest love of all devout souls on earth, of the saints and angels of God in heaven, and desire all God's creatures to recite at every moment of their existence these holy ejaculations: "May the Sacred Heart of Jesus be every where loved;" "Jesus, meek and humble of Heart, make my heart like to Thy Heart;" "Praised and blessed at every moment be the most holy and Divine Sacrament."

In our next paper we shall give the history of devotion to the Sacred Heart of Jesus.

T. H. K.

IRISH ECCLESIASTICAL COLLEGES SINCE THE REFORMATION.

SALAMANCA.—I.

THE mustard seed of the Faith, planted by Patrick in the congenial soil of Ireland, in a short time sprung up, and produced an immense crop of virtue and learning. The sixth, seventh, and eighth centuries are the golden age of Ireland, and have earned for her a title which she retains to the present day—*Insula Sanctorum et Doctorum*. During those ages every district in her territory swarmed with numberless saints, who abandoned all the allurements of the world to dedicate themselves to the contemplation of divine things;¹ whilst crowds, like swarms of bees, left her shores to preach the Gospel, and establish houses of Religious in almost every part of Europe, from Italy to the German Ocean. St. Columba founded the great monastery of Iona near Scotland, and Columbanus that of Luxeuil in France, in the sixth century. In the seventh, St. Gall, disciple of Columbanus, evangelized Helvetia; Columbanus founded the famous monastery of Bobbio in Italy; St. Aidan preached to the Northumbrians; St. Fiacre founded the monastery of Meaux; St. Killian was the apostle of Franconia; St. Virgilius was bishop of Saltzburg; and a host of others carried the light of the Christian faith among the pagans, or watered with their penitential tears the seeds of virtue sown by their predecessors in the work of the Gospel.²

In the meantime the schools of Ireland became so famous, that they attracted students from all parts of civilized Europe, and no man's education was considered complete if he had not for some time trod their halls. Crowds of Anglo-Saxons, as Camden tells us, frequented the schools of Ireland, and the expression, *Amandatus est ad disciplinam in Hiberniam*, was regarded as an honour, not only to the individual concerned, but to his family. Great names those of the schools of Ireland, Armagh, Clonard, Clonmacnoise, Lismore, Bangor! St. Bernard, in his *Life of St. Malachy*, describes the ancient state of the famous monastery of Bangor, in which there were three thousand monks, and tells us that a scholar of this House

¹ In Fleming's Catalogue of the Orders of Saints of Ireland, we are told there were three Orders:—"Primus Ordo Sanctorum erat a tempore Patritii. et tunc erant episcopi omnes, clari et sancti et Spiritu Sancto pleni, quadringenta quinquaginta numero, &c. Secundus Ordo Sanctorum vero talis erat. In hoc enim secundo ordine, pauci erant episcopi et multi presbiteri, numero trecenti, &c. Tertius Ordo, &c., erant enim presbiteri sancti et pauci episcopi, numero centum. qui in locis desertis habitabant," &c., &c.

² Jockeylin, *Vita S. Pat. c. 174.*

founded 100 monasteries, and 800 Religious were martyred there at one time for the Faith. Bede, in his *History of England*,¹ says that an Irish nobleman founded a college for foreigners, where they were not only instructed in learning, but supplied with books and all necessities, Clemens, an Irishman, may be called the founder of the University of Paris, and Albinus, another Irishman, of that of Pavia, as they were placed over these great schools by Charlemagne, who had just then opened them. The school of Armagh was founded by St. Patrick himself, as we read in M'Mahon's *Jus Primatiale Armacanum*:²—*Nec tantum Principatum Ecclesiasticum, sed et studium generale, seu Academiam Armachicæ instituit Sanctus Apostolus noster, in cujus vita habetur, quod Armachicæ Summum Studium litterale maneat semper, &c. Ex hac Academia innumeri prodierunt viri sanctitate et doctrina celebratissimi plurium nationum Apostoli, et Verbi Dei præcones, pro fide propugnanda sanguinem fundentes, inter quos splenduerunt SS. Switbertus et Willebardus, ille Westphaliæ, hic Frisonum Apostolus, ambo martyres, Angli quidem natione, Alumni tamen Scholæ Armacanæ, &c., &c., &c.* This great school continued to flourish, though with less lustre, even under the domination of the Danes; and we find it, in the middle of the twelfth century, regarded as the first seat of learning in Ireland; so that in the national synod celebrated by St. Gelasius at Clane, in the diocese of Kildare, in 1162, it was decreed, *communibus suffragiis Episcoporum, plurimorum Abbatum aliorumque Clericorum, Gelasio Primate præidente*:—*Ne ullus deinceps ad theologiam publice prælegendammitteretur, nisi qui Academiæ Armacanæ fuerat alumnus.*

The invasion of the Danes occurred in the last years of the eighth century. These pagans were the declared enemies of the Christian faith, and not content with murdering its professors, they glutted their hatred in despoiling and reducing to ruins its churches, monasteries, and schools wherever they found them. Armagh suffered much from their incursions, Bangor gave hundreds of martyrs in defence of the Faith, and the country was reduced to the last extremity. Nobly did the Irish struggle against this overwhelming tide of paganism for over two centuries, till at last Heaven took pity on their sufferings, and sent the great Brian Boru, who destroyed the power of the Danes at Clontarf, and liberated his country from their yoke. Then came the English invasion in the twelfth century, with its attendant evils in the shape of divisions and constant war, so that the land had no rest up to the Reforma-

¹ Lib. 4, cap. 8, et lib. 3, cap. 27.

² p. 207.

tion, which capped the climax of its misfortunes. Henry VIII. suppressed the monasteries, those seats of virtue and learning, and Elizabeth commenced the long list of penal laws intended for the complete annihilation of the Catholic faith. Catholic schools were closed ; Catholic education was strictly prohibited in all the country where Elizabeth's power extended ; no means existed of keeping up the supply of priests necessary for the preservation of the Faith ; and the Irish had to look abroad to Catholic countries for sympathy and help in their great distress. Spain was then the most powerful nation in Europe, and Spain was Catholic, and her big heart throbbed with pity and commiseration for her unhappy sister, whose blood was her blood, and whose religion was her religion.

Spain, or *España*, which, according to Padre Isla, comes from the Bascuensè, *ezpañae, lip*, was the name given to all the land originally of one Basque tongue, which, though it may not have been the language of Adam and Eve in Paradise, as the Basques assert, was undoubtedly the primitive tongue of the Iberian Peninsula.¹ Spain was successively occupied by the Iberians and Celts—whence it was called Celtiberia—the Phœnicians, Carthaginians, Romans, and Goths, before the great invasion of the Moors in the eighth century of our era. She received the Faith from the Apostle St. James, who is also said by some to have paid a visit to Ireland, where he preached to the Milesians, a colony which had come from Spain. In a short time the whole country had become Catholic, and it has preserved the faith in its purity to the present day. The Goths were heretics imbued with the errors of Arianism ; but the power of assimilation possessed by the Catholic Church in a short time wrought their conversion, and reduced them to the unity of faith.

For nearly eight centuries the Christians kept up a heroic struggle with the fanatical invaders. Deeds of extraordinary valour were performed on either side. The success of the long contest was various. Now the Cross advanced and recovered what it had previously lost ; now the Crescent led its excited followers to victory. In the end, however, the Cross was triumphant, and the waning Crescent sank slowly below the horizon. Toledo fell ; Cordova followed ; then came Seville, Valencia, and, finally, Granada, which was conquered by Ferdinand and Isabel, in 1492. This was the last possession

¹ It is said the Irish and Basque languages are very similar. A friend of mine, who was through the whole seven years' civil war, assured me that the Irishwomen, who accompanied the British Legion, were, in a very short time, not only able to buy in the public market, but to higgie and scold in most intelligible style. He told me he was an eye-witness of such scenes.

of the Moors in Spain, and with Granada fell all their power in the Peninsula.

While besieging the city their Majesties built a town in their camp, and called it Santa Fè, or Holy Faith. It was here Christopher Columbus presented himself before the Queen of Castile, to explain to her his project of the discovery of a New World, after he had been laughed at, and refused assistance, by the republic of Genoa, the king of Portugal, and some say the king of England. The queen received him kindly, and sent him to Salamanca to consult with the lights of the great University, and promised that if they should approve his project, she would give him all the assistance she could. In Salamanca he was taken by the hand by the celebrated Dominican, Father Deza, who comprehended his plans, and strongly recommended him to the queen. Her Majesty, who believed in Columbus, had no money to spare; but she heroically pawned her jewels to provide an outfit for him, and with the money raised on them, three small ships, called the "Santa Maria," the "Pinta," and the "Niña," manned by ninety men, were got ready for the expedition, which was to be fraught with such gigantic consequences to the world.¹

It was under the successor of Ferdinand and Isabel that Spain became one great nation. Aragon and Castile were united in the person of Charles I., and the country over which he ruled was the arbitress of Europe. This great monarch ended his days in retirement and penance in the monastery of St. Justo, and the sceptre, which had fallen from his hand, was taken up by his son, Philip II. Never was a monarch more abused than Philip II. is by Protestant writers; but this is only natural, for he was the determined opponent of the incipient heresy, and people are accustomed to abuse those who stand in their way. They shriek over what they call his moroseness and cruelty, and accuse him of all the excesses of the Inquisition;² but they forget that he was not the founder of this institution, and that at the very time of which they write, there was such a monarch in the world as Queen Elizabeth of England, and such a spot in her dominions as Ireland, where this model

¹ Columbus died at Valladolid. He was created Duke of Veragua, and his descendant still retains the title. The present Duke's eldest son, the Marquis of Sardoal, is Lord Mayor of Madrid (January, 1874). The room in which Columbus consulted with Father Deza and the Dominicans is still pointed out in the Dominican Convent; and the friars' country house, whither they retired for quietness, is at present a farm house about seven miles from Salamanca. A monument has recently been erected on an adjacent hill, on which it is said they made their astronomical observations.

² For defence of the Inquisition see *Note in Fredes's Modern History*, and the last two chapters of the 2nd vol. of Balmez, *El Protestantismo comparado con el Catolicismo*, Barcelona, 1869.

queen amused herself with the pangs of tortured wretches, who would not resign their ancient faith, delivered to their ancestors by St. Patrick, for her new-fangled notions.¹ Philip II. saved Spain from all the horrors he saw Protestantism carry with it wherever it made its appearance—in Flanders, in Germany, in England. He saw that the spirit which animated it was one of bitter intolerance and persecution, and he wisely determined to save the land of St. James from the divisions, distractions, and cruelty which attended it elsewhere. There is this wide difference between the fury of Elizabeth in Ireland and of the prudent severity employed by Philip II. in Spain, that the one was unloosed against those in possession, while the other was only employed against intruders and usurpers—the one was a violent robbery, the other a measure of defence.²

Philip II. heard the groans of the afflicted children of Erin wafted on the breeze over the Bay of Biscay, and pitying their sufferings, he invited them to his dominions, where he received the exiles with all honour and distinction, sent them back with material aid to renew their heroical struggle, and founded colleges for the education of Irish youths who should return with their lives in their hands to defend the faith delivered to their ancestors. We are accustomed to judge men as we find them, not as their adversaries paint them, and we unhesitatingly say that Philip, in his treatment of the Irish exiles, has proved himself to have been a man of tender and compassionate heart, and has earned the eternal gratitude of every Irishman who loves his country, and appreciates the blessing of the preservation of the Faith in his

¹ See Dr. Moran's *Persecution of the Irish Catholics* for the martyrdom of Dr. O'Hurley, Dr. Richard Creagh, Dr. Patrick O'Hely, Cornelius O'Rorke, and a crowd of others, executed for the Faith in Elizabeth's reign.

² In expressing myself thus, I would not be put down as an advocate of cruelty and torture in the propagation of religion. The sword is the propagandist instrument of Mahometanism—the cross of Christianity—and St. Peter himself was told to put up his sword when drawn in defence of his Master. I merely give my appreciation of two events I find in history, which cannot now be changed or blotted out, and I think any impartial man, let his religion be what it may, will agree with me that there are extenuating circumstances in Philip's case which are wanting in Elizabeth's. I think history shows that the spirit of Protestantism has been such as I have described it. I know there are to-day thousands of excellent Protestants, among them some of my most intimate friends, who are far from being possessed of this fell spirit; but it is because they have been educated out of it. It is still, however, found rampant in the North of Ireland, and would produce the same fruits as formerly if it only enjoyed the sunshine of power. But as St. Jerome says:—"Bene quod malitia non habeat tantas vires, quantos conatus: perierat enim innocentia si semper nequitiae juncta esset potentia, et totum quicquid cupit calumnia, prævaleret." Why, it was only last summer that these fanatics stoned the Catholics on their way home from the consecration of the Cathedral of Armagh, which clearly indicates that if they had the power, Catholicity should not yet raise her head in the land.

native land. He himself had learned from experience in the Low Countries what the spirit of Protestant intolerance and fanaticism was capable of, and his heart opened the more readily to its poor Irish victims:—*Non ignara mali miseris succurrere disco.*

The reign of Philip II. is marked in Spanish history as a period of great national glory, when the Spanish flag was carried in triumph through many bloody battlefields, the most remarkable of which was the great victory of St. Quintin. It was in commemoration of this victory that he built that eighth marvel of the world, the Escorial, whose walls are frescoed with episodes of the battle. We cannot, however, dwell on the glories of his reign, and must pass to the foundation of the Irish Colleges, the first of which was established by Philip II. in the city of Salamanca.

Salamanca is the capital of the province of the same name, and lies in the ancient kingdom of Leon. When Hannibal took Salamanca, the men had to march out unarmed, but the women hid swords about their persons, and when the guard placed over the prisoners went to join their companions in the pillage, they armed the men, who then re-entered the city, and committed great havoc among the soldiers of Hannibal, who was compelled to beat a hasty retreat, but only to return to take his revenge. Salamanca was in time occupied by the Romans, who made roads to it, the remains of which still exist, and built the bridge which gives access to the town over the river Tormes, whose limpid stream was sung in numbers by Fray Louis de Leon. The Goths or Visigoths followed, and then came the Moors, who in their turn were expelled in 1095. Salamanca has been called *Roma la chica* (Little Rome), from the number of its magnificent buildings, the most ancient of which is the old Cathedral, built in 1102, by Jerome, the Cid's confessor, who was its first bishop. This Cathedral from the fortress-like strength of its walls—was called *Fortis Salmantina*, according to the couplet:—

Dives Toletana, Pulchra Leonina,
Sancta Ovetensis, Fortis Salmantina.

In one of the chapels of this Cathedral—the chapel of Santa Barbara—the examinations for University degrees were held from a very early period down to 1840.¹ In another, called the *Capilla de Talavera*, Mass is still celebrated, accord-

¹ The very curious ceremonies observed on such occasions may be seen at large in Vidal's *Memoria Historica de la Universidad*. In addition to fees and presents, the new doctor had to provide bull-fights for the public, and the entire expenses have been calculated at £400 sterling. It was usual to print the theme

ing to the ancient Mozarabic rite, on certain festivals, as Easter Sunday, Ascension Thursday, &c., &c. This rite is very peculiar, and its origin is lost in the mists of ages. It is called Isidoran, because St. Isidor improved and reduced it to its present form ; but it is generally held that it was introduced into Spain by Torquates and his companions, disciples of the Apostles. It is also called Toledan, because it was preserved and practised by the Christians of Toledo during the Moorish domination ; and its title, *Mozarabic*, is derived from the fact that these Christians, from their constant intercourse with the Moors, became in habits and manners half Arabic—Mixtiarabes. Some, however, on the contrary, derive it from the Greek *Mysos*, because the Christians always detested their conquerors ; whilst others again say it comes from a Moorish captain, called Muza, who arranged with the Christians of Toledo that they should be called after him, Muza's Arabs : the fact however is, that they were so called, and the rite observed by them was known as the Mozarabic. When the Roman Rite was introduced, the great Cardinal Cisneros provided for the perpetuation of the ancient Mozarabic one in Toledo, Valladolid and Salamanca, where, as I have said, it is observed to the present day.¹ In 1513, a new cathedral

of the discourse of the new doctor on silk, copies of which were sent to his friends instead of ordinary cards of invitation. The following is a transcript of one printed in 1840 :—

“D. O. M.
Pro obtinenda in Juri Civili
Doctoratus Laurea
Thesis
Absque Religione nulla Societas
subsistere potest.
Sustenebit
In Sancta Ecc. Cath. Salmant.
Licentie gradu decoratus
Vincentius Cedron et Varela.
Patrono
D.D. Joanne Magarinos.
Die XVIII Julii, Anno Dom. MDCCCXXXX.”

¹ The distinctive ceremonies of this Rite are too numerous to particularize. At present I will merely say that the priest uses two Missals, one on either side of the altar, and in reading the numerous prayers constantly turns from one to the other. The Credo comes after the Consecration, and the host is elevated on two different occasions, and broken into nine parts. It is first divided into two, one of which is then subdivided into five, and the other into four portions. All these parts represent as many mysteries, which are mentioned as each portion is deposited on the patena. The first is *Corporatio* (*Incarnatio*) ; the second, *Nativitas* ; the third, *Circumcisio* ; the fourth, *Apparitio* (*Epiphania*) ; the fifth, *Passio* ; the sixth, *Mors* ; the seventh, *Resurrectio* ; the eighth, *Gloria* ; and the ninth, *Regnum*. The Pater Noster is also divided into seven petitions, with a response after each, in this way :—Pater Noster qui es in cœlis. Amen. Sanctificetur nomen tuum. Amen. Adveniat regnum tuum, Amen, &c. These responses are given, of course, by the clerk. In Toledo, the Office as well as the Mass follows this Rite.

was begun under the bishop Don Francisco Bobadilla, and all the sacred ceremonies are now conducted in it, whilst the old, to which the new is attached, serves as a parish church.

Immediately across the street, and facing the truly magnificent façade of the cathedral, stands the famous University, prolific mother of so many eminent men. It was founded in the first days of the thirteenth century, and during the fifteenth, sixteenth, seventeenth, and eighteenth, it led the van of learning in Europe. It can boast of such men as the two Sotos ; Suarez, who professed a class here before he went to Coimbra ; Maldonatus ; Herrera, the Dominican, who, after his discourse of an hour, on occasion of standing for a chair, offered in conclusion to speak in the same strain for two hours on any point which might be opened by chance in the Sum of St. Thomas ; the Tostado, bishop of Avila, whose prolific pen became a proverb—*escribió tanto como el Tostado* ; Hernan Cortes, conqueror of Mexico ; St. John Sahagun, patron of Salamanca ; Melchor Cano ; Fray Louis de Leon ; Fray Louis de Granada ; St. Thomas of Villanova ; St. John of the Cross ; Calderon ; De Lugo ; Quintana ; Doyague, the great musician ; Donoso Cortes ; and among a host of others we may mention, last but not least, Cervantes, the author of *Don Quixote*, who lived in a back street, called *Calle de los Moros*, which leads direct from the Irish College to the University. We may also mention as a very curious fact, that two ladies professed classes in this University : the one was a professor of Latin, and the other, the daughter of *El Brocense*, supplied her father's place as lecturer in Law whenever he himself was unable to attend.

The building of the University proper would give a stranger a very imperfect notion of what it was in former times, when the twenty-five colleges, now almost all in ruins, belonged to it. This grand old relic of the past is now indeed involved in the obscurity of an eclipse, and that sad but expressive word might be written over the door of its deserted halls—*Ichabod, the glory is gone*.¹

It was the fame of this University decided Philip II. to found what was afterwards known as EL REAL COLEGIO DE NOBLES YRLANDESES—REGALE COLLEGIUM NOBILIUM HIBERNORUM—in Salamanca. Some years previously, a

¹ The number 25 was famous in Salamanca. There were 25 parishes, 25 monasteries of men, 25 convents of women, 25 colleges, and 25 arches to the bridge. The greatest wonders of the town were the south side of the magnificent public square, the middle of the bridge, where were the arms of the town—a tower and immense stone bull—and the mid cloister of the convent of St. Vincent, turned into a fort by the French, and now one mass of ruins :—*Mediodia, medio puente, y medio claustro de San Vicente*.

number of Irish youths had flocked to the then royal city of Valladolid, where a small establishment existed for the training of Irish students; but this college was quite incapable of accommodating the number who sought admittance, so that many of them had to live in town and attend class as best they could. These students the king collected, and sent to Salamanca, where he ordered a house to be prepared for them, that they might have the advantage of pursuing their studies at the University, which had on its register, the very year our Irish youths presented themselves in its halls, 6,631 matriculated students. And this was not the largest number it could boast of, for in 1567, it had 7,832; and tradition, going back beyond the date at which records of the matriculation began to be kept, 1546, says that there were at one time 14,000 students in it—in fact, that the town was a town of students, with just the number of tradespeople required to attend to their wants.

The following is a translation of the letter his Majesty sent with the young Irishmen, recommending them to the care and protection of the Rector and authorities of the University —:¹

“Rector, Maestrescuelas (Chancellor) and Cloister of the University of Salamanca. As the Irish youths, who had been living in a kind of community in this city, have resolved to go to yours, to avail of the opportunities it affords for advancement in letters and languages, a house having been prepared for them, in which they intend to live under the direction of the Fathers of the Society of Jesus; besides allowing them a good annual stipend, I desired to give them this letter to charge you, as I hereby do, to regard them as highly recommended; so as not to allow them to be maltreated in any way, but to favour and aid them as far as you can, that as they have left their own country, and all they possessed in it, in the service of God our Lord, and for the preservation of the Catholic faith, and make profession of returning to preach in it, and suffer martyrdom if necessary, they may get in that University the reception they promise themselves. I am certain you will do this, and become benefactors to them, so that with your subscription, and what I am sure the town will give, to the authorities of which I also write, they may be able to pursue their studies with content and freedom, and thereby

¹ The Irish gentlemen at the Court of Philip asked him to put the College of Salamanca under the care of the Jesuits in these express terms:—*Domine in cassum laboramus, si nostra juvenus Societatis Jesu curæ et institutioni non fuisset commissa.*

attain the end they have in view. Valladolid, 2nd of August, 1592.
 "YO EL REY."¹

In consequence of this letter, our young men got a warm reception in the University, the authorities of which faithfully complied with all the directions of his Majesty. In a short time they won, by their good conduct and attention to their studies, the esteem of all those with whom they came in contact; so that in the course of three years the Rector and Cloister did not hesitate to give them a very high character in a document still extant. Father Thomas White, Father James Archer, and Father Richard Conway, were the three Irish members of the Society of Jesus to whom the fortunes of the young community were entrusted. Father White is regarded as the founder; but he, and Fathers Archer and Conway, bore indifferently the title of Vice-Rector when in charge of the house, whilst the other two were out collecting subscriptions: the rectorship was vested in the Rector of the Jesuit College, but only nominally, for the Irish Fathers were the real superiors. Father Archer, in 1596, went to Ireland in the interests of the young College, and we read of his making composition with the possessors of church property on condition of their paying a certain sum to it. Father White soon went to Lisbon to found the Irish College there, and Father Conway looked after the house in Salamanca till both the other Fathers returned.

In 1605, we find Father Archer engaged in bringing other eleven students from Valladolid, where he met with opposition from Florence Conroy, of the Order of St. Francis, afterwards Archbishop of Tuam, who had himself been one of the earliest students of the College of Salamanca, but had conceived a prejudice against the Irish Fathers, particularly Father White, "for the strong bias he manifested in favour of his native province of Munster, through which the great majority of the students admitted were Munstermen," to the great injury of Ulster, and of Father Conroy's native province, Connaught. Already, in 1602, Father Conroy had drawn up a memorial in O'Donnell's and O'Neill's names, and had it presented to the king, praying him to command that equality be observed in the admission of students from the different provinces, and to secure the carrying out of this order, that

¹ The original of this letter is in the library of the University. In the archives of the Irish College are the autographs of Philip II., 1593; Philip III., 1617; Philip V., 1746, just before his death; and Charles III., 1771, 1778, and 1786. *Yo el Rey* is simply, *I, the King*, and is the style of signature common to all the kings of Spain. The letter quoted above is countersigned by the Secretary, *Hieronimo de Gassol*.

Spanish superiors be appointed. As this document is curious, and shows us in what light the Anglicised Catholics of the South were regarded by the old Irish Catholics of the North, I will here give it in full from an old English version, made, I dare say, about the time the memorial was written. It runs thus:—

“S. C. R. M.¹

“The Earl of O'Donnell of Ireland doth kiss your Majesty is feet, and says that in your Majesty is kingdom there are some colleges or seminaries ordained for the Irish scholars is instruction, who for the heretics is persecution can not be taught in the sound and Catholic doctrine. And specially your Majesty hath in Salamanca a college for this effect, maintained by the alms of your Majesty and other prelates and persons of title of this realm, gathered by the industry of such as have charge of the aforesaid college.

“The superintendent of this college is an Irish Father of the Society of Jesus, born in one of the provinces, which are subject to the Queen, and consequently schismatical, who bears no affection towards Connaughtmen or Ulstermen, who are declared Catholics, and do so many years defend and maintain with their weapons the Catholic faith, and for this cause he receives no student of the aforesaid provinces, whereas it is true that this ought rather than any other to be maintained with the Catholics is alms. First of all, because they are true Catholics, and the Church and your Majesty is vassals, for which it is hoped they shall be more profitable than such as were nurtured with so bad milk, as is the obedience towards the Queen, and cordial love towards all things to her, and without the Catholic Church. For of necessity, when they return back among their friends, they must be guided by them and follow the same course, and do a great deal more harm, than if they never studied. Because they teach that the Queen may be obeyed, and arms taken against your Majesty, and they confess and absolve, and do admit to Mass, and other divine offices, such as do it.

“Moreover, these scholars are commonly rich merchants is sons, who might learn at their parents is charges, and if it were not for saving, they would send them to study to England, at Oxford; and in the very realm of Ireland there wants not commodity to study in the aforesaid provinces subject unto the Queen. But our countrymen are most Catholic, and hath within their heart and bowels the obedience of the holy Church; and from the very cradle do hate the Queen is wicked sect, and preach against it. For the continual wars,

¹ See *Catolica Real Magestad.*

they want both manner and furtherance of learning, and such as come to Spain are noblemen is children, who for their faith have lost their goods, and therefore hath no commodity with which to further them.

“For all which, and other titles, I beseech your Majesty, both in O'Neill's and mine own, and the aforesaid your Majesty is two provinces is behalf, to command that the one half of such scholars as shall be retained in the aforesaid seminary of Salamanca, be of Ulster or Connaught, and that it may be so executed, it shall be necessary that the government be taken from the Father who hath it at this present, and is called Thomas White, and a Spanish Rector be named, who with great punctuality may obey and execute whatever shall be ordained; for it is doubtless that this Father will always allege apparent excuses, and if constrained to retain any, will use them in such sort as they shall not be able to suffer him; and in this your Majesty shall do a great service unto God, and unto the true Catholics of Ireland a very great benefit and singular favour.”

An answer to this memorial, which was only one of several presented to his Majesty, in the name of different Irish chiefs, was written by the Irish lords and gentlemen resident in Valladolid, in which, after denying that the glory of the several wars between the Irish and English belonged exclusively to O'Neill and O'Donnell, the writers say:—

“1st. The provinces of Leinster and Munster are so far from being schismatical, that the natives of them of all conditions, viscounts, barons, knights, gentlemen, scholars, merchants, and ecclesiastics, with even those of inferior state, have suffered innumerable vexations from the heretical governors, because they would not abandon the Roman Church, some suffering confiscation of goods and property, others prison torments and death, and those who least, a pecuniary fine, every time they heard Mass, or performed any Catholic act; to which the sufferers yet living, the persecutors, and even the very children, can bear witness, for the persecution of the heretics, and the great constancy of the Catholics, are public and well-known facts.

“2nd. If the students of our provinces were reared outside the pale of the church, many of them could live comfortably at home, free from persecution, and avoid passing hard days and worse nights in foreign lands, as we find the case in other places where heresy has corrupted the youth; for no matter what may be one's poverty, one can always live through it better in one's own land, and among one's own people than in foreign countries. But our youth, to avoid pressure in matters

of religion, prefer to become exiles from their native land, rather than from Heaven; and so they come to Spain in preference to England, where the infernal flames of heresy are more intense than even in their own land; and it would be no great advantage, though the memorialists may say so, to fly from one Babylon to another. If it were a saving to them, they would certainly do it, only for the great impediment of heresy, which they try to avoid; and if they avoid it, they are so far from being schismatical, that, on the contrary, they prove themselves true Catholics. They leave, then, their own country, and come to Spain, and in Spain select the place best suited for learning letters and virtue, which is at the University of Salamanca, and put themselves under the direction of the Society of Jesus; and all this prepares them not only to suffer on their return, but to fortify others, without a single case of apostacy having occurred among them yet; nor have they given bad example, nor preached obedience to the Queen to the prejudice of Religion, nor incited people to take up arms against his Catholic Majesty, but all to the contrary; so that the Queen has said that the seminarists and others like them have done her more harm than the Irish and Spanish armies, and she was right, for it was they animated the wavering and fortified the weak with heavenly reasons and exhortations.

“3rd. God and the world know that the nobility of the said two provinces took up arms for the King of Spain, against the heresy of the Queen of England, as the Earl of Desmond and his brother John Geraldine, with many viscounts, barons, knights, and other lords of vassals; and among the knights may be mentioned O’Sullivan Beare, and O’Driscoll, great lords of vassals; who gave up their ports and castles to the army of his Majesty, during the siege of Kinsale; and there were others in the province of Leinster, O’Moore, O’Connor, and Donald Espanagh, with all their followers and vassals, who kept their loyalty to him till many of them lost their lives, and others their liberty.

“4th. The fact that so many gentlemen took up arms against England, proves that there were people in those provinces capable of serving his Majesty, and who did serve him by the injury they inflicted on the Queen’s troops, driving from the country over eighteen thousand heretics. The Earl of Desmond alone kept in pay four thousand strange troops for four years, besides his own soldiers and vassals. But our adversary may say that truly there were, but now there are not people, capable and willing to serve his Majesty, because all was lost in former wars; from which we have at least, that

he does us an injury, when he says that we lost nothing in past troubles. We were losers in former wars, not only in our property, but in the lives of those who fought to death, the number of whom was very large ; and if some survived, it was with such a pension of disaster, that it might be said it were better they had died, for the Earl of Desmond lives a life of death, a prisoner in the Tower of London, and his brother, John Geraldine, is, more fortunately, an exile at the Court of the Catholic King. Earl Macarthy More followed Desmond to the Tower, and his estates are possessed by the English. And of the inferior gentlemen, there is not one who has not met with misfortune, having lost the better part of their property, and many their liberty, by declaring against the Queen. O'Sullivan Beare, who gave up his castles to his Catholic Majesty, lost all his estates, and was compelled, to avoid losing his life, to fly to the protection of King Philip. And the Lord of Baltimore would have lost his, if the King of England had not restored it ; but his heir, Cornelius O'Driscoll, is an exile, and lives at the Court of Spain. This occurred in former times, and at present we taste the dregs of our misfortune, for our adversaries, when they meet a vassal of any of these gentlemen, hang him on the spot, or inflict some other kind of death on him, as also on all those who favoured in any way the Catholic cause. All this caused our countrymen to fly from their native land, and seek a voluntary exile, to the great loss of their property and chattles, of which the memorialist makes very little account, though they were of immense value, but attributes all the glory and losses to two lords, O'Neill and O'Donnell. As regards the merchants, they were far from doing harm to the Catholics, as was seen in the demonstration they made, on the death of the Queen of England, turning out the heretics, burning their books, bringing together the seminarists and other clergy, to purify and dedicate the churches, to erect altars, to preach the Faith in public, and form open and unwonted processions with the Blessed Sacrament through the streets ; although in punishment of our sins, this lasted but a short time, and the English again seized on the towns and churches, and many of our merchants were hanged, and many others lost their property and liberty.

“Valladolid, Sep., 1604.”

W. M'D.

FATHER BALLERINI ON THE LAW OF FASTING.

 TO THE EDITOR OF THE IRISH ECCLESIASTICAL RECORD.

 St. Patrick's College, Maynooth,
 19th April, 1874.

REV. AND DEAR SIR,

You will, I trust, afford me an opportunity of replying, in the next number of the RECORD, to the letter of Father Jones which you have published in the number for the present month. Following Father Jones' example, I will begin by stating the point at issue between us.

I.—THE QUESTION AT ISSUE.

My paper, to which Father Jones has undertaken to reply, dealt with the theory put forward by Father Ballerini, regarding the quantity which may be taken at collation on fasting days. In one of his Annotations to Gury's *Compendium*, after mentioning the standard of quantity assigned by the great majority of the German theologians—the fourth part of the ordinary *coena*—F. Ballerini undertakes to give a *plain proof* that the quantity indicated by this rule is *more than eight ounces*—the quantity commonly allowed by other theologians. And his proof is, that Sporer, a German theologian, *complains of the severity of his fellow-countryman, Laymann, in abandoning the German rule*:—"Quod enim," says F. Ballerini, "ex mente horum Doctorum quarta consuetæ coenæ pars *excedat mensuram octo unciarum inde patet quod Sporer (sec. 2, n. 32) amice conqueritur de Laymann quod a regula Germanis consuea discesserit.*"

The validity of this "plain proof" I called in question. And for this I am arraigned by F. Jones as having "attacked the professional character of F. Ballerini." What does F. Jones mean? Is the "professional character" of Gury's Roman editor so sacred that no theologian may venture to question the accuracy of his quotations or the soundness of his proofs? Perhaps F. Jones endorses the theory which F. Ballerini himself lays down in one of his Annotations? In the course of a long argument, in which he undertakes to refute the interpretation given by Saint Alphonsus, of a Papal Bull, F. Ballerini says that although the learning of Saint Alphonsus may have

been very great—"viri sane doctissimi"—it was not extraordinary that he should have blundered in this matter, considering the unfavorable circumstances in which he was placed in writing his work—"non in luce hujus Urbis"—but in the outer darkness—"longe ab Urbe absentis"—that is to say, outside the city of Rome!¹ If F. Jones adopts this extraordinary view, it is easy to understand his indignation at finding F. Ballerini's theological *dicta* called in question by a writer in an Irish periodical. But upon this point I would ask him to remember that before many months had elapsed from the publication of the first edition of F. Ballerini's work, setting forth his own interpretation of the Bull in question, a Decree was issued—in *plena Urbis luce*—by the Sacred Penitentiary, defining authoritatively, and in the very words used by Saint Alphonsus himself, that "no doubt could be entertained" of the truth of the opinion which Saint Alphonsus had laid down.²

It would be difficult to find another theologian who would have presumed, as F. Ballerini has done in his second edition, to publish, in the teeth of this condemnation, and, in fact, as a preface to the Decree itself, a dissertation of fifteen pages, in which he had proved to his own satisfaction, the truth of the opinion thus authoritatively condemned. That the Decree would prevent F. Ballerini from publishing his elaborate argument, was not perhaps to be expected. But, surely, it is matter for surprise, that notwithstanding the publication of such a Decree—defining so plainly, and in the words of Saint Alphonsus himself, the truth of an opinion which F. Ballerini's dissertation represents as not merely false, but also at variance with the unanimous teaching of every theological school—there are still some readers of his Annotations who have not fully realised the idea, that however emphatic and dictatorial his tone may be, he is simply a private theologian, that as such, he is liable to error, and that any other theologian in the Church, whether in the city of Rome or outside of it, is at

¹ GURY. *Compendium Theologiae Moralis*. Anton. Ballerini Adnotationibus Locupletatum. Romae, 1869. Tom. ii. n. 867, *nota*.

² "S. Alphonsus," says F. Ballerini, "tanquam indubium tradit, dispensationem esse irritam si taceatur circumstantia incestus. licet non patrati ad finem dispensationis facile obtinendae. De hoc, inquit, non est amplius dubitandum ex Bulla Benedicti XIV. . . ."

"Valde dubitandum," he continues. "num illa interpretatio quam contra unanimem catholicarum scholarum omnium sententiam B. Alphonsus invexit. legitima censi queat . . ."

And he adds:—"Sapientissime Benedictus XIV. nil de controversia definit."—GURY (Ed. Ballerini). Tom. ii. n. 867. Romae 1869.

Yet the Sacred Penitentiary (20th July 1869) had decided "Post Constitutionem Benedicti XIV. . . . non posse amplius dubitari de nullitate dispensationis."—(S. Poen. 20 Julii, 1869).

perfect liberty to criticise any theological argument, and to question the accuracy of any theological view which he has put forward. F. Ballerini's "professional character" cannot exempt him from the ordeal to which every theological writer must submit—theological criticism.

I trust, then, that notwithstanding the indignant "remonstrance" of F. Jones, I need no further apology for having called in question the accuracy of one of F. Ballerini's quotations : or for now proceeding to examine, simply as a matter of theological discussion, the question which is at issue between F. Jones and myself.

The question, then, is this : *Has F. Ballerini misrepresented, in his quotation, the meaning of Sporer's complaint?* In other words, does his Note, as I assumed, represent Laymann as holding a doctrine different from the German doctrine of the *quarta pars*? And does it, as I also assumed, represent Sporer as complaining of Laymann's rigour in thus abandoning the traditions of the German school? Father Jones answers in the negative. He asserts, with somewhat undue emphasis, that it is "unquestionably" a mistake of mine to suppose that F. Ballerini's Note can have any such meaning : that, in fact, there is no "insinuation" of such a meaning : that there is "*no vestige of any such insinuation.*" F. Jones sees all this quite plainly. But, to do him justice, he is willing, like F. Ballerini, to make allowances for the shortcomings of a theologian labouring under disadvantages from which he himself is free. It is, it seems, natural enough that I should have "*mistaken the whole drift of F. Ballerini's argument,*" since "one who is *not familiar with the peculiar controversy* which was carried on on this subject between the German, Italian, and Spanish theologians, could hardly at once see the point" of F. Ballerini's Note.

To avoid misconception, I must here observe that I did not in my paper undertake to deal with the general question as to *what view was held by the German theologians as a body, regarding the actual quantity allowed by their rule of the quarta pars.*

The point which I maintained was this: that *F. Ballerini has misrepresented the plain meaning of Sporer's complaint, regarding Laymann's severity, on which his whole theory is based.* For he quotes the complaint as if it had reference to Laymann's teaching upon the question of quantity ; whereas, in fact, it regards the teaching of Laymann upon a totally different question.

But as F. Jones' letter makes it obvious that there is some

danger of the other and more general question soon becoming a practical one in these countries, I shall say a few words upon it before bringing this letter to a close—not by way of defending anything in my former paper, for I did not touch upon this matter at all—but by way of preventing possible mischief arising from any such misconception of the true state of the case as that under which F. Jones evidently labours.

It cannot, indeed, be regarded as devoid of practical importance, that a writer of F. Ballerini's position should have deliberately stated, in editing a theological manual of worldwide circulation, that a rule more liberal than the rule of eight ounces is plainly approved by a body of theologians in whose ranks are found such high authorities as La Croix, Elbel, Reiffenstuel, Holzmann, Illsung, Reuter, Sporer, Struggl, Wigandt, and Voit; adding, as he does, that the theologians who advocate this more liberal allowance do so on the grounds that in countries like Germany, a larger quantity of solid food is required than in the more genial climates of Italy and Spain. Are we then, for instance, in Ireland, to hold by Saint Alphonsus' rule of eight ounces, or may we adopt this more liberal allowance, to which the circumstances of our country give us, to say the least, as strong a claim, as that which is put forward for their own country by the theologians of Germany? The practical solution of this question, by a serious encroachment on the observance of the law of fasting, cannot long be delayed if statements such as those which F. Ballerini makes, and F. Jones endeavours to sustain, be allowed to circulate without contradiction.

But in the first instance, I must deal with the question which is really at issue: *Has F. Ballerini misrepresented, in his quotation, the meaning of Sporer's complaint?* I have already quoted some of the emphatic terms in which F. Jones expresses his answer to this question. I must not omit his statements that the proofs which I brought forward in my paper, form "*a fruitless paralogism*;" and that I have "*wasted my space in proving what no theologian of ordinary judgment and reading could be ignorant of.*"

II.—MY LANGUAGE.

Father Jones, with the skill of a practised controversialist, endeavours to excite a prejudice against my view by censuring the language in which I have expressed it. He insinuates that it is neither "modest," "courteous," nor "just;" and he expresses his confidence that "such language" can "do little injury to F. Ballerini."

I do not presume to question the decision of an authority

so highly qualified as F. Jones, upon the requirements of "courtesy" and "modesty" as regards the method of stating a theological opinion, or of conducting a theological argument.

Waiving these points, I come to the more tangible charge of "injustice." Have I no grounds to complain of "injustice" in this matter? Could any of your readers, whose knowledge of this discussion began with F. Jones' letter, have supposed that the language which he stigmatises so severely is *the language of F. Ballerini himself*? In my paper I took care to quote it as such, for it is language which I should not think myself justified in applying to any theologian or writer of respectability, except by way of argumentative retort against its author, with a view of making manifest how unwise it is, as well as unseemly, for any writer to deal so mercilessly, as it is F. Ballerini's habit to do, with the mistakes, real or assumed, of others.

"'Communi sensu plane caret' inquit. Eheu!
Quam temere in nosmet legem sancimus iniquam."

Was it "just," then, of F. Jones to treat "such language" as if it was my own—to couple a "remonstrance" against its application to F. Ballerini, with an eulogium upon his "admirable theological criticism," as if this gave him a claim to be treated with especial gentleness—in fine, to ignore the fact that this is the very language used by F. Ballerini himself in what F. Jones, if he were consistent, should designate as his "attacks" upon the "professional character" of the most eminent theologians of the Church?

On a former occasion I dealt, in the pages of the RECORD, with this aspect of F. Ballerini's notes.¹ My attention has since been called to the fact, that in his second edition he has toned down the asperity of some passages, most offensive in their original form. Giving him, then, the full benefit of his matured revision of his work, I will ask your readers to judge from the passages quoted below,² all transcribed from his

¹ IRISH ECCLESIASTICAL RECORD. Vol. vi., p. 517 (June, 1870).

² The Authors of the Salamanca Course, of whom Saint Alphonsus says:—"Salmanticenses qui communi aestimatione moralem hanc scientiam . . . egregie pertractant: quosque ipse inter caeteros frequentius familiares habui." are thus assailed by Father Ballerini:—"Haec discrepantia tota . . . prorsus Salmanticensium oscitantiae et negligentiae in describendis sententiis debetur."—(GURY, *Compend. Theol. Moral.* Tom. ii. n. 730 (Ed. Ballerini) Romae, 1869). Elsewhere:—"Totum debetur confusioni a Salmanticensibus inductae."—(Tom i. n. 293.) Again:—"Salmanticenses dissensionem inter theologos confingunt."—(i. 173). In fine:—"Salmanticenses eam inducunt confusionem ut nihil reipsa extundere ex iis liceat."—(ii. 3).

Antoine he holds in supreme contempt:—"Nihil mirum quod Antoine id non adverterit. Quid enim ex huiusmodi quaeras aut expectes, ubi solida doctrina et

second edition—*novis curis*, as he calls it, *expolita*—whether F. Jones, his champion, would not have acted more prudently, as well as more “justly,” in selecting some other weapon of controversy than to arraign me as wanting in either “courtesy,” “modesty,” or “justice,” for introducing into my

criterio opus est?”—(i. 661). Of an argument brought forward by Sylvius, he says:—“Argumentatio ista tota innititur *praeposteræ notioni*.”—(ii. 577.) And again, of Sylvius:—“Haec et aliae *absonae hujus Scriptoris opiniones*.”—(ii. 454).

Of Soto, he writes:—“*Abjecta anomala illa Soti opinione*.”—(ii. 320) An opinion of Medina’s is contemptuously rejected in the words:—“*Missa quidem fiat heteroclitica ista conclusio*.”—(i. 760). A statement made by Collet. he stigmatises as:—“*Mirum ferreaque fronte dignum. Dignum sane*,” he adds, “*hujusce causae patrociniū, dignumque patronum*!”—(i. 760). Elsewhere:—“*Est niera Colleti hallucinatio*.”—(ii. 573). And in similar terms, he speaks of one of the most eminent Italian canonists:—“*Pignatelli in eandem hallucinationem incidit*.”—(ii. 949).

The members of the illustrious Society to which Father Ballerini himself belongs are assailed with especial virulence. Thus, of an opinion held by La Croix he writes:—“*Tota debetur hallucinationi aut Croixii, aut alterius ex quo Croix exscripsit*.”—(ii. 943). Another opinion, held both by La Croix and Illsung:—“*Tota debetur hallucinationi*.”—(ii. 619). A statement of the Neapolitan Jesuit, Mazzotta:—“*Plane sonat quid absurdum*.”—(i. 228). Viva, whose writings were

highly esteemed by Benedict XIV., is attacked in the following terms:—“*Vivae adimadversio, aliaeque id genus leviores videntur quam ut theologus [P. Ballerinius] iis serio immoretur . . . judaicam potiusquam Ecclesiae spiritum redolent*.”—(i. 500). Another Jesuit writer, Comitulus, is:—“*Vir ingenii anomali*.”—(i. 414). Elsewhere we read of the same theologian:—“*Per invia et devia pro indisciplinato suo ingenio discurrit: miram pro genio suo rationem reddit portentosam . . . Omnia haec auctoris ingenio plane sunt congrua. . . . In his videas facinus Comitolo dignum*.”—(i. 760).

As for the phrases which Father Jones reserves for the last place in his climax of accusation regarding the language used in my paper, they were simply quoted, as I distinctly indicated, from two of Father Ballerini’s Notes, in which he thus states his opinion of the Spanish Jesuit, Cardenas:—“*Vir placitis suis plus aequo forte addictus . . . se, remque totam, lapsus memoria, misce implicavit*.”—(ii. 480, 452).

For some quotations which Father Ballerini regards as inaccurate, Henriquez, notwithstanding his special claims upon the reverence of every member of the Society, is paraded as:—“*Henriquez non alia sane suppellectile quam fallacium allegationum congerie fretus*.”—(ii. 573). I should have expected that even Father Ballerini would have been restrained by some feeling of reverence for the memory of the Professor of Father Suarez.

But even Suarez himself does not escape. He is, in fact, introduced as the pupil of this discredited professor:—“*Succedit Henriquezii discipulus Suarez, arreptisque e magistro tribus fallacibus allegationibus . . . non modo canonem illum repetit sed insuper novum, inauditumque ad eam usque aetatem inversum canonem statuit*.”—(*ibid.*) Again, an enumeration of authorities in his Treatise on Laws, is:—“*Incompositus quidam falsarum allegationum cumulus*.”—(i. 97). And his reasoning is as contemptible as his quotations are inaccurate: for in reference to another opinion defended by Father Ballerini, we are told:—“*Oppositam sententiam rationibus sane infirmis, primus invexit Suarez*.”—(ii. 573). In another Note, part of which I have already quoted, we read:—“*Abjecta anomala illa Soti opinione, et posthabitis ratiunculis quibus Suarez id concedi posse contendit*.”—(ii. 320). Indeed, like the Authors of the Salamanca Course, Suarez, for his treatment of this question, is denounced as the author of certain principles “*quibus forte magna ex parte deberi videtur confusio in hanc quaestionem inducta*.”—(*ibid.*)

The singular opinion held by Father Ballerini, regarding absolution from reserved sins, is well known:—“*Jurisdictionis major vel minor restrictio, modus nempe ac mensura reservationis, quando de advena seu peregrino absolvendo*

paper—in the manner which I have already explained, and with a distinct indication of my disapproval of F. Ballerini's "intolerant" tone—a few expressions taken almost at random from the copious vocabulary of vituperation of this "admirable theological critic" himself.

agatur, e legibus diocesis ad quam hic pertinet, desumi debet, minime vero e legibus reservationis quas Ordinarius Sacerdotis pro suis subditis praestituerit."—(ii. 573). Here, at least, in defending a theory at variance with views which, whether accurate or inaccurate, are at all events commonly received and acted upon throughout the Church, in the administration of the Sacrament of Penance, Father Ballerini might fairly have been expected to speak with moderation. Yet it is in one of his elaborate and declamatory Notes upon this subject that Henriquez, "and his pupil, Suarez," are assailed with such unbecoming acrimony.

But the language applied to them is moderate in comparison with that which is reserved for De Lugo. For, speaking of Henriquez and Suarez, Father Ballerini makes the patronising admission:—"Verumtamen neuter horum adhuc ausus fuit penitus abdicare principium quo oeconomia seu potius essentia iudicii hujus Sacramentalis continetur."—(ibid.) Then, turning his invective against De Lugo and Saint Alphonsus, he adds:—"Verum ne hos quidem terminos alii" (Vid. Lugo, De Pœn. Disp. xx. n. 70, et S. Alphons. Lib 6, n. 589) servaverunt." Again, of De Lugo and other theologians he writes:—"Consuetudinem, incredibili anachronismo, quando scil. ejusmodi theorias ne per somnium quidem ullus hominum cogitaverat probatam ab Eugenio IV. dixerunt."—(ibid.) And then, after a further assault upon a Spanish Jesuit, Villalobos, he complacently concludes:—"Haec vicissitudinum hujus controversiae, immensaeque confusionis in eam inductae genuina historia est."

The Pontiff Theologian, Benedict XIV., is thus denounced:—"Quod in opere suo de Synodo Diocesana Gregorii litteras . . . detorquere conetur, tantum non ad ineptias, utpote plane verbis Gregorii repugnans amandandum videtur."—(ii. 759). Again:—"Pontius et post eum Lambertinius [Benedictus XIV.] distortient hanc Constitutionem et sic ridiculam inducunt scenam Pontificis," &c.—(ibid.). Pontius, indeed, whose Treatise on Matrimony is so frequently quoted by Benedict XIV., is, perhaps, the writer for whom Father Ballerini has reserved his severest censures. Thus:—"Pontius . . . sententiam utut inanibus rationibus defendit."—(i. 332). "Ait quae omnino sunt perridicula: caeca abreptus libidine contradicendi Sanchezio . . . saepe saepius ac passim per operis sui discursum ad paradoxa absurdaque opiniones divertit. . . Alias advertimus caecum furorem contradicendi Sanchezio in ineptias et contradictiones passim hominem abrexisse."—(ii. 759). In fine:—"Ad ingenii sui ostentationem contra attulerit ratiunculam quam nemo non sprevit."—(ii. 761).

In the following passage, Benedict XIV. is again referred to in connection with Pontius:—"Dolendum quod hoc Pontii paradoxum in opus quoque irreperit [Benedicti XIV., de Synodo Diocesana] unde factum est ut haec quaestio alioquin satis simplex . . . densioribus obvolvatur tenebris et inextricabilibus difficultatibus implicetur."—(ii. 759).

My last example shall be a passage in which Father Ballerini, commenting upon Benedict XIV., having quoted Van Espen, in the exposition of a question regarding the Canon Law, makes use of language which I should not have imagined that any Catholic theologian—least of all, one writing in *Urbis luce*—would employ in reference to the works of that illustrious Pontiff:—"Falsa," he says, "est haec responsio. E quibus utique edocemur inanem esse eorum spem qui in damnatis operibus latitare thesauros sapientiae existimantes, potius e putridis hisce fontibus expiscari peregrina quam a sinceris Catholicae scholae promptuariis doctrinam hauriri satagant."—(ii. 778).

And Father Jones considers that while Father Ballerini thus scatters his sarcasm and invective broadcast over the whole field of theological literature, no critic is at liberty to make a practical remonstrance against such intolerance, by applying to its author even a few mild specimens of his own declamation. The use of "such language" applied to the Authors of the Salamanca Course, or to La Croix, or Cardenas, or Lugo, or Suarez, is "admirable theological criticism," but it is neither "modest," nor "courteous," nor "just" to apply it to Father Ballerini!

III.—FATHER BALLERINI'S NOTE.

Having thus disposed of F. Jones' attack upon myself, I come now to examine the defence which he sets up for F. Ballerini. In this he is equally unsuccessful.

He does not dispute—indeed he regards it as so obvious as to require no proof—(1) that Laymann agreed with the other Germans in adopting the ordinary German rule of the *quarta pars*, and (2) that Sporer's complaint of Laymann's severity has reference to Laymann's teaching upon a totally different question.

But he denies (1) that F. Ballerini's Note represents Laymann as differing from the other Germans with reference to the question of quantity, and (2) that it represents Sporer as complaining of Laymann for his severity upon this matter. "There is not," says F. Jones, "a vestige of any such insinuation" in F. Ballerini's Notes.

These extraordinary allegations, I admit, embarrass me. For, as our Dogmatic Theologians sometimes have occasion to remark, there are some statements so clear, that if their obvious meaning be called in question, it is not easy to present a formal proof of it clearer than the original statement itself, or likely to be available in refuting those who refuse to acknowledge what is sufficiently obvious without any proof at all. F. Jones will, I trust, excuse me for saying that such is plainly the case in the present instance.

I think it then sufficient to place the text itself of F. Ballerini's Note before your readers. Commenting on Gury's statements, that in the opinion of Saint Alphonsus the custom now commonly prevailing throughout the Church sanctions the allowance of eight ounces, but that the standard assigned by other theologians is the fourth part of the ordinary *coena*, F. Ballerini writes:—

"Ita fere Theologi Germani, habita scil. ratione locorum quae abundantior rem cibum exigunt.

"Quod enim ex mente horum DD. quarta consuetudinis coenae pars excedat mensuram octo unciarum inde patet quod Sporer (sect. 2, n. 32) amice conqueritur de Laymann, quod a regula Germanis consuetudine discesserit.

"Ego," inquit, "miror P. Paulum Laymann alias tam bonum Germanum, in hac sola materia fuisse patriotis suis tam austerum."

So, for the most part, the German Theologians, taking into account those countries in which a greater quantity of food is required.

For that in the opinion of those Doctors, the fourth part of the ordinary supper exceeds the measure of eight ounces is evident from this, that Sporer complains of Laymann's having deserted the ordinary rule of the Germans.

"I wonder," he says, "that Father Paul Laymann, in other respects so good a German, should, in this matter alone, have been so severe upon his fellow-countrymen."

Is it not plain, upon the face of this passage, that it repre-

sents (1) Lāymann as having deserted the ordinary German rule of the *quarta pars*, and (2) Sporer as complaining of Laymann's severity in this matter, and "in this matter alone"? No proof of mine could make it plainer.

IV.—FATHER JONES' APPARATUS CRITICUS.

But, plain as the meaning of the passage is, it is only due in courtesy to F. Jones to examine his theory regarding its interpretation. In the first place he admits that the force of F. Ballerini's argument, as he understands it, could "hardly be perceived at once," except by a person "familiar with the peculiar controversy which was carried on on this subject between the German theologians on the one side, and the Italians and Spaniards on the other."

This very significant remark suggests a view of F. Ballerini's Notes by no means complimentary to their distinguished author. Although inaccuracy of quotation is a serious defect in several respects, the practical inconvenience resulting from it is, in many instances, of trifling importance. But a work containing hidden snares and pitfalls, which are liable to be overlooked by persons not familiar with "peculiar controversies," or versed in the theological literature of "Germany, Italy, and Spain," is plainly a book to be shunned by the great majority of those for whose use a compendious Manual of Moral Theology is intended. For F. Ballerini's own sake I should be sorry to suppose that in this respect F. Jones has done justice to the cause of which he has constituted himself the champion.

But overlooking this point, let us examine F. Jones' key to the interpretation of F. Ballerini's Note. "A little explanation," he says, will make the matter "clear:" and his explanation is as follows:—

"The Germans, for the most part, defended the rule of the *quarta pars*: the Italians and other southerners that of the eight ounces.

"Moreover, the Germans maintained that with regard to the *quality* of food allowed at collation, there was no restriction beyond what was established for the principal meal: the Italians limited the quality to certain kinds of lighter food which they enumerated.

"Laymann, as quoted by Sporer, adopts the German rule of quantity, and gave as his reason the allowance that ought to be made in consideration of the difference in climates and persons.

"But on the question of *quality* he decided against the Germans, and with the Italians and Spaniards.

"Sporer indulges in a little good-humoured banter on this, as was natural, seeing that the controversy had assumed almost the character of a national dispute. 'I wonder,' he says, 'at Laymann, who on another matter [the question of quantity] is so good a German . . . on this question alone [of quality] should show himself so rigorous to his compatriots.'"

This, then, is Father Jones' account of the matter. And he adds:—"Sporer's remark can have no other meaning."

But F. Jones seems to forget that the question at issue is not about the meaning of "Sporer's remark." Sporer does two things: he *complains* of Laymann's severity regarding the question of which he is treating; and, incidentally, he *commends* the general character of Laymann's teaching as conformable in other respects to the traditions of the German school. To this incidental commendation, F. Jones attaches, no doubt, an extraordinary interpretation.¹ But that is a matter which does not affect the question at issue here. For, the inaccuracy with which I charge F. Ballerini, and with reference to which F. Jones has undertaken to defend him, consists in his misrepresentation of the meaning of Sporer's *complaint*. In my paper I showed that while F. Ballerini represents the complaint as referring to Laymann's view regarding the question of quantity, and rests, in fact, his whole theory upon that representation, the complaint in reality refers to a totally different matter—Laymann's view regarding the question of quality, and to that alone. This is my charge of misquotation.

Now, F. Jones, in his explanation of "Sporer's remark," expressly admits the correctness of my statement regarding the meaning of the complaint: his own paraphrase explains it as referring to "*the question of quality alone*." No other interpretation, indeed, is possible. But how F. Jones can have failed to see, that in admitting this to be its true meaning, he has virtually given up the whole case, and abandoned the defence of F. Ballerini, I am at a loss to understand.

¹ Since F. Ballerini's "plain proof," as I have stated above, is taken from the fact that Sporer complains of the severity of Laymann's teaching, and since F. Jones admits that this complaint in reality regards Laymann's teaching upon a totally different question, it is hardly necessary for me to notice his extraordinary paraphrase of Sporer's incidental remark—"alias tam bonum Germanum."

Sporer obviously meant that "*in other respects*," that is to say, apart from the question of quality, of which he was treating, and to which the complaint refers. Laymann was a loyal supporter of the traditions of the German school. But F. Jones restricts the general term "*alias*" to Laymann's teaching upon one particular question—the question of quantity—a restriction which is plainly at variance with the ordinary meaning of the word, and of which there is not the slightest indication in Sporer's text.

But, as I have already remarked, this is outside the question at issue.

If F. Jones had shown that in reality Sporer does complain of Laymann's teaching upon the question of quantity, or if he had shown that F. Ballerini does not represent Sporer as having made such a complaint, his defence in either case would have been a valid one. But seeing the impossibility of establishing either point, he does not even attempt to do so. And the result is, that he has, in reality, made no defence at all. Indeed, upon the point at issue—*F. Ballerini's misrepresentation of the plain meaning of Sporer's complaint*—F. Jones has maintained a most judicious silence.

So far, then, as the present question is concerned, it is unnecessary to enter upon an examination of the historical information which F. Jones has brought forward, and which he considers so useful an aid in unravelling the intricacies of F. Ballerini's text. Indeed, so great is the number of inaccuracies crowded together in the sentences of his letter which I have quoted, that it would be impossible, in a single number of the RECORD, to reply to them all. I will take one or two by way of specimen.

F. Jones' first "national dispute" regards the question of quantity. "The Germans," he says, "for the most part defended the rule of the *quarta pars*: the Italians and other southerners that of the eight ounces." It is somewhat strange that a writer so "familiar with this peculiar controversy," could have failed to become acquainted with the mass of evidence which the writings of the Southern theologians contain, directly at variance with the latter of these statements. Even Sporer's meagre treatment of the point ought to have suggested the necessity of caution in making such a statement. For of the "Italians and other southerners" quoted by him, the majority are against the adoption of this rule. Some, indeed, allow eight ounces: but others he quotes as allowing only *six* ounces, or *four*, or even *three*; and one of his authorities—the Italian Filliucius—is a strenuous supporter of the rule of the *quarta pars*.¹ In the treatises of Castropalao, or Leander, or in fact in any theological treatise in which this question is treated at length, F. Jones would have found the names of many other southern theologians, high authorities too—such as Azor, Bonacina, and others—who, like the writers quoted by Sporer, do not adopt the rule of eight ounces.²

What, then, is the true state of the case? Sporer states it with substantial accuracy. The Germans for the most part adopted the rule of the *quarta pars*, so that the quantity

¹ See SPORER. *De Jejunio*. Sect. ii. n. 26.

² See AZOR. *Instit. Moral.* Lib. 7, cap. viii. Quaes. 8^o. Also BONACINA, *De Præceptis Ecclesiae*. Punct. 3. n. 2.

allowed would vary in different individuals. The southern theologians, on the other hand, laid down mathematical rules, *assigning a fixed number of ounces*, so that the same quantity would be allowed to all. But it is obvious, and the opinions enumerated by Sporer show, that this is very different from adopting the rule of *eight ounces*. It is not easy to understand how a point so very obvious was overlooked by F. Jones.

But his statements regarding the "national dispute" upon the question of quality are still more inexplicable. The three sentences in which he deals with this question contain each a serious and substantial misstatement of the facts of the case. With two of these, which regard matters of detail, I need not occupy your space. For, in fact, F. Jones has made a fundamental mistake in supposing that there was upon this subject any "national dispute" at all.

With regard to the question of *quality*, theologians, whether Germans, Italians, or Spaniards, all but unanimously teach that the established custom of each country is to be followed, and that, consequently, the question, whether a particular kind of food can be taken, is to be decided, not by examining any abstract theological principles, but by ascertaining the lawfully established usage of the country in question. And thus, the Italians and Spaniards, writing for their own countries where usage had restricted the collation to certain lighter kinds of food which they enumerated—bread, fruit, herbs, and the like—taught of course that other kinds of food—such as butter, cheese, or even vegetables—could not be taken. The German theologians, on the other hand, finding that in Germany a more liberal usage had prevailed, had no difficulty in sanctioning a more liberal allowance. And thus, although different rules were laid down by the theologians of different countries, there was, in reality, no controversy or dispute, "national" or otherwise, between them.

An example will make my meaning plainer. Theologians are substantially agreed that not only with reference to quantity and quality, but also with reference to the *time* at which the collation may be taken, the usage of each country should be followed. Consequently, as the usage of taking the collation in the *evening* prevails, for instance, in Italy, the Italian theologians teach that to take it in the *morning* is a violation of the law. But in other countries, for instance in Ireland, the contrary usage prevails: the collation is taken in the morning; and no second opinion is entertained regarding the lawfulness of conforming, in Ireland, to this usage. Now, surely, Father

Jones would not say that, therefore, there is between Italy and Ireland a controversy upon this subject "assuming almost the character of a national dispute." And yet, his statement regarding the "national dispute" upon the question of quality rests upon no better foundation.

Indeed, so far from engaging in any controversy such as Father Jones describes, the theologians of the various nationalities, while laying down the rule to be observed in their own countries, expressly recognise the different usages—more or less liberal as the case may be—which prevail elsewhere, and the lawfulness or obligation of conforming to them where they exist. Thus, for instance, the southern theologians fully recognise the lawfulness of following the more liberal usages which exist in some northern countries, and especially in Germany.¹

Is it strange, then, that I should not have been "familiar with the history" of a "national dispute" which had no existence? Or that F. Jones should have so completely failed to perceive the obvious meaning of F. Ballerini's Note, since he considered that this "peculiar" history was to guide him in its interpretation?

V.—THE GERMAN THEOLOGIANS.

Omitting, as far as possible, all further reference to the controversy between F. Jones and myself, I shall bring my letter to a close by examining in what light the German theologians themselves regarded the rule of the *quarta pars* which they laid down. Is it, as F. Ballerini states, plain that they considered that the quantity thus indicated was more than eight ounces?

I do not, of course, suppose that F. Ballerini's statement means that in *the case of every individual* a quantity greater than eight ounces was allowed by the German theologians. Their rule was, from the nature of the case, indeterminate; and the quantity allowed by its operation in any individual case would be eight ounces, or more, or less, according as the quantity taken by the individual at his ordinary *coena* was equal to two pounds (32 ounces), greater than that quantity, or less than it. And hence, although in many instances, the

¹ For instance:—"Docent doctores *ova non esse materiam collationis* . . . In collatione illicitum est edere *lacticinia* . . . Improbabile tamen non est, ut docet Laymann, quod in *septentrionalibus regionibus*, ubi fructuum inopia est, possint jejunantes *modico caso* cum pane in collatione vesci . . . Quia *consuetudo* id honestat."—SALMANT. Tract 23. cap. i. n. 81.

And:—"In hac parte *consuetudini* . . . standum est. Recte docent de ovis et lacticiniis non esse pro collatiuncula permissa, *nisi forte in aliqua Provincia* . . . permissum est sumere frustulum casei vel butyri cum pane."—CASTROPALAO. Tract 30, Disp. iii. n. 6.

quantity allowed by the German rule would, of necessity, be less than eight ounces, F. Ballerini's statement could not be reasonably objected to, if it were true the German theologians, as a body, considered that more than eight ounces was allowed by their rule, in its ordinary operation.

But is it plain that German theologians regarded their rule as even in this limited sense, allowing more than eight ounces at the collation? Unquestionably not. And, in fact, so many plain indications that they adopted the contrary view of the case are to be met with in the works of many of the German theologians, that I am at a loss to conceive how any writer, whose opinion upon the subject was formed from an examination of the works of the German theologians themselves, could have fallen into the misconception on which F. Ballerini's Note is based.

In the first place, it is surely not without significance that in illustrating by examples the practical operation of their rule, they represent the quantity taken at the ordinary *coena* sometimes as low as *sixteen* ounces, sometimes at larger quantities up to *thirty-two* ounces; but scarcely in a single instance—if, indeed, any instance at all can be found—do they contemplate a larger quantity than this. So that, as far as can be inferred from the examples given by the German theologians themselves, the quantity allowed at collation would not exceed eight ounces. Thus, as I stated in my paper, the highest number of ounces contemplated by Sporer is *thirty*. Again, take Elbel:—"Eum," he says, "qui pro ordinaria coena indiget duabus libris [unciis 32] posse tutâ conscientîâ sumere mediam libram [uncias 8] pro collatiunculâ. Qui vero non indiget nisi unicâ duntaxat librâ [unciis 16] posse sumere quartam partem unius libri [uncias 4] et non amplius."¹ And so, too, as far as I know, every other German theologian of standard authority who has illustrated by examples the operation of the German rule.

Secondly, it is still more significant that few of the German theologians contemplate at all the case of an ordinary *coena* of which the fourth part would amount to eight ounces. I may refer for example to the way in which this point is dealt with by Babenstuber,² Struggl,³ and Holzmann.⁴ And, with scarcely an exception, the writers who do contemplate such

¹ ELBEL, *Theol. Moral.* De Jejunio, n. 481.

² "Si in coena ordinariæ soleas comedere v.g. libram, in collatione licite sumis quadrantem librae."—BABENSTUBER, *Theol. Moral.* De Jejunio, n. 15.

³ STRUGGL. (*Theol. Moral.* De Jejunio, n. 25,) gives the same example as Babenstuber, almost in the same words.

⁴ HOLZMANN (*Theol. Moral.* De Jejunio, cap. 4, cas. 4), illustrates his rule by the same example.

a case, plainly convey that they regard it as an extreme one. Sporer, for instance, when endeavouring to show that, in some cases, eight ounces will be allowed by the German rule, evidently shrinks from proposing the case of a person taking thirty-two ounces at his ordinary *coena*; and having recourse to round numbers, says that some persons are in the habit of taking *thirty* ounces, in which case eight ounces may lawfully be taken at collation.¹

Omitting other plain indications of the view taken by the German theologians, that indeed will occur to any reader familiar with their works, I shall add but one more, which, however, would in itself be sufficient to determine the point.

Many of the German theologians, when they institute a comparison of the two rules—that of the *quarta pars*, and that of the eight ounces—state without hesitation that *the rule of the eight ounces is the more liberal of the two*.

But here, although unwilling to refer to F. Jones in my remarks upon this question, which, as I have already remarked, is quite distinct from the question at issue between him and me, I cannot altogether omit to notice those passages of his letter, in which, partly by direct statement, partly by insinuation, he conveys the idea that Laymann's treatment of the subject implies a comparison of the two rules, and a preference of the German view, on the ground that it allows more than eight ounces, "*giving as his reason*," says F. Jones, "*the allowance that ought to be made in consideration of the difference in climates and persons*," or, as it is put more explicitly a little farther on, "*admitting the special claims of his compatriots, on the ground of their cold climate, to the quarta pars, instead of eight ounces*."²

Of course, if it were true that Laymann dealt with the question in this way, it would be an unanswerable proof that he, at all events, regarded the German rule as the more liberal of the two. But what is the fact? So far from Laymann's indicating that he regarded the German rule as more liberal—or, in fact, from instituting any comparison at all between it and the rule of eight ounces—he *does not, directly or indirectly, mention, or even make the most remote allusion, to the rule of eight ounces*, or indeed to any other rule than that which he adopts—the German rule of *quarta pars*.

I stated this very distinctly in my paper.³ F. Jones must have overlooked my statement when he claimed, as he has done, the authority of Laymann in support of F. Ballerini's theory?

¹ I quoted the passage in full in the March number of the RECORD, page 269.

² See F. Jones' letter in the RECORD for April, p. 330.

³ IRISH ECCLESIASTICAL RECORD. Vol. x. n. 113, p. 258 (March, 1874).

But other German theologians have instituted a comparison of the two rules, and their opinion, plainly and distinctly expressed, is very far from sustaining the view taken by F. Ballerini, and by F. Jones.

Illsung's treatment of the question is worth quoting at length: for in addition to the decisive testimony which it conveys regarding the quantity allowed by the German rule, it throws considerable light upon the origin of F. Ballerini's misconception of this question. He introduces the subject by stating that Diana stigmatises the German rule as too lax. Yet, he continues, Diana himself allows eight ounces to be taken—a quantity which, unless the ounces he speaks of are very small—seems “not to be less, but *greater than the quantity allowed by the rule which he rejects.*” For, adds Illsung, “*si octo unciae quater multiplicantur, prodibunt 32, quae possunt homini non laborioso et ad jejunium adstricto, pro coena ordinaria non solum omnino sufficere, sed etiam redundare.* Certe non immerito inquit Tamburini, quod communiter *vix ad 32 uncias, hominum coena soleat ascendere.*¹

So far, then, were the German writers from plainly indicating, as F. Ballerini so confidently alleges, that by their rule of the *quarta pars* they intended to allow a larger quantity than eight ounces, that, on the contrary, when this view of their rule was put forward by Diana—like F. Ballerini, an Italian theologian—it was formally and emphatically rejected by the German writers themselves.

Is it “unfair” or “inconsiderate” to suggest, after considering all the evidence which I have brought forward, that F. Ballerini's view upon the meaning of the German rule was not formed from an examination of the works of the German writers? Indeed, my last extract, from Illsung leaves, I think, little room for doubt as to the source from which F. Ballerini's view was derived.

For, I may add, this is not the only instance in which the influence of Diana can be traced in F. Ballerini's edition of Gury. Careful readers of his Notes can hardly have failed to observe that the authority of this writer is not unfrequently cited, that many of his views are defended, and, most significant of all, that while writers like Benedict XIV., Saint Alphonsus, De Lugo, and Suarez, are treated, to say the least, with scant courtesy, the name of Diana is never introduced in the language of sarcasm or invective, and is not unfrequently mentioned with marked respect.

Is it out of place, then, to add a word of warning upon this head? F. Ballerini describes this writer as—“*virum scientia et*

¹ ILLSUNG. *Theologia Practica*. De Temperantia, n. 40.

eruditione perinsignem," and he adds, that it is a mistake to regard him as unduly lax in his opinions.¹ But Saint Alphonsus has told us in language, the moderation of which does not lessen its force:—"Diana . . . in seligendis sententiis ut plurimum in benignam partem declinat, *et non raro declinat plus quam par est.*"²

And, if I am not mistaken, this judgment of a Doctor of the Church—even though not written *in luce Urbis*—will not, on that account, fail to command the respect of all who take an interest in the examination of such questions as this, or to be regarded by them as a sufficient indication of the danger of accepting with implicit confidence the theological *dicta* of F. Ballerini.

I have the honor to be,

Rev. and dear sir,

Most faithfully yours,

W. J. WALSH.

DOCUMENT.

*Dilectis Filiis Nostris S. R. E. Cardinalibus et Venerabilibus
Fratribus Archiepiscopis et Episcopis Imperii Austriaci.*

PIUS PP. IX.

Dilecti Filii Nostri et Venerabiles Fratres Salutem et Apostolicam Benedictionem.

VIX dum a Nobis catholico orbi denunciata fuerat per litteras datas die 24 Novembris, anno superiori, persecutio immanis contra Ecclesiam Dei, in Borussia et Helvetia praesertim, excitata; quum nova moerori Nostro accessit sollicitudo ex allatis nunciis de aliis iniuriis impendentibus eidem Ecclesiae, quae Sponso Divino similis effecta, iam et ipsa conqueri merito potest ea prophetica voce: *super dolorem vulnerum meorum addiderunt*,³ Quibus iniuriis eo gravius angimur quod a Gubernio irrogentur Austriacae Nationis, quae iam pridem maximis Christianae reipublicae temporibus huic Sedi Apostolicae coniunctissima pro catholica fide strenue decertavit.

Equidem iam aliquot ab hinc annis quaedam in isto Imperio latae sunt leges et ordinationes sanctissimis Ecclesiae iuribus et sollemnibus pactis conventis plane adversae, quas in Nostra allocutione ad Venerabiles Fratres S. R. E. Cardi-

¹ Vid. GURY. Ed. Ballerini, Romae, 1863, p. xvi., *nota*.

² S. LIGUORI. *Theologia Moral*. De Eucharistia, n. 257.

³ Psalm 68, 27.

nales habita die 22 Iunii anno 1868, condemnare et irritas declarare pro officii Nostri munere debuimus. Nunc vero publicis Imperii Comitii expendendae et approbandae proponuntur novae leges, quae eo manifeste spectant, ut catholica Ecclesia in perniciosissimam servitutem sub arbitrio civilis auctoritatis contra divinam Iesu Christi Domini Nostri institutionem, omnino redigatur.

Humani enim generis Creator et Redemptor Ecclesiam fundavit tanquam visibile suum in terris regnum, non modo supernaturali charismate infallibilis magisterii ad sacram doctrinam tradendam, et sanctissimi sacerdotii ad divinum cultum animarumque sanctificationem sacrificio et sacramentis promovendam, verum etiam propria et plena regiminis potestate instructum ad ferendas leges, ad iudicia exercenda, ad salubrem coercionem adhibendam in rebus omnibus quae ad proprium finem regni Dei in terris pertineant.

Quoniam vero supernaturalis haec regiminis ecclesiastici potestas, ex ipsa Iesu Christi institutione, diversa prorsus, est atque independens ab imperio politico; idcirco ipsum regnum Dei in terris regnum est societatis perfectae, quod continetur et gubernatur suis legibus, suis iuribus, suis praepositis, qui pervigilant quasi rationem pro animabus reddituri non civilis societatis rectoribus, sed principi pastorum Iesu Christo, a quo dati sunt pastores et doctores nulli terrenae potestati in obeundo ministerio salutis obnoxii.¹ Quare sicut ad sacros Antistites munus regendi, ita ad omnes fideles, monente Apostolo, officium pertinet eisdem obediendi et subiaccendi; et proinde etiam populis catholicis sanctissimum ius est, ne in hoc officio divinitus iniuncto sequendi doctrinam, disciplinam ac leges Ecclesiae a civili gubernio impediuntur.

Iamvero ipsi Nobiscum probe intelligitis, Dilecti Filii Nostri et Venerabiles Fratres, quam gravis violatio huius divinae constitutionis Ecclesiae quam intollerabilis subversio iurium Apostolicae Sedis, sacrorum Antistitum, ipsiusque populi catholici in earum legum rogatione, de quibus apud Austriaca Comitia nunc agitur, contineatur, et palam promulgetur.

Nam secundum easdem leges Ecclesia Iesu Christi in omnibus fere rationibus et actionibus, quae ad regimen fidelium spectant, supremo civilis auctoritatis imperio prorsus obnoxia et subiecta existimatur atque habetur; idque in ea *Motivorum* expositione, quae vim et sensum propositarum legum explicat, aperte veluti principii loco statuitur. Hinc etiam declaratur diserte, Gubernii civilis esse ex suprema sua potestate leges ferre quemadmodum de civilibus, ita etiam de ecclesiasticis rebus, utpote quod Ecclesiae advigilare et dominari debeat non

¹ Cf. Hebr. 13, 17. Eph. 4, 11. 1 Petr. 5, 2.

secus ac aliis quibuscumque civium societatibus privatis mereque humanis intra Imperii fines existentibus.

Itaque civile Gubernium sibi arrogat tum iudicium ac proinde magisterium de constitutione et iuribus Ecclesiae catholicae, tum supremum eiusdem regimen, quod partim per se ipsum suis legibus suaque actione partim per ecclesiasticos viros sibi mancipatos exerceat. Quo fit, ut potestati sacrae ad regendam Ecclesiam, ad opus ministerii atque ad aedificationem Corporis Christi divinitus institutae arbitrium et vis subrogetur terreni imperii. Contra huiusmodi sacrorum usurpationes pro iure et veritate catholica respondet magnus Ambrosius: "Allegatur, imperatori licere omnia, ipsius esse universa. Respondeo: noli te gravare ut putes te in ea, quae divina sunt, imperiale aliquod ius habere. Noli te extollere, sed esto Deo subditus. Scriptum est: quae Dei, Deo; quae Caesaris, Caesari. Ad imperatorem palatia pertinent, ad sacerdotem Ecclesiae."¹

Quod vero ad ipsas leges attinet, quibus memorata *Motivorum* expositio praefigitur licet eae speciem aliquam moderationis praeseferre fortasse videantur, si cum novissimis Borussiae legibus comparentur, re tamen vera eiusdem rationis et indolis sunt, eademque Catholicae Ecclesiae in Austriaca ditione parant perniciem.

Nolumus singula earumdem legum capita sequi: verum silentio praeterire nullo modo possumus gravissimam iniuriam, quae ipsa harum legum propositione infertur Nobis ipsis et huic Apostolicae Sedi, nec minus vobis, Dilecti Filii Nostri et Venerabiles Fratres, ac toto populo Catholico istius Imperii. Conventio nimirum inter Nos et serenissimum Imperatorem anno 1855 inita, ac ab eodem catholico principe solemnitione munita totique Imperio instar publicae legis promulgata, nunc Imperii Comitibus declaranda proponitur tanquam omni prorsus ex parte abrogata et irrita idque nulla cum hac Apostolica Sede tractatione praegressa, immo et iustissimis Nostris expostulationibus plane contemptis. Haec profecto iis temporibus, quibus fides publica adhuc valuit, ne tentari quidem potuissent; nunc vero in hac tristissima rerum conditione et tentantur et perficiuntur. Contra hanc sollemnis pacti conventi violationem coram vobis, Dilecti Filii Nostri ac Venerabiles Fratres, iterum protestamur; multo vero magis intimo animi Nostri dolore denunciamus ac reprobamus iniuriam illam toti Ecclesiae illatam, dum et huius Concordatus abrogationis et ceterarum connexarum legum causa et excusatio audacter refertur ad definitiones revelatae doctrinae ab Oecumenico Vaticano Concilio editas, atque haec ipsa catho-

lica dogmata impie appellantur innovationes et commutationes doctrinae fidei et Constitutionis Ecclesiae catholicae.¹ Equidem si qui sunt in Austriaca ditione qui nefariis eiusmodi commentis catholicam fidem abiiciant, eam retinet ac profitetur cum gloriosis Avis suis totaque imperiali domo augustissimus Princeps, eam retinet ac profitetur longe maxima pars populi, cui leges feruntur talibus commentis innixae.

Ita Nobis insciis et invitis rescissa conventionem solemnem quam cum serenissimo imperatore celebravimus, ut animarum saluti simul et civilis reipublicae commodi prospiceretur nova quaedam forma iuris obtenditur, et nova facultas civili Gubernio vindicatur, ut marte proprio de spiritualibus, et ecclesiasticis negotiis quidquid visum fuerit, constituat atque decernat.

Id eo valet, ut iis, quae modo rogantur, legibus inviolabilis ecclesiae libertas in animarum curatione, in regimine fidelium, in religiosa institutione populi et cleri ipsius, in vita ad evangelicam perfectionem exigenda, in administratione et proprietate ipsa bonorum importunis nexibus implicetur atque praepediatur; perversio inducatur catholicae disciplinae, foveatur ab Ecclesia defectio, sectarumque coalitio et conspiratio contra veram Christi fidem legum praesidio communiatur.

Magna profecto Nobis copia Memorandi foret, quid et quantum malorum si leges huiusmodi perferantur metuendum sit; at vere prudentiam vestram, Dilecti Filii Nostri et Venerabiles Fratres, id neque fallere nec praeterire potest: scilicet officia fere omnia et beneficia ecclesiastica, imo et exercitium pastoralium munerum ita civili potestati fient obnoxia, ut sacri Antistites, si novis iuribus (quod absit) acquiescerent, regimen dioecesium, pro quo districte rationem Deo sunt reddituri, non amplius iuxta saluberrima Ecclesiae praescripta retinere, sed ad nutum et arbitrium eorum qui reipublicae praefuerint, tractare et moderari cogerentur. Quid porro ex iis rogationibus expectandum erit, quae de agnitione religiosorum ordinum inscribuntur? Earum sane noxia vis et mens inimica tam aperta est, ut nemo non intelligat, eas ad corruptionem et perniciem religiosarum familiarum excogitatas esse et comparatas. Temporalium denique bonorum iactura, quae imminet, tanta est, ut a manifesta publicatione et direptione vix differat. Ea bona siquidem post infensas leges probatas, civile Gubernium in potestatem suam erit redacturum, sibi ius et fas esse ducet ea dividere, conferre et vectigalibus impositis sic extenuare, ut misera quae dabitur possessio et usus, non ad Ecclesiae decus, sed ad eius ludibrium et ad velamentum iniustitiae relictæ haud immerito existimetur.

¹ Motivorum Expos., p 25.

Quum hae sint leges de quibus in publicis Austriaci imperii comitiis disceptatur, et iis, quae demonstravimus, principiis nitantur, perspecta vobis plane sunt, Dilecti Filii Nostri et Venerabiles Fratres, praesentia pericula quae gregibus vigilantiae vestrae concredit, impendunt. Unitas namque et pax Ecclesiae in discrimen vocatur, illudque agitur ut ei libertas adimatur, quam S. Thomas Cantuariensis scienter dixit: "animam esse Ecclesiae, sine qua nec viget nec valet adversus eos qui quaerunt hereditate sanctuarium Dei possidere."¹ Quam sententiam iam antea defensor alter ejusdem libertatis invictus, S. Anselmus verbis hisce explicaverat: "Nihil magis diligit Deus in hoc mundo quam libertatem Ecclesiae suae; qui ei volunt non tam prodesse quam dominari, procul dubio Deo probantur adversari: liberam vult esse Deus sponsam suam non ancillam."² Qua propter pastorem sollicitudinem vestram, et zelum quo flagratis pro domo Dei, magis magisque excitamus et incendimus, ut periculum quod instat, contendatis amovere. Magnos sumite animos, quibus dignum virtute vestra certamen obeatis. Certum namque Nobis est, nihil vos fore animis neque virtute minores iis Venerabilibus Fratribus, qui alibi inter vexationes acerbissimas pro hac ipsa libertate Ecclesiae opprobriis et tribulationibus spectaculum facti non modo rapinam bonorum suorum cum gaudio suscipiunt, sed etiam in vinculis certamen sustinent passionum.³

Ceterum non in viribus nostris sed in virtute Dei spes omnis posita est; Dei namque causa agitur, qui oraculo nunquam defecturo nos ita praemonuit et erexit: In mundo pressuram habebitis, sed confidite, ego vici mundum.⁴ Nos itaque, qui pro munere Nostro Apostolico in hoc bello tam vario et atroci contra Ecclesiam indicto, divina gratia infirmitatem Nostram roborante, duces constituti sumus, ea vobis renunciamus ac spondemus, quae S. Martyr Cantuariensis verbis olim expressit huic aetati et periculo apprime congruentibus; "Causa quam contra nos exercent inimici Ecclesiae, inter ipsos et Deum est, quia nos nihil aliud ab eis quaerimus, nisi quod Ecclesiae suae aeterno testamento pro ea in suscepta carne immortalis reliquit Deus. In fide ergo et charitate Christi exurgatis Nobiscum in auxilium Ecclesiae, et auctoritate et prudentia vobis collata occurrere hominibus, quibus nullorum successuum copia sufficit, si Ecclesia Dei gaudet libertate. Confidimus in vobis abundantius, praesertim in causa Dei. De nobis autem pro certo tenete, quia satius ducimus mortem incurrere temporalem, quam miserae servitutis angustias perpetuare. Nam huius

¹ S. Thom. Cantaur. ep. 75, ad Episc. Angliae.

² S. Anselm. Epist. 9 ad Balduinum regem.

³ Heb. 10, 32 seq. ⁴ Io., 16, 33.

controversiae exitus trahetur ad consequentiam temporum futurorum, ut Ecclesia aut perpetuis, quod absit, aerumnis lugeat, aut perenni gaudeat libertate.”¹

Quum autem vobis interea adnitendum sit, ut quae instant pericula, auctoritate, prudentia et studiis vestris praecaveatis, nihil utilius atque opportunius fore intelligitis, quam ut collatis consiliis disquiratis ac deliberetis quaenam rationes viaeque aptiores suppetant, quo certius atque efficacius propositum finem assequamini. Dum Ecclesiae iura impetuntur, vestrum est ut adscendentes ex adverso murum opponatis pro domo Israel; solidius vero propugnaculum erit et defensio validior, quo magis concors et in unum conspirans singulorum opera et conatus erit; et quo diligentius praevisa et constituta fuerit agendi ratio pro varia necessitate rerum quae forte ceciderint, adhibenda. Quare vos etiam atque etiam hortamur ut quamprimum conveniatis in unum, et communicatis consiliis normam constituatis certam omnibusque probatam, qua pro officii vestri ratione propulsetis unanimes mala ingruentia, et Ecclesiae libertatem fortiter tueamini. Haec ideo vos a Nobis moneri par erat, ne officio Nostro in tanta rei gravitate deesse videremur. Nam persuasum Nobis est, vos etiam citra hortationes Nostras haec ultro fuisse effecturos. Alioquin nondum spem omnem abieciimus fore ut eas quae protenduntur calamitates, alio tramite Deus avertat. Nos enim movet ad bene sperandum pietas et religio Carissimi in Christo Filii Nostri Francisci Iosephi Imperatoris et Regis, quem Nos novis litteris hodierna die ad ipsum datis enixe obsecravimus, ne unquam committere velit, ut in amplissima ditione sua inhonestae servituti tradatur Ecclesia, et catholici cives eius imperio subiecti in summas angustias adducantur.

Quoniam vero multi adversus Ecclesiam connituntur et mora quaevis plena semper periculo est, vos minime oportet desides conquirere. Praesit Deus consiliis vestris, et potenti praesidio suo vos adiuvet, ut quae ad decus Nominis Eius et animarum salutem maxime pertinent constituere et perficere feliciter valeatis. In auspiciis autem caelestis huius praesidii et praecipuae benevolentiae Nostrae testimonium Apostolicam Benedictionem vobis universis et singulis, Dilecti Filii Nostri et Venerabiles Fratres, nec non Clero et fidelibus vigilantiae vestrae commissis peramanter impertimus.

Datum Romae apud S. Petrum die VII Martii anno Domini MDCCCLXXIV. Pontificatus Nostri vicesimoctavo.

PIUS PP. IX.

¹ S. Thom. Cant., ep. 38.

THE IRISH ECCLESIASTICAL RECORD.

JUNE, 1874.

ON THE CORRECT TREATMENT OF ANCIENT HISTORY.¹

BEFORE entering on the subject of the present lecture, it seems but natural I should say a few words on the special circumstances under which I resume the duties of this chair. Congenial and attractive as I always felt the office originally entrusted to me in the Catholic University, I was yet induced to resign it when called upon to conduct the education of one destined by his birth to fill a place of importance exceptional, even in the eyes of Europe, as the heir of a great historic name, and the leader of the Catholics of England.² Since then, nearly eight years have rolled away—a large space, indeed, not only in the life of a man, but in our times a space far from trifling even in the life of states and nations—a space affording room enough for empires to fall, for constitutions to be re-modelled, for establishments to be swept away: and it is needless to say, that even these words do not exhaust either the number or the magnitude of the changes which these eight years have brought with them. A mind that can pass through such scenes unimpressed, that has failed to expand according to its sphere, when placed under influences so potent, would be little worthy of such a trust as that with which the Prelates of Ireland have again thought fit to honour me. In saying this, I know that I may seem most rashly to be inviting a comparison between ideas and their fulfilment, which may redound hereafter to my own humiliation. But, in point of fact, this danger is involved in the very nature of the task we all of us in this place have accepted, and we gain nothing by shutting our eyes to it. Education of the highest order is placed in our hands, be they strong or be they feeble;

¹ A Lecture delivered before the Catholic University of Ireland, on April 30, 1874.

² The Lecturer here alluded to Henry Duke of Norfolk.

and must be advanced or retarded according to the talents we can apply to it, but far more according to the use which we make of those talents. There is one further personal circumstance to which I must allude. Their Lordships, in re-appointing me to the chair of Greek and Latin Literature, have thought proper to add to it that of Ancient History, a subject which peculiarly harmonizes with the former. It is, however, a branch of education in which it is easy to commit errors, and errors of a more serious kind than in the discussion of mere literature, of taste and criticism, and of the interpretation of authors. I propose, therefore, in the present lecture, to guard against such errors by considering the principles which ought to govern our treatment of Ancient History; but must at the outset endeavour to make it clear what Ancient History is understood to mean, and what range we may allow ourselves in its exposition.

First, then, the term "ancient" is here used in a sense somewhat conventional and arbitrary. Strictly speaking, Sacred History belongs to times the most ancient of all, and yet, many as its points of contact with our present subject are, and greatly as they are multiplying under the action of discovery, this most weighty study does not come directly within the province of Ancient History; nor, at the other end of the chain, does Ecclesiastical History, even though it is intertwined in every direction with our materials, and though their proper development, for a considerable period, demands a much more extensive use of the writings of the Fathers of the Church than has commonly been made of them. Accordingly, we shall understand Ancient History in the received acceptation which limits it (and with the limitation affords, indeed, an ample space for our researches), to the records of Greek and Roman antiquity, including those nations with whom the Greeks and Romans successively came in contact. Thus Egypt, Assyria, Carthage, Judæa, come within our scope, as to all which we shall have to avail ourselves of the special results obtained by those who, in our own day, have added so wonderfully, by philological or physical explorations, to anything which the wreck of the written monuments of the classical nations, hitherto accessible, could supply. Ancient History, as here taken, forms a connected whole, and the principle which we shall adopt as interpreting that whole is Christianity. Others, and they form a very large number among the modern teachers of this great subject, seek, in the development of civilization or the progress of the human race, for that unifying element which is required to give form to the mass of facts which historical science has to mould. The Catholic Church gives us

another organic principle, which influenced beforehand even the proudest civilization in its cradle, and in harmony or conflict with which, since its appearance, all civilizations must work themselves out.

Of Ancient History therefore having the range here described, the nearer boundary in point of time will be the rise and establishment of Christianity. I may here notice a disposition occasionally shown to throw the boundary on this side further back. It has been suggested, for example, to make modern history commence with the battle of Actium; but such a supposition could not approve itself to any one who felt what Christianity is, and how completely it divides off all that went before from all that follows its advent. When was ancient history first so denominated? I cannot say; but very soon after the rise of Christianity, people began to talk of the writers of Greece and Rome before that epoch as "ancient." The reason was, that when such a moral interval has been formed, such a μέγα χάσμα between the present and the past, time is hardly measured by years. Individual experience will throw light upon this effect. You must have felt, after any great event in life, after one of those incidents which settle a man's career for good or for evil, which revolutionize his mind and circumstances, and make him a different man from what he was before, that it assumes almost instantly the marks of remoteness, that yesterday seems as if it were days and weeks ago, that you can scarcely believe it possible that, a month or two back, you were in a state so entirely different from that in which you now find yourself. So it was with the world before and after Christianity. When once that light had dawned upon it, what went before fell back into darkness, and was swallowed up in the region of thought we call antiquity. Nor, as the world went on, did antiquity, so called, seem more antique, because the moral remoteness of Paganism remained the same, neither more nor less, to successive generations of Christians. The last Constantine was separated from the first by a lapse of time much longer than that which parted the age of the Antonines from the Regal period; and yet to him the founder of Constantinople could not have appeared to belong to Ancient History in the same sense as the founder of Rome must to the Christians in the reign of M. Aurelius. The four centuries that have flowed away since the taking of Constantinople by the Turks do not make that event part of ancient history to us, nor will as many more make it such to those who shall then be upon earth. To resume, however, the nearer limit cannot be made to coincide with a year. Pagan worship still lingered till the time of St. Benedict, who destroyed

the temple of Apollo on Monte Cassino, and in the Morea, it is said, even a good deal later. But for convenience sake, and as an approximation, we may consider that Ancient History ends with the fall of the Western Empire. It is true there is a continuity of Greek literature and of political events down to the taking of Constantinople by the Turks, or to the time when ancient Greek finally passes into Romaic, but a different order of things is visible—mediæval history—with which we have nothing at present to do, except by way of anticipation and illustration.

I have stated the time about which Ancient History ends. Its beginning, that is to say, the beginning of Greek and Roman history, notwithstanding the conventional starting-point of the first Olympiad, is, like its conclusion, indeterminate, but for other reasons. In endeavouring to fix it, we find ourselves in an uncertain territory, a debateable ground, of which fable and history contend for the possession. Such is the tale of Troy, and the earliest part of the Roman story. In a famous passage with which Plutarch commences his *Lives*, he compares the wild stories accumulated by the fancy of poets and mythologists, at the outskirts of real history, to the notices which the ancient geographers made in their charts of lands remote from those of which they had any sure knowledge. We, indeed, before the discoveries of such men as Speke, Burton, and Livingstone, can recollect the old maps of Africa which so stimulated the youthful imagination by their wide blanks, over which were marked the mysterious words "unknown," or "unexplored." The ancient geographers, to whom Plutarch alludes, instead of such confession of ignorance, would say of regions beyond their ken :—Here are arid shores, the haunts of wild beasts, or quaking mud, or Scythian cold, or a frozen ocean—in short, they were content to leave all that was outside of familiar access, in possession of the vague, exaggerated, or delusive rumours circulated among the people by travellers who had spoken from hearsay. Now Plutarch deals with the corresponding confusion in the early Greek and Roman story in this way. He says :—"Let it be permitted us to clear away the fabulous by the exercise of reason, and to get a glimpse of history ; but where it obstinately resists credibility, and admits of no commixture with the probable, we will ask for fair-minded hearers who will indulgently receive what archæology has to tell them." Livy before him hardly proposes so much. He is satisfied to let the brilliant curtain of fable hang before real history as some beautiful drop-scene, to amuse the audience till the serious action of the play commences. "As for the matters before the city of Rome was

built or building," he remarks in his preface, "adorned rather with poetic tales than with the uncorrupted records of real events, these I am not minded either to assert or deny." And again: "In affairs so ancient, I should be content if things that are like truth be accepted as true." So that as regards them, he takes little trouble save to frame a narrative tolerably consistent, and as artistically put together as his splendid powers of description enabled him to present it. Livy might have learned a better ideal from the great Greek historians with whom he was certainly familiar. Thucydides, in whom the reasoning faculty was as strong as the imaginative was in Livy, whilst he alleged the testimony of Homer on the early political state of Greece with some diffidence, subjected it to a searching deductive examination; drew inferences from it in such a manner as to erect it, in the course of a few chapters, the very science of history. He is far from showing the indolence and indifference (for scepticism is not the word to apply here), displayed in what I have quoted from Livy. Homer tells us that Agamemnon ruled over many islands and all Argos. Then, says Thucydides, if he ruled over islands, he must have had a navy. Homer tells us that the Bœotian ships had 120 men; those of Philoctetes 50. Thucydides infers that he means to give the largest contingent and the smallest: obtaining therefore the mean, he draws a conclusion as to the whole number of the Greek army before Troy. The siege lasted ten years. How was it they could not take the city sooner? Because they could not act upon it with their whole force at once, having to employ a part in agriculture, and in plundering, for the support of the rest. The Homeric poems, and in general the mass of traditionary information about the ancient settlements of Greece, in what are now-a-days called "the pre-historic times," were evidently received by him as documents affording a foundation of truth, on which he reasons, dismissing any consideration of the marvels by which they are set off. Allowing for the difference between a mind of wonderful maturity, and one of a very child-like, though inquisitive and truth-loving character, Herodotus treats them in the same way. For example, the old mythology had said that Thessaly was once a vast lake, and that Poseidon had opened a way for the waters by making a channel for the river Peneus through the mountains. Herodotus, who had examined the country, thinks that this opening through the mountains was the work of an earthquake, but that whoever holds that Poseidon causes earthquakes and the chasms effected by them, would attribute it to him. Thus, without actually denying the action of Poseidon,

he inclines to turn the ancient legend into a physical allegory. It was reserved for Euhemerus, a Sicilian Greek, in a much later period, to devise a regular system for obtaining facts out of the mythology, which he, as it were, translated into history by the simple process of assuming that the so-called gods were men whose real adventures had been disguised by the poetic dress in which they had been set forth. In short, one way or other, the poets and the voice of popular tradition were held by the learned, as well as by the people, in ancient times, to conceal more or less of recoverable and reliable fact.

This view for ages underwent no particular change, and the most profound chronologers of modern times, from Petavius and Ussher down to those of little more than half a century ago, thought to fix the dates of events and individuals, resting only on the authority we have been considering. A great revolution in European opinion on this subject was initiated by Niebuhr about the year 1816, whose constructive genius strikes us now, more than his destructive, exaggerated as his example in the latter direction has been since his time. I may briefly describe this celebrated historian thus :—On the one hand, he excluded such events as the Trojan War and the life of Romulus from the region of history, and denied the possibility of eliciting facts out of them by any process of cutting and paring away the marvellous, which he held to be part and parcel of the legend as it has come down to us. On the other hand, he maintained quite as decidedly, if less extensively and more critically, than the ancients; that such stories cover a substratum of real truth, which he endeavoured to reach by means of stray notices collected from out-of-the-way sources, by careful comparison with the early histories of other nations, by that insight into antiquity which he believed his mind had gained by long familiarity with it, as an eye accustomed to darkness. He thus, in fact, produced a constitutional history of the development of the Roman commonwealth, which had for many years an extraordinary hold over the minds of scholars. A remarkable instance of this kind is furnished in Dr. Arnold's History of Rome. He refers the student, who wishes to go deeply into the subject of the early times, to that immortal work of Niebuhr's, who, he says, "has left other writers nothing else to do, except to copy or abridge it." Praise like this is quite certain to find its true level in the course of a generation; and must do so, unless scholarship is to be dwarfed and cramped, and all original research discouraged by such undistinguishing admiration. It must, however, be admitted that, as usual, the world has gone into the contrary extreme. Great writers on early history, of whom, among

the English, the lead was taken by Grote, have adopted the plan of sharply dividing off the historical from the non-historical period, by refusing the former title to any times the traditions of which are not supported by contemporary written records. When such written records are not producible, this school would decline to attempt an inquiry as to what truth may or may not be contained in the statements. This would at once exclude from the field of real history all the events of Greek antiquity earlier than the first Olympiad, and very many far later; and all the Roman history till at least the taking of Rome by the Gauls. Much stronger arguments than the arrogant expressions of contempt in which writers of this school are apt to indulge, seem needed to justify so sweeping a doctrine as this; though such expressions are sure to have a great fascination for minds incapable of thinking for themselves, and who imagine they possess originality, merely because they feel an admiration for thinkers who are original, or at least unhesitating. I cannot help here remarking that the *animus* shown by Mr. Grote in various parallels, stated or implied, between the Greek paganism and the Catholic religion, renders his great work not unfrequently nearly as offensive in its way as Gibbon's, to a reader who has faith, and who sees what is intended by such allusions. The sharp distinction I have described, has however led him to reproduce with fidelity and exactness the whole train of the legends, whilst abstaining from any attempt to trace history in them. Mommsen, on the contrary, does not condescend to bring the narrative of the Regal period of Rome within his scope, and if his plan were as generally followed by secondary writers as Niebuhr's was a generation ago, there would be as complete a severance in historical education from some of the most beautiful associations with antiquity we possess, as in France between the present political chaos and the order which reigned for centuries up to 1789.

Great stress is laid by the sceptical historians on the difficulty I have already noticed in speaking of Niebuhr's views, arising from the intermixture of the possible and impossible in legends which come to us on precisely the same authority. It is contended that we possess no criterion by which to determine that the possible may also be the true. Achilles and Agamemnon may have quarrelled, and their quarrel may have affected the fortunes of the Greeks; that is credible; but interwoven with this admissible particular are numerous others of an incredible kind—that Achilles was the son of a sea-goddess, that a god manufactured his armour for him, and the like, placed however by Homer on just the same

footing as those facts which we are willing to accept. We are, therefore, again asked to give up the attempt to distinguish, and to throw both classes of events into the common mass of poetry or myth from which it is in vain to try to elicit what truth may be latent under it.

Unfashionable as it certainly is—unphilosophical as it may be called—I venture to hold, not indeed to the notion that we are at all *bound* to believe the conventional Greek and Roman stories antecedent to contemporary written documents, and sifted out by rejection of the marvellous, but still that it is unwise to surrender, in the wholesale manner proposed, many interesting statements that are in various degrees probable, though we cannot certainly affirm that they are true. In the first place, the views I have been endeavouring to explain appear much too rigidly to set up contemporary written records as the only witnesses to historical fact that we can depend upon. General belief in a fact is a *presumption* it has happened. I say merely a presumption, but one which becomes a likelihood, gradually enlarging, in proportion as we can bring facts to support it. An ancient custom is one evidence, a political parallel is another, a proverb is another, a ruined wall or an encampment may speak to us where letters are silent. In no case can our evidence of historical facts ascend to mathematical certainty. It must clearly leave room for error as a possibility, though that possibility may go on diminishing and diminishing for ever. But to dismiss imperfect proof of varying value, and merge all mythical history, so called, into the one category of “not proven,” seems a procedure which ordinary prudence would call absurd. Even in that convenient form of Scotch verdicts, ample liberty is left for individual opinion as to the degrees in which a safe conclusion has been approached. We may, indeed, be told that whoever attempts to extract history out of the old myths, must do so in full reliance on his own powers of divination to distinguish truth from falsehood where no contemporary criterion is to be had. The answer is, no such powers of divination are claimed. All that we demand is merely that when complete evidence, or even evidence not very incomplete, is unattainable, due, but not overcharged weight, be given to evidence very far from being conclusive.

Let us take the Trojan War as an illustration. It is a typical instance, and just now invested with special interest by the truly remarkable discoveries of Dr. Schliemann. I am not going to recapitulate the familiar legend. It is enough to say that the war originated in the league of the Grecian chiefs to rescue Helen, who had been carried off by Paris from his kind

and hospitable host, King Menelaus, and that the whole story is mixed up with a variety of impossibilities and inconsistencies in detail. We have only Homer's poems, composed, perhaps, centuries after the facts, if they did happen—possibly much nearer the time—we know not—by way of documentary evidence. Well, Grote and his followers would suspend their judgments, or rather contemptuously relegate the whole tale to the region of fables. Another great modern authority of a different class, Professor Max Müller, proposes an allegorical explanation of the Trojan War, which he applies in principle to other Greek legends of an analogous kind. Many will find his view, as regards the Trojan War, as hard to receive as the absurdities of the story itself. He interprets it by a reference to the Vedic myths, and to etymological considerations, and maintains that Helen is nothing else than the dawn, the early brightness of the morning, which is stolen by the powers of darkness, and that the Siege of Troy merely symbolizes the daily siege of the East by the solar powers, who regain in the glories of the sunset what they had been robbed of at daybreak. Thus in the end the Greeks recover Helen for her husband. Moreover, the Sanskrit for dawn, *Saramâ*, is etymologically identical, letter for letter, and accent for accent, with the Greek name Helena, and *Panis*, the Sanskrit name for a kind of demon, closely resembles Paris.

Let us contrast with this theory, the ingenuity of which I do not deny, an illustration given of the same legend by Mitford—an historian confessedly superseded, but who in his day did more for Greek history than had been done for generations before him, and whose work will always be read with a certain interest, were it only for the freshness he has thrown round the records of Hellenic antiquity by his own strongly marked political partialities. Mitford, then, rather surprises us by going all at once to ancient Irish history for a parallel to the tale of Troy. To him it appears not strange that in half-barbaric times a war may have been enkindled between the Greeks and the Trojans by the carrying off of a princess, remembering the story of the carrying off of Dervorghal, wife of O'Ruark, king of Leitrim, by Dermot, king of Leinster. The injured monarch procures a confederacy of the neighbouring chieftains, with the king of Connaught, the most powerful prince of Ireland, at its head. Leinster is invaded, the princess recovered, and, after hostilities continued with varying success during many years, Dermot is expelled from his kingdom; upon which he went to England, and interested Henry II. in his favour, from which resulted the invasion of Strongbow. Mitford calls this "no inconsiderable collateral support to the poet's authority as a faithful relator

of facts and painter of manners." I am not concerned to examine the parallel, thus instituted, further, nor indeed am I expressing an opinion whether Helen ever existed at all. I only desire to notice the sobriety and the reasonable air of Mitford's arguments as affording an element of probability so far as it goes.

The discoveries of Dr. Schliemann, already alluded to, on what was generally taken by the ancients to be the site of the Homeric Troy, have been rendered so familiar to the public by the journals and reviews, that it is unnecessary to enter into details about them. Suffice it to say, that they cannot but in some degree disconcert the sceptical school. It is now ascertained, by excavations made from twenty-seven to fifty feet deep among the *debris*, that this site was at some very remote epoch inhabited by a highly civilized people. A tower has been found, a great wall, a double gate, a paved road leading down towards the sea, a treasure of gold goblets, armlets, and other works of art, a bronze shield of a style singularly corresponding to those described in Homer, small idols of a peculiar make, Greek inscriptions in a character antecedent to that introduced by the Phœnicians; everything fitting in with the supposition that the *Iliad* contains a substratum of truth, and in some particulars curiously coinciding with what we find there. Are we to take it that all this affords no additional probability to the general fact of the Trojan War, but that the case is left just as it was before? The same remark applies to the great works of the Regal period at Rome. We can go there and view the massive substructions on the Palatine, the agger of Servius Tullius, the cloacæ, the Mamertine prison, to us, indeed, most remarkable because of the imprisonment of the Prince of the Apostles, but laden with grim associations, going back far beyond all contemporary documents. Are we, because of the mere absence of such records, to suspend our belief in the ordinary accounts of this and the other primeval monuments—those accounts containing nothing in itself incredible?

The difficulty caused by the entanglement of traditions with the impossible or absurd, has often been met, and I think justly, by the parallel of the story of Charlemagne, and, in a less satisfactory degree, by that of King Arthur. We all know that Charlemagne was a great and powerful monarch, who existed as really as any monarch now reigning in Europe. But side by side with his real history there is a whole cycle of fable, to the general reader best recalled by those famous lines in Milton:—

When Charlema'ne, with all his peerage, fell
By Fontarabia.

Now, if the historical testimony had been lost, and the fable alone remained, should we have been justified in concluding that Charlemagne never existed? I hold, on the contrary, that we should have been justified in the inference that a personage did flourish, who impressed his contemporaries so much as to leave his name in the mouths of the people for all kinds of legends to gather round it; of a nature indeed of themselves to afford much less means of getting at intrinsic truths than the grave and massive poems of Homer. I will give another instance of the same kind, and that belonging to our own times. If you were told, not having heard of the fact before, that there is now receiving, from a deluded sect in Russia, the honours of divine worship, a hero, whose busts and statuettes are the ornaments of our drawing-rooms, but who has been elevated by this new sect into the rank of a Slavonic god, of whom they believe that he is still alive, that he escaped from his enemies, crossed the seas from St. Helena, and reached Central Asia; that he dwells at Irkutsk, near Lake Baikal, on the borders of Chinese Tartary, and that one day he is to come back, settle the sectional quarrels of Russia, raise a great army, and put the reigning dynasty and acting ministry to the sword—if, I say, you were told all this (for which the witness is well known, Mr. Hepworth Dixon, in his work on *Free Russia*, vol. i., p. 282), and if all the mass of modern European history, and less familiar but authentic information about the state of Russia, were not at hand to account for this delusion which has seized the minds of these wretched fanatics, would you still think it at all likely that no fact was behind to explain it? If all such history were swept away, and nothing remained but the idle legend, would it not rather approve itself to a reasonable mind, that a great man like Napoleon I. had appeared, who thus lived in memory, though by a wild fantastic transformation, than to suppose it as vain to assert a probability as to deny it, where evidence is not documentary, and is more or less contaminated by obvious absurdity?

It may be well here to observe that it is quite conceivable that the mere work of fancy may be presented for belief, and accepted by undistinguishing minds. The invention of elaborate dreamers, the castle-building of imaginations, at once political and poetical, is an amusement perhaps more common at all times than is supposed. A curious example is offered in the life of Hartley Coleridge, who in his youth spent much of his leisure in constructing a history, entirely fictitious, of a nation he called Ejuxria, with its wars, its alliances, institutions, laws, and so forth, even illustrating it by a map, also imagi-

nary, and so worked the whole story into his mind as to feel displeased when ridicule was thrown on it by his companions. No doubt, in all ages similar minds have occasionally employed their talents in this dangerous idleness, or put them forth in complicated creations, designed not to deceive but to entertain. Our only safeguard is common sense, aided by contact with visible and admitted fact, of which written records are the most important, but not the only constituent—by cross-questioning the statements, by comparison with kindred truth, and the analogy of history—above all, by an enlightened study of the laws of the human mind, and the logic of probability.

One remark more, and I shall have done for the present with this part of my subject. Perhaps every branch of human knowledge has its peculiar intellectual dangers, which beset it, just as every manual art, exclusively pursued, is attended by consequences more or less injurious to the health. The danger which accompanies the study of that part of Ancient History which we have been considering is, that it accustoms the mind rather to question than to admit what is commonly received. However indispensable criticism and searching inquiry is, and I should be the last to wish to see any indolent relaxation of it, still there is mischief in its being made the sole business of the intellect, even in a human aspect, diminishing as it does the breadth and greatness of its character. But if the same habit be once introduced into the province of faith, the result is inevitably scepticism; or else, in minds that are happily saved from going so far, a disposition to bend the rule of authority as far as can possibly be ventured on, a course which destroys all religious health, and is, besides, deservedly contemptible in the eyes of consistent thinkers who stand outside of the church. How, then, are we to guard ourselves against this evil? First, I think, by distinctly marking off what comes to us from revelation, and what depends merely upon human testimony. Be the apparent difficulties what they may, the former is not to be meddled with by a faculty which, by the very idea and definition of faith, has already rendered its homage to a higher power claiming its obedience as divine. But then the same process which thus distinguishes one province of fact as supernatural, as clearly recognises another as merely human; and to be afraid lest the perception of the uncertainty or falsity of a part of ancient history should carry with it doubts of revealed truth, is in reality suggesting that revealed truth rests on the same basis, namely, the sanction of the reason as of a final appeal. This sound perception is very different from the indulgence of the cavilling, questioning spirit I have before

noticed. Secondly, to bring this latter tendency under due control, I do not know of a better means than the acquisition of a sincere love of positive truth, which will lead us to welcome it in its several degrees, and in proportion to the evidence, distinguishing the false from the true, and honestly endeavouring to bring each admissible fact under its proper head—the possible, the likely, the probable, the morally certain, the ascertained, and established. If there is not manifest the anxious wish to get at grounds that shall justify such a lodgment of particulars, it is of little purpose attempting to answer objections, the disposal of one of which would merely be the signal for the presentation of another, the objections being in fact symptoms of a certain intellectual character rather than the grounds of an honest inference.

What remains for our discussion in the present lecture relates to the easier question of the due treatment of that part of ancient history, for the evidence of which we possess a chain of historians, either actual witnesses of the facts, or trustworthy reporters of the testimony of such. Here it is plain that we must be guided by the same principles that apply also to modern history, and to the eliciting of truth generally from a variety of witnesses more or less credible. Stress must, however, be laid on the attribute of *ancient* history, as it will demand what all history requires, but also some qualities in a degree peculiar to itself. All the studies with which we are conversant in education may be classed by a reference to the divisions of the human mind, the imagination, the memory, and the reason. Each study adopts one of these divisions as peculiarly its own: poetry, the imagination; mathematics and philosophy in general, the reason; and history, the memory. But if any of these so takes up with its own province as to be careless of the aid of the rest, which ought to be its inseparable allies, then it falls below its proper rank and degenerates, harming rather than helping that full and perfect culture which it is the business of the higher education to produce. The poet who is the slave of his imagination, whom the reason does not govern so as to impart dignity, unity, and truth, can never be the teacher of his race, like Homer or Dante, or any of those who form the court over which such kings reign supreme. As for mathematicians or philosophers, whilst reason certainly predominates in them, depend upon it, that without a most powerful imagination, they may, indeed, ably bring together what others have discovered, but can never be a Newton, or a Laplace, or a Sir William Hamilton. So in history, especially ancient history, whilst memory is its principal department, if

memory is not ordered by the reason, and lighted up by the imagination, the historian will sink into the dull and credulous annalist, or the gossiping collector of anecdotes ; and as with the historian, so will it be with the teachers of history. The vulgar mind tries to omit nothing, but the consequence is, after all, something far more unfinished than works constructed on a plan, the details of which are very much left to be filled up by the thought and observation of the observer or the student. There must be an insight into causes, a power of seizing the main point of a subject, and of making all inquiries converge upon it ; a power, again, of utilizing the discoveries of others in special subjects, physical science, for example, and philology, intimately affecting historical views, but which of necessity must be subdivided among many classes of workers. The historical, like the judicial mind, must be able to appreciate and set forth evidence outside of its own personal range. Whilst avoiding any pet views that are sure to lead to a twisting of the truth, it must have the skill to trace out the great general facts of history, not belonging, like a battle or enactment, to an isolated date, but permeating a long series of things unperceived, perhaps, by the very people who were living among them. Thus the great principle of admitting subject populations to civil rights is traceable in the very cradle of Roman civilization. The same generalizing power will find its noblest exercise in considering ancient history (as in this example), as a vast preparation for the action of Christianity, all the more wonderful because of the long and singular separation from each other in which Greek, Roman, and Hebrew lived. And this it belongs to the chair of ancient history, as taught in a Catholic University, emphatically to assert. I cannot help remarking the significance, whether intentional or not, of a great modern historian, Mommsen, naming as four heads of the history of ancient civilization, Athens, Rome, Thebes, Carthage. And where, one might ask, stands Jerusalem ? Set aside, I fear, by an indefinite jealousy, notwithstanding a parenthetical compliment the writer subsequently pays to Christian culture. In times, comparatively speaking not very remote, though made to seem so by a succession of revolutions, it may be said that the learned generally treated ancient history in a Christian spirit. This cannot now be said ; but, on the contrary, all notion of Christianity, being what I may call the divine motive of events, is excluded ; and, as far as religion goes, the great object is to place the reader in the point of view occupied by the Pagan. This, I grant, is in a certain sense to be desired by whoever would form a sound judgment of the ancient world ; but what I complain of is, that

whilst no pains are spared to exhibit the one of the two "cities" that are carrying on a warfare only to end with time, the *Civitas Dei* is not represented by such writers as if they belonged to it; or rather, they write in such a manner as to lead their readers wholly to overlook the foundations that were being laid in those old times, or the use that was destined to be made of those slowly accumulating materials. All ancient history merging into that of Rome, and that of Rome into the history of the Christian Church, the convergence of these great lines ought to be the most interesting, as it is the most essential object of our study.

Lastly, ancient history, more than any other, requires the *imagination* to assist it, not by invention, but by a lively power of seizing and combining the most striking features of an age, so as to enable the mind to have as clear an idea as can now be possible, of types of society which, though belonging to the same humanity, still differed from our own almost as much as the fauna in the miocene times in geology, from those which now people the globe. There must be a skill to brighten up the images that have faded, to fetch back their lost colours. To those who have never studied ancient history with any decided effort of this kind, it seems but an unmeaning array of dead names and unsubstantial shadows. It presents a string of events that are as if they had never really happened—a catalogue of persons who seem as if they had never really existed. Now, whilst it is admitted that ancient history, like all other serious studies, must contain very much that is dry and uninteresting, since even a poem ought not to consist simply of brilliant passages strung together, but these passages must have their brilliance set off by the fact that they stand up and down amidst much that is not brilliant; it will, nevertheless, be found that even this dryness soon yields to well-directed study. When once a sufficient command of the languages has been obtained to read originals with real fluency, then materials offer themselves in abundance to be worked up by the formative power of the imagination into groups on which the mind is not only never tired of gazing, but from which it derives strength and vigour, a satisfying sense of power, a moral tone that will be felt in studies apparently the most remote from it, as well as in the practical walks of life. One hardly knows which example to take first; I can but mention almost at random a few that strike my own mind, either as the most impressive or picturesque. With what Shaksperian force is not the character of the Emperor Tiberius drawn for us by Tacitus, as of a great mind, a singularly wicked one, even approaching the

limits where the human and the devilish seem to meet—yet after all, during much of his reign not a bad ruler ; one who had commanding ideas of government, and whilst immersed in vice, still, from mere pride and the haughty consciousness of what belonged to his position, sternly maintained an outward show of propriety. Two things make his character conceivable—an early and cruel, though little noticed, meddling with his affections, and secondly, the “tyrannic mood” which satiety of power brings with it, and that scorn of men, most of whom, in that age of utter degradation—a very charnel-house waiting for the vivifying waters of Christianity to pass over it—did indeed merit yet greater scorn. If we consider these things, Tiberius in his wickedness becomes perfectly intelligible. Now, in the case of Julius Cæsar, we are not assisted by such an artist as Tacitus, but must make up our idea for ourselves. On the other hand, we have Cæsar’s own writings to help us. A book has been written on the causes why Cæsar’s Commentaries disappoint the reader. They disappoint by their very simplicity—itsself a most remarkable characteristic. But take a single chapter, and set the mind at work to think of the vast array of means to ends he puts together in it, and improvises with a decision as sudden as the emergency which calls for them. Aid that impression by gazing on his face in one of the authentic portrait-busts preserved in galleries—I may notice a most excellent one, for example, in the museum at Edinburgh—those compressed lips, those care-worn features, scarred, if I may so express it, with the deep lines of thought, and you will understand something of the man whose name has passed not into our language only, but into the languages of all civilized nations, as a synonym for the possession of supreme autocratic power.

I may mention very briefly two examples of a different kind—men whose action over their fellows, if marked by genius less extraordinary, was of a kind at least intended most honestly to be beneficial—in Grecian history, the legislator Solon—in Roman, the elder Gracchus. Of the first-mentioned, it happens curiously that we possess in Plutarch authentic fragments of poetry in which, at that far-distant epoch, the Attic law-giver recounts with simple and touching pride how the effect of the changes he introduced had been to bring back to their native land citizens who had been so long exiled that they had partially forgotten even their native language. As for Tiberius Gracchus, I know of few things in ancient history more striking than the fact of the deep, passionate sense of wrong which he felt in travelling through regions that had been

so desolated by the greedy cupidity of the Roman nobles ; that in imagery, which reminds us of that of Scripture, it occurred to him that the wild beasts in Italy had their sheltering places and their dens, whilst the men who fought and bled for Italy had light and air and nothing else, and wandered about with their wives and children, destitute of home and habitation. They fought and died, he said, for the luxury and wealth of others—lords of the world, but without a clod of earth they could call their own. This indignation led him to consecrate his life to bring about a better state of things, in which indeed he failed, as so many have failed, whom Providence seems to mark out from amongst mankind to work towards an end with which their own eyes are not to be gladdened, which, perhaps, is never to be fulfilled at all, as they conceived it ; but the lesson taught by their characters remains for all time.

Turning from individuals to the scenes, imposing or beautiful, that have been enacted in that long-buried history, I might exhaust your attention by the many which crowd upon the memory. I will choose but one. At that wonderful period which divides the later history of the Romans from what was to them their mediæval period—the taking of Rome by the Gauls—you will recollect that whilst it was resolved to defend the Capitol, the aged Roman senators determined that, as far as they were concerned, they would not attempt a resistance, but neither would they basely surrender the city they had loved and served so well. So they sat at the doors of their palaces, clothed in their robes of office or of triumph, with which we are even now familiar in a general way, because the form of the *toga prætexta*, the robe with its broad stripe of purple, worn by the most exalted magistrates, the church has used for the chasuble. So vested, those aged men sat on their ivory chairs, the deserted temples of the gods and the spacious forum before them, a silence as of midnight making itself felt in the noonday. At last comes the confused cry of the barbarian invaders, who are startled to find the gates open, the walls without a defender. They rush through the empty streets, and at length enter the forum. The strange sight they there behold startles these wild barbarians, as well it might. At first they think there must be something supernatural about those figures, so silent and so majestic, and for some space of time they stand in awe. We read that at last one of the savages made bold to touch the beard of M. Papirius, who, provoked at his presumption, strikes him with his sceptre. Then, as if a magic spell had been suddenly withdrawn, the barbarians draw their swords and slay all before them. I do

not know how this well-known story may affect others ; for my own part, I cannot read it without its offering to my mind a type of what in reality is going on at this very day in that same city of Rome. Unconsciously, these high-hearted old men who sat silently to face the invader, whom they had not the physical means of resisting, prefigured the action of another old man, in the white robe of a dignity, compared with which theirs was indeed less than a shadow—seated also on his throne, amidst rude invaders, and also waiting in silence for the end. The imagination is impressed with the majesty of what meets the mind's eye in either case. The difference in the inward meaning of the two cases can best be realized by those who have best studied the spirit of the Pagan dominion and that of the Christian Empire, and so can enter into this act of self-devotion as those senators understood it, and into that of the Christian martyrs, or of the Pontiff, concentrating in his own person at this moment the witness of Christianity.

R. O.

FATHER BALLERINI AND THE LAW OF FASTING.

TO THE EDITOR OF THE IRISH ECCLESIASTICAL RECORD.

REV. AND DEAR SIR,

I labour under the disadvantage of being obliged, at the outset of my reply to the Rev. Mr. Walsh's last letter in the RECORD, to disown certain extravagant pretensions which he attributes to me, and of which, although I fail to see that I have given the slightest indication, he avails himself, in order to say many sharp and by no means complimentary things about me. In my last letter, as an introduction to the explanation I had to offer of the note of F. Ballerini which had been called in question, I said :—"One who is not familiar with the peculiar controversy on this subject which has been carried on between the German Theologians on the one side, and the Italians and Spaniards on the other, can hardly at once see the force of the argument here implied ; but a little explanation will, I think, make it clear."¹ In writing these words I had in mind that I was trying to explain a passage which was rendered obscure by a mistake very different from that which had

¹ RECORD, April, p. 330.

been ascribed to it. I also took it for granted that many who would read my explanation were not theologians, and I knew that some would who were not even Catholics. For these reasons I considered that my remarks were not uncalled for, as certainly such remarks in similar cases are not unusual ; but I never expected that anyone would have appropriated them to himself, as I regret to perceive Mr. Walsh has done.¹ I beg to assure him that I never purposed to insinuate anything unworthy of the unquestionable ability and great theological learning that are his, and that if my words are calculated to convey any such impression I regret their use.

But Mr. Walsh sees another meaning also in my words. He understands that in them I put forward a claim to the possession of special knowledge, and to a familiar acquaintance with the history and theology and literature of Germany, Italy, and Spain. He keeps this well before the reader, until shortly before he has done with me, he makes brief and brilliant work of my pretensions, and dislodges me from the pedestal he represents me as having so rashly mounted. Yet, notwithstanding the satisfaction he derives from the achievement, I cannot see that I have said anything to provoke this special manner of dealing with me. My words are before the reader.

A third inference which Mr. Walsh draws from these words is, that in them I suggest "a view of F. Ballerini's Notes by no means complimentary to their distinguished author. Although inaccuracy of quotation is a serious defect in several respects, the practical inconvenience resulting from it is, in many instances, of trifling importance. But a work containing hidden snares and pitfalls, which are liable to be overlooked by persons not familiar with 'peculiar controversies,' or versed in the theological literature of 'Germany, Italy, and Spain,' is plainly a book to be shunned by the great majority of those for whose use a compendious manual of Moral Theology is intended."² The soundness of logic, the moderation of inference, and the just rendering of an opponent's meaning exhibited in this extract, speak for themselves. Because one passage in a writer, on a confessedly peculiar point, needs to be explained in order to release it from a hostile interpretation, therefore, concludes Mr. Walsh, the author's work is to be characterized as containing snares and pitfalls, and is to be avoided as dangerous.

Mr. Walsh also suggests that I am influenced by a theory that some special immunity shelters a Roman theologian from hostile criticism, and that my indignation is excited by the appearance of such criticism in an Irish periodical. Had I

¹ RECORD, May, p. 369.

² Ibid., May, p. 375.

given the slightest or remotest intimation of such an idea, Mr. Walsh would have had, no doubt, a fortunate, and, what is more to the purpose, a fair opportunity of presenting himself against me as the champion of theological liberty and national literature. But his doing so in the present case is purely from the exuberance of his own chivalry. Very admirable, no doubt, but not provoked on my part. It was as little in my thoughts to deprecate hostile criticism on these or any other grounds, as it was to advance a claim that F. Ballerini should be "treated with especial gentleness."¹ I did not suppose the case was so desperate as to demand this kind of pleading.

My reverend opponent is evidently under the impression that I object to F. Ballerini being criticised at all. He says that for calling in question the validity of a proof, I arraign him for having attacked the professional character of F. Ballerini.² Surely, the very words he quotes from me, and which I expected would have precluded all possible misunderstanding on the object of my remonstrance, ought to make it manifest that I was not complaining of criticism, of contradiction, or of refutation. It is quite true that I differed on such matters from the view set forth by Mr. Walsh. I entered upon them, however, merely, as I said, to point out the basis upon which Mr. Walsh relied for the justification of his assertions regarding the man. These latter are what I remonstrated against and nothing else. A man's writings are public property to a great extent, but his reputation is his own, and he who takes this away without a sufficient cause, does an injury which he is bound in conscience to repair. By the character of a Professor of Theology or any other faculty I mean the public estimate which may have been formed of the conscientiousness of his work, his competence for his office, and his trustworthiness as a guide for those who look to him for instruction. These, in the case of Ballerini, Mr. Walsh has thought it becoming to impugn. Whether he has done so on sufficient grounds or not, your readers by this time may possibly be in a position to decide.

He begins his paper in the RECORD of March by introducing a correspondent who praises the "acuteness and accuracy of observation" of Ballerini for having discovered in a passage of Sporer a "point that had certainly escaped the attention of modern theologians generally."³ In his reply to this correspondent Mr. Walsh confirms the statement as to the point having generally escaped attention, and then adds:—"But if our reverend friend, instead of relying so implicitly on the 'acuteness and accuracy of observation' of Gury's editor, had

¹ RECORD, p. 371.² Ibid., p. 367.³ Ibid., March, p. 265.

looked into the Treatise of Sporer, he would have seen that the remark quoted by Father Ballerini, does not furnish the slightest ground for supposing that Sporer regarded the doctrine allowing eight ounces, as less liberal than the rule of the *quarta pars coenae*.¹ Here we may observe that F. Ballerini is started, if I may say so, with words of praise, the utter reversal and denial to him of which, seems to be the one object Mr. Walsh had proposed to himself in writing this paper. Indeed he tells us as much himself; for he regards the theological question involved in Ballerini's note as of very little importance. In entering on an explanation of the teaching of Sporer and Laymann he plainly says: "For although as regards this particular question, a statement of their views, now antiquated, can be of no practical utility, it will serve at least to show what little reliance can be placed on the 'acuteness and accuracy of observation' to which our correspondent refers."² The object of this paper then seems to be, not the elucidation of a theological problem or the correction of a literary mistake, but to lower the estimate which may have been formed of the mental qualities of the writer. The reason assigned for this undertaking is, that as F. Ballerini's "intolerant denunciations of even the greatest theologians" may dispose people to believe in his own accuracy of quotation, and, "Considering the importance of the questions of which he treats, it is of some consequence to ascertain whether this inference [his accuracy] is in accordance with the fact." The simple statement of Sporer's and Laymann's teaching on the matters in question, he takes it, "will make it plain that no reliance whatever can be placed upon Father Ballerini's accuracy," and furnishes a "plain proof of the utter untrustworthiness of Gury's Roman editor."³ A little later he adds: "instances of reckless inaccuracy of statement, such as that which gave rise to his [the correspondent's] difficulty on this occasion, are by no means rare in Father Ballerini's Annotations," &c.⁴ Thus we see the object of the paper in the RECORD for March: F. Ballerini's note furnished only the occasion.

This note affirmed that a passage in Sporer showed clearly that the Germans regarded their measure of the *quarta pars coenae* as a more liberal allowance than the opposite measure of eight ounces. Mr. Walsh said, as I have already quoted, that the "remark" "does not furnish the slightest grounds for supposing" it. This was the only and the true issue in question between the two writers when the matter was taken up by me. This was the sole critical or theological ground alleged in support of the attack against which I remonstrated, and the point

¹ RECORD, p. 266.

² Ibid., p. 267.

³ Ibid., p. 268.

⁴ p. 269.

to which in my former letter I mainly directed attention. It is necessary for my present purpose that I should make this clear by a few more extracts from the March paper.

Shortly after the passage in which the words just quoted are found, we read the following :—"For, in reality, Sporer's friendly complaint of Laymann's departure from the traditions of the German school, implies no comparison of these two opinions [regarding quantity.] Indeed, although it occurs in his exposition of the law regarding the collation, *it does not refer at all to the question of the quantity which is allowed.*"¹ Then, having explained the teaching of Sporer and Laymann regarding the quality of the food allowed, and having thus accounted for the friendly complaint of the latter, he proceeds :—"Now, in all this, it is obvious, there is not the most remote allusion to the doctrine of the eight ounces, or to any comparison between it and the German doctrine of the *quarta pars coenae*. In fact, it is not easy to understand how Father Ballerini, supposing him to have read the passage even in the most cursory way, could have imagined that any such comparison was involved in it.

Even his own phrase, which he applies to the authors of the Salamanca Course—" *oscitantia et negligentia in describendis sententiis*," is an inadequate qualification for a blunderlike this. His explanation of a slip which he fancied he had detected in the writings of Illsung and La Croix, comes nearer to the mark :—" *Tota debetur hallucinationi.*" Or as he says in reference to another theologian of his own illustrious Society, " *Vir placitis suis plus aequo addictus se remque totam, lapsus memoria, misere implicavit.*"²

I have given these passages at length, because I cannot put into clearer language the issue which Mr. Walsh raised, and the basis of the charges which are expressed in the last paragraph. The first point I must defer for the present, that I may settle a question between myself and Mr. Walsh regarding the charges. He considers that I have dealt unjustly with him, because in my former letter I reproduce these charges without saying that they were made in the form of a retort. "In my paper," he says, "I took care to quote it [the language] as such, for it is language which I should not think myself justified in applying to any theologian or writer of respectability, except by way of argumentative retort against its author, with a view of making manifest how unwise it is, as well as unseemly, for any writer to deal so mercilessly, as it is F. Ballerini's habit to do, with the mistakes, real or assumed, of others."³

¹ RECORD, p. 266.

² Ibid., March, p. 267.

³ Ibid., May, p. 371.

I should be sorry to do my reverend opponent any injustice, but I fail to see that I have in this case done it. There was no indication whatever of the justifying motive here ascribed, or of the laudable moral to be gathered from such language being applied to anyone by way of retort. The one motive assigned to it was the blunder asserted to be made. And when I bear in mind, that in the sense in which these words were made use of by their author, they are far less sweeping and condemnatory than the other disparaging expressions quoted above from the same paper, and which are not retorts, I am at a loss to understand the meaning of Mr. Walsh's words when he says, speaking of the later expressions: "it is language which I should not think myself justified in applying to any theologian or writer of respectability, except by way of argumentative retort against its author."

Then, again, I cannot conceive how an accusation is in any way justified by being a retort. It is true, that if it be made with justice, the object of it is entitled all the less to our sympathy. But if it be not just the injury is all the greater. Moreover, I cannot admit that here we have any question of a simple retort at all. In each case Mr. Walsh has changed the character of the censure, and added to it a bitterness of signification which it never bore in its original application. I could not speak of his retorts without entering on matters that I gladly would have avoided; I only do so now because I am obliged.

Ballerini speaks of the *oscitantia et negligentia* of the Salmanticenses, a body of very learned and laborious writers belonging to the seventeenth century. Their works, however, contain innumerable mistakes in the allegation of authorities which a careful revision would have corrected. F. Ballerini does not sit down with the object of taking away their reputation as writers, but coming across these mistakes he applies this language to them, which is severe indeed, but after all not so very unusual. Mr. Walsh, however, calls attention to the assumed blunder, not on account of any importance he attaches to it, but to show that the claim to accuracy set up for Ballerini by his own correspondent is inadmissible. Then, he does not merely designate the fault he censures by these terms, but first applies them, and then rejects them as an "inadequate qualification" for the blunder.

So, in the next epithet, he finds a term nearer the mark; that is, implying a graver censure than the foregoing. In its primary signification, that in which it is ordinarily used, and in which F. Ballerini uses it, "hallucination" means simply an inculpable mistake, such as the ablest and most careful men

will sometimes make. Mr. Walsh, by the comparison he institutes between it and the former terms, excludes this meaning, and therefore applies it in the secondary, which is a highly offensive sense.

Lastly, F. Ballerini, speaking of a passage in a posthumous work of Cardenas, attributes a mistake of this author to a slip of the memory. In a later note, referring to quite a different subject, he accounts for a rather disparaging remark of the same writer on a large number of theologians, by suggesting that he was "*vir placitis suis plus aequo forte addictus.*" In his application of these remarks to F. Ballerini, Mr. Walsh, in the first place, omits the softening and qualifying expression, "*forte,*" and roundly asserts his opponent to be too much addicted to his own opinions. In the next place, he takes the extracts from these two different notes, inverts their order, makes them run in sequence as if they were originally portions of the same sentence and written on the same matter. He, by these means, alters the sense of both passages, referring the *lapsus memoria* to the *plus aequo addictus*, making out that the person to whom he applies the whole has clouded his memory by vanity or self-esteem. It is quite true that a double reference is given to this specimen of quotation, from which a reader would naturally conclude that the whole passage existed in its integrity in at least one of the places referred to. In a note to his letter in the RECORD for May, Mr. Walsh reproduces the same quotation, and informs us that in his former paper he had distinctly intimated that "the phrases" were simply quoted from two of F. Ballerini's notes. Here the "*forte*" is restored to its place, and asterisks, such as indicate the omission of irrelevant matter, are introduced between the two extracts. Yet the extracts remain in their adventitious correlation, and in their subverted order, and there is nothing to intimate that they are extracted partly from one and partly from another note.¹ I must say, with regard to the whole of this quotation, that I have never seen anything even alleged against F. Ballerini's quotations that is so thoroughly indefensible. So much, then, for my meaning in remonstrating against the unfair and inconsiderate attack on the professional character of F. Ballerini. I now come to the issue between myself and Mr. Walsh.

By some extracts which I have already given from his former paper, I think the point on which Mr. Walsh made the critical portion of his letter turn is made sufficiently clear. Yet, I omitted the following passage, in which I think it is even more expressly laid down:—"Father Ballerini's note is

¹ RECORD, May, p. 372. Note.

inexplicable except upon the supposition that in writing it he supposed that an estimate of the actual quantity indicated by the rule of the *quarta pars*, could be ascertained only as a matter of inference from the comparison which he so strangely imagined was instituted by Sporer between that view and the rule allowing eight ounces."¹ Moreover, Mr. Walsh affirmed that from two examples given by Sporer of the application of his rule of the *quarta pars*, it was made "perfectly obvious that he did not regard the German doctrine as more liberal than the one now commonly received."² In opposition to these statements I undertook to show—1st, That the friendly complaint of Sporer bore a distinct reference to the question of quantity, and implied the greater liberality of the German rule as compared with the opposite, and that it thus pointed out what Ballerini asserted it would prove. 2nd, That the context of Sporer gave clear evidence that he regarded the German rule of quantity as more liberal than that of eight ounces. Thus, there were two very distinct issues between me and Mr. Walsh. He inferred, by assuming his own position proved, that Ballerini had misrepresented the meaning of Sporer's complaint. I necessarily concluded from my own position, that he had not proved it. It is necessary for me to insist very distinctly on the real points at issue, because in his last letter Mr. Walsh has taken up entirely new ground, and taxes me with evading the question, as we shall presently see.

With regard to Sporer, it is clear, from his short treatise on the collation:—first, that he regarded both questions of quantity and of quality as peculiarly German questions; next, that he would regard a person, taking his side on either question, as so far liberal to the Germans, or, taking the opposite side, as austere to them. On the question of quality this, I take it, is admitted. It is shown, however, on the question of quantity from the following:—among the arguments he advances for his view is this—"a man living in these cold regions [Germany, requires] more than a man living in the warm regions of Italy and Spain." Then, having stated his rule of the *quarta pars*, he introduces the Italian Diana, and the Spanish Turrianus, "and others," objecting that his rule is too lax. He answers:—"Let them send us Germans—in the fasting times—their warm sky, their food and rich wines, their fruits and conserves, &c., and we will fast with them."³ This I conceive to be conclusive of Sporer's view of the relative liberality of the two rules of quantity.

Sporer quotes Laymann, and gives the arguments found in Laymann for this measure of quantity. We are, therefore,

¹ RECORD, March, p. 268. ² Ibid., p. 269.

³ Sporer de Pæcept. Decal. Appendix ad iii., Pæcept. sect 2.

forced to the inevitable conclusion, that if he anywhere commends Laymann for being liberal to the Germans in his theological opinions, particularly if he so commends him in the next section to this, he must have this question in his eye.

Mr. Walsh says, that "partly by direct statement, and partly by insinuation," I have conveyed the idea that Laymann's treatment of the subject implies a comparison of the two rules. He then goes on to declare, in italics, that Laymann does not "*directly or indirectly mention, or even make the most remote allusion, to the rule of the eight ounces.*"¹ I beg to say that it never entered my mind to state or insinuate anything of the kind. It was in no way needed for my argument, notwithstanding that Mr. Walsh had denied it. But he also denied it concerning Sporer, and the whole gist of my argument was to show that Sporer had this very comparison before him when he complimented Laymann.

From the manner in which Mr. Walsh put his case against Ballerini, I applied myself to prove that the friendly complaint of Sporer implied a commendation for his liberality to the Germans on the subject of quantity, the point denied repeatedly by Mr. Walsh, and which was understood by us both to be the inference pointed out by Ballerini. My surprise was very great, therefore, when on reading his last letter, I found myself saddled with having evaded the issue as proposed by Mr. Walsh, and as accepted by myself. Mr. Walsh says:—"But F. Jones seems to forget that the question at issue is not about the meaning of 'Sporer's remark.' Sporer does two things: he *complains* of Laymann's severity regarding the question of which he is treating; and, incidentally, he *commends* the general character of Laymann's teaching as conformable in other respects to the traditions of the German school. To this incidental commendation F. Jones attaches, no doubt, an extraordinary interpretation. But that is a matter which does not affect the issue here. For, the inaccuracy with which I charge F. Ballerini, and with reference to which F. Jones has undertaken to defend him, consists in his misrepresentation of the meaning of Sporer's *complaint*."² The charge is then explained as this: that Ballerini represents Sporer as complaining of Laymann's severity on the question of quantity.

In Mr. Walsh's former letter he nowhere says this; but he leaves it to be inferred from the alleged fact, that nowhere in Sporer's remark is a comparison between the two rules of quantity implied, and that it was only on the supposition of this comparison that Ballerini's note could be explained. It is clear

¹ RECORD, May, p. 381.

² Ibid., p. 376.

then that he no longer relies upon his former argument, and it is he, and not I, who has travelled away from the issue of his own selection.

I am told that I put an extraordinary interpretation on the incidental commendation found in the remark of Sporer. Anyhow, I have made the explanation of the whole note to turn upon it, and seeing this, I naturally feel surprised that in the English version of the note which Mr. Walsh collates with the original text, he should have omitted to translate the word "*amice*," by which word alone Ballerini points to this commendation.¹ The commendation may be incidental or not, but Ballerini's reference to it was a vital point in my argument, and the omission of this reference from his words left me, to all appearance, simply beating the air.

Again, in the commendatory member of the remark, I translate—or rather I paraphrase—the word "*alias*" as signifying "on another point;" Mr. Walsh—"in other respects." He says my version is plainly at variance with the ordinary meaning of the word.² This point I can safely leave to the Lexicographers. But I need not press the subject. Mr. Walsh admits that "*alias*" refers to some matters of theological teaching and the context leaves no doubt as to what that teaching was.

Mr. Walsh tells us that his charge against Ballerini is of misrepresentation of the meaning of Sporer's *complaint*. Ballerini really says nothing of Sporer's complaint as it is here put. He only points out an inference to be drawn from the fact of Sporer complaining *in a friendly way*. Sporer makes, if I may be allowed the expression, a commendatory complaint, and puts it in the form of antithesis. The complaint—in its restricted sense—is of severity to the Germans on one point exclusively; the way in which it is made expresses an antithesis, such as requires that the "*tam bonum Germanum*" should be understood as *liberal to the Germans*; and this, according to Mr. Walsh, on some points of theological teaching. I have already pointed out that this, as seen in the light of the whole context, necessarily refers to the opinion of Laymann regarding the *quarta pars*; thus the inference indicated by Ballerini is explained. I admit that in saying this, I do not dispose of the whole difficulty. The fact yet remains, that the wording of the note, in its more obvious sense, leads us to understand that Laymann is complained of because he was severe on the question of quantity. But I must observe that this sense is by no means inevitable, either logically or grammatically, from the note itself. The conclusion pointed out is

¹ RECORD, p. 374. ² Ibid., p. 476.

just, though not obvious, and if so, we are called on rather to account for the obscurity so unusual in Ballerini, than to suppose the writer to have committed a mistake which would be still more unaccountable, not to say incredible. F. Ballerini does not speak of the eight ounces as a *rule* but as a *measure*, and the nexus between this term and the "*regula Germanorum*" which occurs later in the note, and the "*hac sola materia*" in the quotation, is merely apparent. The choice of the word *mensura* seems to imply a distinction between it and the *regula*. I have no authority whatever for offering any explanation on the matter. F. Ballerini, I have heard, is publishing a new edition of his annotations, and will, I have no doubt, make his meaning clear with regard to his note. All I know is that the first edition was printed under special difficulties. The manuscript had to be sent across Europe, and put through the press by another hand. A mistake might have crept in during the process and escaped notice in the subsequent printing. The remark of Sporer may have been intended to prove the greater liberality of the German rule, both as regards quantity and quality. The note may have been originally connected with that which immediately follows, for the quotation in the first is a continuation of the quotation in the latter. It is lawful to suggest possible hypotheses, but is not lawful to assume the incredible.

It remains for me to add a few remarks regarding some questions between myself and Mr. Walsh. I refer to his strictures on the following passages taken from my former letter to the RECORD.

"The Germans, for the most part, defended the rule of the *quarta pars*; the Italians and other southerners that of the eight ounces. Moreover, the Germans maintained that with regard to the *quality* of food allowed at collation, there was no restriction beyond what was established for the principal meal. The Italians limited the quality to certain kinds of lighter food which they enumerated."

And again: "Sporer indulges in a little good humoured banter on this [Laymann's severity on the question of quality] as was natural, seeing that the controversy had assumed humorously almost the character of a national dispute."¹

Mr. Walsh makes these passages the subject of what he must have known to be, if justified, very damaging criticism. He keeps well before the reader the assumption, with which he invested me in the earlier part of his letter, of possessing various kinds of peculiar and historical knowledge, and, as it were, in

¹ RECORD, April, p. 330

contrast with it, he charges me with some grave misstatements. "Indeed," he remarks, "so great is the number of inaccuracies crowded together in the sentences of his letter which I have quoted, that it would be impossible, in a single number of the RECORD, to reply to them all. I will take one or two by way of specimen."¹ The passages in which these specimens are found I have given above. The only inaccuracies which he favours me by producing refer to the propriety of the term "national dispute" as applied to the twofold controversy regarding the collation.

I regret to have to observe that in quoting the passage where I speak of the national dispute, Mr. Walsh omits the word "humorously," and then taxes me with asserting that there was simply a "national dispute,"² or rather two such disputes. He does not give me credit for saying that it was "almost" a dispute, or that it had "assumed almost the character" of one. Accuracy seems to be a strong point with Mr. Walsh. His pages literally bristle with charges against others of inaccuracy. And yet he, in the very act of making this charge against me, omits a qualifying word from my statement, and then, with much irony as to my knowledge and information, turns the statement against me in the very sense it had acquired by the omission. Lest I should leave myself open to captious criticism I qualified the word "national dispute" by three several limitations, and he charges me nevertheless with its use as if I had propounded it absolutely and in its strict sense. Qualifying words like "forte," "amice," and "humorously," may appear very insignificant if taken by themselves, but they should not be omitted by those who assume the office of lecturing others on inaccuracies and "reckless quotations."

The first of the two specimen inaccuracies with which I am charged is, that I say "the Italians and other southerners [defend the rule], that of the eight ounces." "It is somewhat strange," observes Mr. Walsh, "that a writer so 'familiar with this peculiar controversy' could have failed to become acquainted with the mass of evidence which the writings of the southern theologians contain, directly at variance with the latter of these statements. Even Sporer's meagre treatment of the point ought to have suggested the necessity of caution in making such a statement. For of the "Italians and other southerners" quoted by him the majority are against the adoption of this rule. Some indeed allow eight ounces, but others he quotes as allowing only *six* ounces, or *four*, or even *three*; and one of his authorities—the Italian Filliucius—is a strenuous supporter of the *quarta*

¹ RECORD, p. 377. ² Ibid, pp. 376, 377.

pars." In other treatises I should have found the names of other high authorities who do not teach the rule of the eight ounces. But "Sporer," says Mr. Walsh, "states the case with substantial accuracy. The Germans for the most part adopted the rule of the *quarta pars*, so that the quantity allowed would vary in different individuals. The southern theologians, on the other hand, laid down mathematical rules, *assigning a fixed number of ounces*, so that the same quantity would be allowed to all."¹

Perhaps the only point of much relevance that Mr. Walsh has forgotten to mention here is, that as all the mathematical measures, except that of the eight ounces, were obsolete at the time of Sporer, the theologians who taught the mathematical rule, might fairly be represented as teaching the eight ounces, and that the historical summary of Sporer describing the various opinions which had been held is in no way at variance with my statement. That all the other mathematical rules were obsolete since the time of Suarez, and that the measure of eight ounces was commonly held out of Germany, may easily be seen from the testimony of Diana,² fully confirmed by St. Alphonsus.³ So much for my first "specimen" inaccuracy.

"But," continues Mr. Walsh, "his statements regarding the second 'national dispute' upon the question of quality are still more inexplicable. The three sentences in which he deals with this question contain each a serious and substantial misstatement of the facts of the case." Of these Mr. Walsh produces but one, namely, the "fundamental mistake" of supposing that there was upon this question (of quality) any "national dispute at all." He then proceeds:—"With regard to the question of *quality*, theologians, whether Germans, Italians, or Spaniards, all but unanimously teach that the established custom of each country is to be followed, and that, consequently, the question whether a particular kind of food can be taken, is to be decided, not by examining any abstract theological principles, but by ascertaining the lawfully established usage of the country in question."⁴ Thus theologians, laying down different rules in accordance with the customs of different countries, were not opposed. "There was in reality," concludes Mr. Walsh, "no controversy or dispute, 'national' or otherwise, between them."

I confess this surprises me very much; for, if I am not much mistaken, there was a dispute; and notwithstanding the unanimity among theologians concerning the lawfulness of

¹ RECORD, pp., 377, 378.

² Diana, Tract IX., Resolutio I.

³ St. Alphonsus, Lib. IV., n. 1025. ⁴ May, p. 378.

properly established customs, there was a rather notable dispute as to whether the custom of taking collation without attending to the quality of food, was a properly established custom or not. I think this can be made clear without going further than Sporer himself. He tells us that the common opinion allowed at collation the lighter kinds, but not all kinds of fasting fare. He says, "adeo ut jejunans etiam in refectiuncula vespertina teneatur abstinere ab omnibus cibis proprie dictis, qui nimirum ad sustentandam naturam in ipsis refectiionibus ut fercula apponi solent."¹ He goes on to say that most Doctors were a little more liberal to the Germans: "Plerique tamen, presertim pro nostris partibus aliquantulum plus indulgent." But concerning the extent of this indulgence there was a grave controversy—"Graviter autem controvertunt." On one matter he says, "affirmant multi . . . verum negant licere aequè multi." And later, "Haec et similia plura disputant Doctores quilibet in suo sensu abundans." Here, then, we have something like a dispute, and that too in reference to Germany; and if we come to examine the reasons alleged on either side, we shall find that the dispute did not concern the practical rule only, but the principles also on which the rule was constructed. The stricter side maintained that the Church had never sanctioned any relaxation in the law of fasting except for medicinal purposes, and that consequently the custom of using food of its own nature calculated to satisfy the appetite, was an abuse, and therefore to be abolished. On the other hand, the more liberal school taught, that though collation was originally introduced for medicinal purposes, the Church sanctioned the custom of taking it with the object of refectio, and therefore that no fasting fare should be rejected on the simple ground of its affording such refectio. As Sporer represents the two schools disputing with each other and in controversy, so also do most writers who treat the question by collating the opinions of theologians. They most frequently represent the writers as contending, contradicting, opposing, inveighing, and that sometimes "*acriter*," against each other. I would ask Mr. Walsh, therefore, to reconsider his charge of misstatement against me, and also whether there was "in reality no controversy or dispute" on this question of quality. As to the almost national character I ascribed to the whole question of the collation, I merely intended to imply that while most theologians opposed themselves to the German claims, these were defended by the Germans on grounds that Sporer regarded as national.

I have but one remark more to offer, and it refers to a

¹ Sporer, loco. cit. sec. iii.

serious suggestion Mr. Walsh makes regarding me, and which, I think, has no more real foundation than those I have already disposed of. He understands that my letter makes it obvious there is some danger of a serious encroachment on the observance of the law of fasting, from the misconception I labour under regarding the relative liberality of the two rules of quantity allowed at collation. He infers that I would reject St. Alphonsus's rule of eight ounces for a more liberal rule; or, at least, that my misconception would lead to this.* I can only say in reply, that I know no rule more liberal than that of St. Alphonsus, and I have no disposition, nor do I know any one who has a disposition, to change it for any other. St. Alphonsus hesitates to reject the *quarta pars* as too lax. He rejects it on other grounds. But he satisfies the just claim of the German rule by laying down, in the words of Milante, eight ounces as the ordinary measure, and two ounces over for those who require more abundant nutriment.¹

I remain, Rev. and dear Sir, your obedient Servant,

St. Beuno's College, May 18, 1874.

J. JONES.

¹ St. Alphonsus, loc. cit.

TO THE EDITOR OF THE IRISH ECCLESIASTICAL RECORD.

St. Patrick's College, Maynooth,
23rd May, 1874.

REV. AND DEAR SIR,

The readers of the RECORD, I have no doubt, will fully approve your desire that the discussion between F. Jones and me should not be further protracted.

For my part, I am disposed to waive, as far as possible, my right of replying at length to F. Jones' rejoinder. Hence my proposal that instead of prolonging the controversy by inserting another long letter in the July number of the RECORD, I should, if possible, prepare a reply at once which could be inserted in the forthcoming number. I have to thank you for kindly enabling me to take this course, by sending me the proof sheets of F. Jones' letter.

Under ordinary circumstances it would not be easy to deal, within a short compass, with an argumentative letter of sixteen pages. But I find that the principal portion of F. Jones' letter is occupied with merely incidental matters, which, however

interesting to him and to me, are scarcely of sufficient interest to your readers to justify me in entering upon a detailed examination of them in your pages. To the main question at issue—the accuracy or inaccuracy of *F. Ballerini's representation of the meaning of Sporer's complaint regarding Laymann's severity*—F. Jones has devoted a comparatively small portion of the space at his disposal. And it is to his remarks upon this question alone that I feel myself under any obligation of replying.

I.—MY LANGUAGE.

I have to acknowledge, at the outset, F. Jones' kindly and courteous, but too complimentary, reference to myself, in the opening paragraph of his letter. I fear, however, that I must infer from his silence regarding some other passages of his former letter—especially regarding his sharp strictures upon the language of my original paper—that even after reading my reply, he is still of opinion that his remarks about my want of "courtesy," "modesty," and "justice" were not unduly severe.

Indeed it is evident that he regards my reply to his observations upon this point as by no means satisfactory. For he again speaks of my paper as "unfair" and "inconsiderate:" he is still of opinion that I was not justified in applying "such language" to F. Ballerini.

At the same time he rejects, somewhat indignantly, the idea that he has "advanced a claim" that F. Ballerini should be "treated with especial gentleness." He does not, he says, suppose the case is so "desperate" as to demand this kind of pleading. I cannot comprehend this view.

In criticising the work of any author whose habit it is to assail with unsparing invective, the writings of those who are universally regarded as standard authorities upon the science of which he treats, it is surely in perfect accordance with all the laws of literary criticism to give a practical demonstration of the impropriety of employing such phraseology, by showing, if occasion should arise, that the author who adopts it is not himself free from faults which might with equal justice be characterised in the same terms in which he holds up to public ridicule the shortcomings, real or imaginary, of others. Is it not obvious, then, that F. Jones' claim that F. Ballerini, a most glaring offender, as I have shown, in this respect, should enjoy a special immunity from such criticism, is, in fact, a claim for very "special gentleness of treatment?" What else is it? At the same time I have no difficulty in allowing that such a plea does undoubtedly display the

"desperate" nature of the case which F. Jones has undertaken to defend.

I do not, of course, purpose to follow F. Jones through the mazes of the controversies in which a detailed examination of the statements which he now makes about the few passages quoted in my first paper, would involve me. I fully recognise the skill which he has shown in endeavouring to raise a confusing discussion upon this point. But he cannot hope thus to evade the force of the overwhelming array of evidence which I quoted in my note, filling more than two pages of the last number of the RECORD,¹ and which, I think, conclusively disposes of his enthusiastic panegyric upon F. Ballerini's "admirable theological criticism." Indeed, F. Jones' treatment of this branch of the case brings out more plainly than any comment of mine could do, the significance of the fact that he has simply passed over, *in absolute silence*, the long chain of passages quoted by me from F. Ballerini's Annotations, in which writers like Antoine, Soto, Collet, Viva, Henriquez, De Lugo, Suarez, and Benedict XIV., are assailed with such unbecoming bitterness.

With regard to the passages which he does notice, I have observed with regret that he seems disposed to vindicate, to a certain extent, the use of some of the expressions to which I called attention. With reference to one of them, he alleges that "after all" this language is "not so very unusual." On this point I shall merely remark, that notwithstanding his modest disclaimer, F. Jones must be acquainted with many theological works, which are unknown to me, if he has made that statement upon sufficient grounds.

II.—MY "INACCURACY."

His elaborate dissection of the manner in which I have quoted the extracts regarding Cardenas calls perhaps for a more formal reply. In my first paper, through some oversight, the word *forte* was omitted. But, as F. Jones himself admits, the passage was correctly quoted in my letter in the last number of the RECORD.² And although he had taken no notice of the point—which indeed is of very slight importance—in his former letter, he now calls attention to it *after the omission has been rectified by myself!* This is his first point.

He then complains that in my original quotation of F. Ballerini's strictures upon Cardenas, I took "extracts" from

¹ See RECORD, May 1874, pp. 371-3.

² Ibid, May, 1874, p. 372.

"two different notes," and made them run in sequence "*as if they were originally portions of the same sentence;*" and that where I reproduce the same "extracts" in my last letter, "*there is nothing to intimate that they are extracted partly from one, and partly from another note.*"

This seems to be a matter of great importance in F. Jones' estimation; he labours at considerable length to place his indictment before your readers, and he concludes that he has "*never seen anything even alleged against F. Ballerini's quotations so thoroughly indefensible.*" But I confess I am at a loss to conceive how, even if all that he alleges were true, it could be regarded as a matter of even the slightest consequence. For it is not easy to see what justification of F. Ballerini's peculiar style of theological criticism can be derived from the fact that certain intemperate strictures upon a theologian of high repute, instead of being confined to one particular Note, are found scattered over various parts of his work.

But I am still more at a loss to understand how F. Jones can have failed to see how utterly unfounded is the charge which he has brought against me. For in quoting the extracts referred to, I not merely "*intimated,*" but *I stated in the most express terms*, that they were "*quoted from two of F. Ballerini's Notes.*"¹ Moreover, so careful was I to observe the strictest accuracy, that on that occasion, as well as in my original paper, even the inverted order of the two passages—a mere matter of convenience for the arrangement of the quotation—was most distinctly indicated. Any of your readers who may care to refer to the numbers of the RECORD for March and May will see this at a glance, from the form of my footnote references to the paragraphs in F. Ballerini's work.²

And in the face of these facts, F. Jones not only brings forward the charge which I have already quoted, but takes advantage of it, as well as of others which rest upon no better foundation, to make such observations as, that "*accuracy seems to be a strong point with Mr. Walsh;*" that "*qualifying words should not be omitted by those who assume the office of lecturing others on inaccuracies;*" and more to the same effect.

The last remark which I have just now transcribed is made by F. Jones in connection with a most unwarrantable statement, that "*in quoting the passage*" of his former letter, where he referred to the dispute which he imagined to exist regarding the kind of food allowed at the collation, I "*tax*" him with "*asserting that there was simply a 'national dispute.'*"

¹ See RECORD May, 1874, p. 372. ² Ibid., March, 1874, p. 267; May, 1874, p. 372.

I do not, he says, give him "credit for saying that it was 'almost' a dispute, or that it had 'assumed almost the character' of one." And then, after expatiating at considerable length upon this topic, he makes the remark, already quoted, about persons "who assume the office of lecturing others on inaccuracies."

Without pausing to comment upon the assumption which underlies all that F. Jones has written on this question, and which here comes plainly to the surface—that in venturing to point out and to comment upon the existence of a serious inaccuracy in F. Ballerini's Manual, I "assumed an office," and deserve to be chastised for my "assumption"—I shall merely remark that if F. Jones had read my letter carefully, he would have found the passage in question quoted as follows:—"Sporer indulges in a little good-humoured banter on this, as was natural, seeing that the controversy *had assumed almost the character of a national dispute.*"¹

Moreover, even if I had omitted the "qualifying words," which are here so plainly quoted, F. Jones would not have been justified in complaining that I gave him no credit for saying that this was "almost a dispute." For he said nothing of the sort. Although he now seems to suppose that his statement regarding the *existence* of this dispute or controversy was qualified by the phrases to which he refers, his "qualifications" had, in point of fact, no reference whatever to that statement. The existence of the controversy was asserted by F. Jones without "qualification" or "limitation" of any sort. He did undoubtedly qualify his statement regarding the *national character* of this controversy—although, indeed, as your readers must doubtless have observed, this "qualification" seemed somewhat out of place as applied to a discussion which was at the same time described as a "controversy, *carried on between the German theologians on the one side, and the Italians and Spaniards on the other.*"² But in these precise terms, F. Jones asserted the existence of this dispute, and inconvenient as he may now find it to have made such an assertion, he can hardly complain of my "taxing" him with having made a statement which he really put forward as the very foundation of his case. For this, in fact, is the "peculiar controversy" of which he maintained that "one" who was not "familiar" with it, could "hardly at once see the force of the argument" implied in F. Ballerini's Note.³

And as to the "national character" of this dispute, whether

¹ See RECORD, May, 1874 p. 376., also the first few lines of p. 379. ² Ibid., April, 1874, p. 330. ³ Ibid.

asserted with or without "qualifications," F. Jones seems to forget that I showed very plainly in my letter, that upon the point in question between the classes of theologians to whom he refers "there was, in reality, no controversy or dispute, 'national' or otherwise."¹

In the last three pages of his letter he endeavours, I see, to extricate himself from the awkward position in which his former statements upon these national disputes have placed him. Tempting as the inducement is, which is presented by the statements that he now makes, I abstain from re-opening that topic. The discussion of this and several other points, on which F. Jones dwells at considerable length—although, as every one must see, they are altogether outside the real question at issue—is little better than trifling with the space which, with such lavish generosity, you have placed at our disposal for the thorough sifting of the merits of the charge of inaccuracy brought by me against F. Ballerini. Omitting, then, the comments which I should have wished to make upon the incidental topics which F. Jones discusses at such length, and also upon the many significant omissions in his letter—such, for instance, as *the absence of all allusion to the evidence which I adduced in reference to the view taken by the German theologians regarding the meaning of their own rule,*² which was, I think, of sufficient importance to claim at least a short notice in the course of his sixteen pages—I pass to his treatment of the real question at issue, the accuracy or inaccuracy of F. Ballerini's representation of the meaning of Sporer's friendly complaint.

III.—FATHER BALLERINI'S NOTE.

Need I remind your readers what the question at issue really is? I think it scarcely necessary to do so; but as F. Jones, to my amazement, charges me with having abandoned it, "breaking new ground," and "travelling away from the issue of my own selection," a word or two, to prevent possible misconception, may not be out of place.

In the March number of the RECORD I brought forward my charge of inaccuracy. F. Ballerini, in laying down his view that the quantity indicated by the German rule of the *quarta pars* was more than eight ounces, alleges that this is plain from the fact that Sporer makes a friendly complaint of Laymann's severity in abandoning the German rule. While, in

¹ See RECORD, May 1874, pp. 378, 9.

² Ibid., May, 1874, pp. 379—82.

reality, as I stated, "Sporer's friendly¹ complaint," so far from sustaining this singular theory, "does not refer at all to the question of the quantity which is allowed."² For this paper F. Jones assailed me in the April number of the RECORD as the "author of an unfair and inconsiderate attack upon the professional character of F. Ballerini." And in his letter, while admitting that Sporer in reality complained neither of Laymann's severity upon the question of quantity, nor of his abandoning the German rule, F. Jones, to make good his allegations about my "unfairness," undertook to explain F. Ballerini's note so as to get rid of my charge of inaccuracy.³

In your last number I endeavoured to put an end to the discussion by showing that beyond all controversy F. Ballerini's statement is capable of only one interpretation; that it necessarily conveys the sense in which, from the beginning, I had understood it—that is to say, that it does in fact represent Sporer as complaining of the severity of Laymann's doctrine regarding quantity and of his abandoning the German rule.

Whereupon, F. Jones—and I am sure that any of your readers who have followed this protracted discussion will be as much surprised as I have been by this extraordinary allegation—charges me with having "travelled away from the issue" of my "own selection!"

¹ I ought not, perhaps, to overlook the charge of inaccuracy which F. Jones brings against me, based upon the fact that in one instance I have "omitted to translate" the adverb, which describes Sporer's complaint as a "friendly" one.

Now, it is perfectly true that while I have sometimes referred to the passage in question as "Sporer's friendly complaint"—a fact which F. Jones finds it convenient to keep in the background—I have at other times spoken of it simply as "Sporer's complaint" without the introduction of the adverb "friendly." For, as is perfectly obvious, the insertion or omission of this adverb is not a matter of the slightest consequence in reference either to the main question at issue, or to any of the incidental questions which F. Jones prefers to discuss.

But as the best answer to "captious criticism" of this sort, I shall place once more before your readers the text of F. Ballerini's Note, putting side by side with it a full and literal translation.

As I have referred to this point at all, I must protest in the strongest terms against the statement which F. Jones has made in another part of his letter, that I have omitted the word "*amice*." This is a very different matter. For the omission of a Latin word, such as this, could occur only in a quotation of the actual words of F. Ballerini's Note. Now I have quoted those words in two passages of my letter, and on both occasions I have quoted them with perfect accuracy, omitting neither this word *amice*, nor any other.

"Persons," as F. Jones says, "who assume the office of lecturing others on inaccuracies" ought really to be more cautious in their statements. But, perhaps, I should apologise for this remark: F. Jones probably considers that, in my case, the use of "such language" is not allowable.

² RECORD, March, 1874, p. 266.

³ Ibid., April, 1874, pp. 329-32.

The only inference I can draw from such a statement is, that when F. Jones undertook the defence of F. Ballerini, clearly as the issue was raised in my paper, he rushed to the rescue without taking the pains to ascertain what was the precise inaccuracy with which F. Ballerini was charged. And this, indeed, explains what I had hitherto regarded as unaccountable—the utter irrelevancy of much of his reasoning. It is easy to understand it now. He was arguing upon some other issue, and “in the exuberance of his chivalry”—to use his own expression—defending F. Ballerini from some other charge which I had never made. To inquire what this imaginary allegation was would be, of course, a profitless speculation. I have, however, taken some pains to ascertain it from a careful examination of both his letters, and my endeavour has not been successful.

But now, at least, F. Jones has been brought face to face with the question. My last letter has left no room for evasion or retreat. And so he is forced to confess that it is a “difficulty.” He attempts, indeed, some explanation of the passage; but he admits that his explanation, “does not dispose of the whole difficulty.” “The fact,” as he candidly acknowledges, “remains, that the wording of the Note, in its more obvious sense, *leads us to understand that Laymann is complained of because he was severe upon the question of quantity.*”

Yet he does not absolutely throw up his brief.

“Even though vanquished, he can argue still.”

And so he goes on to suggest that my conclusion, which he now seems to recognise as “just,” is not “obvious,” since this sense of the passage is by no means “inevitable.” He prefers to regard the statement as containing an “obscurity” to be accounted for, rather than to suppose the writer to have committed “a mistake which would be still more unaccountable, not to say incredible.”

But F. Jones seems to forget that this theory of “obscurity” is utterly untenable in the face of my letter in the last number of the RECORD.¹ For as I there showed, no words could

¹ In one passage of his letter, F. Jones ironically refers to “the soundness of logic, the moderation of inference, and the just rendering of an opponent’s meaning” exhibited in some sentences of mine, in which he says that from his remark about the amount of theological learning required to avoid a misconception of F. Ballerini’s meaning, “Mr. Walsh concludes,” that “therefore the author’s work is to be characterised as containing smears and pitfalls, and is to be avoided as dangerous.”

Surely, I need hardly state that I “concluded” nothing of the sort. Have I not

be plainer than those in which F. Ballerini puts forward the the statement about Sporer's complaint. I cannot hope to place the matter in a clearer light than I have already done. I will simply, then, place the words themselves once more before your readers, giving F. Jones the advantage—whatever it is—which he seems to think his case will derive from having them accompanied with a literal translation. Commenting on Gury's statement that in the opinion of St. Alphonsus, the custom now commonly prevailing throughout the Church sanctions the allowance of eight ounces, but that the standard assigned by other theologians is the fourth part of the ordinary *coenac*, F. Ballerini writes:—

Ita fere Theologi Germani habita scil. ratione locorum quae abundantiorē cibum exigunt.

Quod enim ex mente horum DD. quarta consuetudinis coenae pars *excedat mensuram octo unciarum* inde patet quod Sporer (sect. 2, n. 32) amice conqueritur de Laymann, quod a regula Germanis consueta discesserit.

“Ego” inquit, “miror P. Paulum Laymann alias tam bonum Germanum, in hac sola materia fuisse patriotis suis tam austerum.”

So, for the most part, the German Theologians, taking into account those countries in which a greater quantity of food is required.

For, that in the opinion of those Doctors, the fourth part of the ordinary supper *exceeds the measure of eight ounces*, is plain from this, that Sporer, in a friendly way, *complains of Laymann's having deserted the ordinary rule of the Germans*.

“I wonder,” he says, “that Father Paul Laymann, in other respects so good a German, should in this matter alone have been so severe upon his fellow-countrymen.”

And I will ask once more, is it not obvious that F. Ballerini in this Note represents Sporer as complaining of Laymann's severity in reference to this question of quantity, and of his abandoning the German rule of the *quarta pars*?

What could be plainer? Yet F. Jones admits that to make such a representation would be a mistake of such a character that it is “unaccountable,” not to say “incredible,” that F. Ballerini could have committed it. I fear that “in the exuberance of his chivalry” he has here put forward a plea which

from the beginning rejected the idea that there is any want of clearness in F. Ballerini's statement?

I did, indeed, say that *F. Jones' remark suggested such a view of F. Ballerini's work*. For if it were the case, as he has been contending, that this passage about Sporer's complaint is to be understood in a sense diametrically contrary to what he has now at length admitted to be its “more obvious” meaning, then, undoubtedly, no reader could feel any security that he had succeeded in arriving at the correct interpretation of a single statement in F. Ballerini's work. For there is no clearer statement in the book than the remark to which F. Jones' observation refers.

F. Jones, indeed, describes this as a “*confessedly peculiar point*.” “Confessedly peculiar?” Who “confessed” anything of the sort?

places F. Ballerini's "professional character" in a somewhat awkward position. Such a mistake may, no doubt, seem "unaccountable" and "incredible" from F. Jones' point of view, and to any one whose faith in F. Ballerini's accuracy is such as F. Jones still entertains. But it is neither "unaccountable" nor "incredible" to me, nor can it be so to any one to whom a careful examination of F. Ballerini's "admirable theological criticism" has revealed, the number of inaccuracies which are to be found throughout his work.

I shall watch with some interest the future history of F. Ballerini's Note. Will it appear in his next edition? His champion, indeed, seems to have some misgivings upon this point. "F. Ballerini is publishing a new edition of his Notes, and he will," F. Jones has no doubt, "*make his meaning clear.*"

I trust that he will also see the propriety of adopting another style of theological criticism. For "admirable" as his present style may be in the estimation of F. Jones, surely it is hardly appropriate in a writer whose accuracy is not beyond question, and whose authority, to say the least, has been shaken by the fact that already one of his opinions—an opinion, too, which he had expressed with his usual emphasis, and with his usual intolerant denunciation of the opposite view, defended by writers like Saint Alphonsus—has been condemned by the Sacred Penitentiary.¹

Meanwhile, to bring this letter to a close, I must express my surprise at the explanation which F. Jones has put before your readers, of the "obscurity," as he calls it—the "inaccuracy," as I have shown it to be—to which I have called attention. He speaks of "the manuscript sent across Europe," the work "put through the press by another hand," and the "special difficulties under which F. Ballerini's *first edition* was printed."

Now, it is a fact of which F. Jones is thoroughly cognizant, that *a second edition of F. Ballerini's work has been long since published*; that the text has been carefully revised—"novis curis expolita,"—as the title page, quoted in my last letter, declares; that many of the Notes in it have been entirely re-written; and yet, that this misrepresentation of Sporer's meaning, to which I have called attention, stands in all its inaccuracy in the second and revised edition, just as it stood in the first.

¹ See RECORD, May, 1874, p. 374.

If, then, the mistake be corrected, as I trust it will be, in the *third* edition of F. Ballerini's work, some other explanation than that which F. Jones has put forward will, I think, be needed, to convince your readers that the correction is to be ascribed to the more favorable circumstances under which that edition may be printed, and will not rather be due to the fact that public attention has been directed to the inaccuracy through the pages of the IRISH ECCLESIASTICAL RECORD.

I have the honor to remain, Rev. and dear Sir,

Most faithfully yours,

W. J. WALSH.

P.S.—Perhaps I ought not to conclude without stating that before reading F. Jones' last letter, I had determined to commence, with your permission, a series of papers in the RECORD, in which from time to time, as I might have leisure, I would place before your readers some other instances of the inaccuracies which I have noted in F. Ballerini's work.

For serious as is the misrepresentation of Sporer's meaning, to which my paper called attention, I should be sorry to have it supposed that with only this case before me, I would have spoken as I did, of F. Ballerini's inaccuracy. This was my reason for stating in that paper that similar instances of inaccuracy are by no means rare in F. Ballerini's Annotations.¹

The inaccuracies to which I thus referred may, perhaps, be corrected in the edition which, it seems, is now in preparation. But at all events, until the publication of that edition, it would manifestly be unfair to F. Ballerini to subject his work to any further criticism.

W. J. W.

¹ See RECORD, March, 1874, p. 269.

NOTICES OF BOOKS.

I.—*Queen's Bench. The Rev. Robert O'Keeffe v. His Eminence Cardinal Cullen. Speech of John O'Hagan, Esq., Q.C., summing up for the Defendant.* Dublin: Printed by J. M. O'Toole & Son, Great Brunswick-street.

II.—*Court of Queen's Bench, Ireland. Report of the Action for Libel brought by the Rev. Robert O'Keeffe, P.P., against His Eminence Cardinal Cullen; with an Introduction by Henry Clare Kirkpatrick, Barrister-at-Law.* London: Longmans, Green & Co.

MORE than a year has passed over since the memorable trial of the "Rev. Robert O'Keeffe v. His Eminence the Cardinal Archbishop of Dublin" occupied the attention of the Lord Chief Justice of Ireland and a special jury of the county of Dublin. For months previous to the commencement of the trial, the utmost anxiety prevailed as to the course, and as to the probable result of the proceedings; and it was universally felt that a great and most important issue was to be raised in connexion with the administration of the Catholic Church in Ireland. It was the first time in the history of that Church that a similar issue, under similar circumstances, had been raised for discussion and decision, and all parties in the country awaited the conclusion with eager expectancy.

We do not care to recall to mind just now the fierce and ceaseless efforts that were made in the anti-Catholic press of the empire to inflame the prejudices of possible jurymen, and to stir them into passionate hostility to the eminent defendant. No language was deemed too coarse—no insinuation too mean—provided only it did its work of insult to the Cardinal Archbishop, and planted a prejudice in the popular judgment. On the other hand, the rev. plaintiff was lifted into the dignity of a martyr, and hypocritical whines of sympathy for him in his "sufferings" (as they called them) were mingled with howlings and curses on "the ecclesiastical despot" (nothing less would answer their phraseology) who was persecuting him. The money-box was shaken for him at every village kirk and conventicle, from John o' Groats' House, high up in the Northern sea, to the lowest point in Cornwall; and

here at home, pockets that are wont to be kept tightly buttoned when more seemly and legitimate demands are made upon them, were freely opened to the call that told of the prosecution of a Cardinal. We can now afford to despise, to laugh at, and forget all this.

Painful and saddening to Catholics as were the incidents and the events of the Callan Case, the Catholics of Ireland have had no reason to be other than gratified at the magnificent vindication of the wisdom, the justice, and the mercy of the administrative code of their Church which the trial elicited; and proud of the learning, the courtesy, and the gentle good nature that marked the evidence of the eminent, illustrious, and able witnesses who were present for the defence. Nay, further, we believe we speak but the simple truth when we assert that the appearance and demeanour of the Cardinal Archbishop on the witness table, and the clear, important, instructive, and most interesting testimony which he gave, effected a total reversion of the preconceptions of every candid Protestant in the kingdom, and swept away the bug-bear notions of "tyrant," "despot," "persecutor," &c., &c., which had been actively spread abroad for months before the trial.

Into all the particulars of the events antecedent to, in connexion with, and consequent on that trial, it is neither our purpose nor our desire to enter. They are familiar to the readers of the RECORD, and now constitute a portion of the ecclesiastical history of the Irish Catholic Church. Moreover, such a narrative would necessarily occupy a much larger space than we could devote to it in these pages; and an imperfect narrative would do justice to neither the one side nor the other. We abstain from such a narrative all the more willingly because it is furnished more eloquently, more clearly, and more succinctly than we could hope to give it, in the report just published, of the masterly and comprehensive address delivered at the conclusion of the case for the eminent defendant by one of his counsel, Mr. J. O'Hagan, Q.C. To that address we refer our readers for a record of all the incidents of the Callan Case, and for a lucid and exhaustive exposition of the great canonical as well as constitutional principles involved in the prosecution. This publication is all the more opportune just at present, as it will serve to dissipate many errors and misconstructions (to use no harsher phrase) traceable in the "Introduction" to a report of the trial lately issued by Mr. Henry Clare Kirkpatrick, Barrister-at-Law. We are not aware whether Mr. Kirkpatrick was favoured with a brief for the plaintiff in the cause; but he has written the Introduction in the spirit of an enthusiastic believer in all the plaintiff tells us,

and of unmeasured scepticism as to the evidence of every body else.

It is pervaded by an evident bias against the eminent defendant, and against the Church whose laws and constitutions were so violently assailed. It is written in a spirit of strong anti-Catholicity, and gives a colouring—for better or worse, as most falls in with his prejudices—to incidents and opinions, not justified by the reality. It exaggerates the merits of the case for the prosecution, and by sneer or innuendo, seeks to weaken the overwhelming force of the defence. That defence, as our readers know, was two-fold; it justified “the libel” charged to have been published through the medium of the suspension and the interdict, on the ground that both were issued according to the legal forms of the Church of which both plaintiff and defendant were members, and to whose laws both were impliedly subject; and secondly, the defence alleged that, even supposing there were informalities in the issuing of the suspension and the interdict, they were issued in perfect *bona fides*, and without malice to the plaintiff.

The first defence is irresistible in its strength, yet Mr. Kirkpatrick seems to think but lightly of it. However, three of the judges of the Queen’s Bench held it to be of the first importance, and it is hard to see how any man of sense could esteem it to be otherwise. The plaintiff was ordained a Catholic priest, and thereby acknowledged himself a member of the Catholic Church, and content to submit to all the laws and obligations attaching to him as a simple member of that Church, and all the additional obligations attaching to him as a priest. It was contended that he was suspended for what his lawful and recognised superiors held to be a violation of the laws of the Church, and that he was suspended in perfect accordance with the forms and prescriptions laid down in the disciplinary code of that religious association of which he was a member. To support this defence, it was further contended that, having been suspended, it became a matter of absolute necessity that the parishioners of the Rev. Mr. O’Keeffe should have been made aware of the fact of his suspension; for otherwise the suspension would be only a farce, and the punishment lawfully decreed by his superiors an utter nullity. “But,” says the rev. plaintiff, “it must not be so! True, I am a member, a priest of the Catholic Church. I acknowledge that the Pope has full authority over me, but I will not permit its exercise. The Pope has commissioned the Cardinal Archbishop of Dublin to investigate my case; by virtue of that commission, contained in a rescript from Rome, he has held his investiga-

tion, and has condemned me. But away in an old book that has grown musty in law libraries, is a statute of Elizabeth, that prohibits the receipt of a papal rescript in these dominions, and taking shelter beneath that statute, I will bid defiance to the judge, and to the sentence." To use the fine language of Mr. O'Hagan: "In the midst of the enlightenment and the progress of this age, when Catholics had come to believe that their religion was free as air—as free in all respects as that of their Protestant neighbours—this statute of three hundred years ago, which we fondly thought was, with its compeers, dead and buried, has been now disentombed by the Rev. Robert O'Keeffe, and deliberately pleaded as having power to annul and efface the spiritual action of the Pope upon the Catholic Church in Ireland. It is conceded, of course, that the external penalties—the forfeiture, the life-long imprisonment, the hanging, and the beheading—have been swept away; but it is asserted that the prohibition remains, and accordingly the Rev. Robert O'Keeffe has, by his counsel, contended that the rescript of the Pope (by which jurisdiction is conferred upon the Cardinal to hear and determine the case) is in violation of the laws of this land. But what is material to say, gentlemen—most material and most relevant—in this case, in which everything is material that sheds light upon the character of the plaintiff, and the sincerity of his professions of being a faithful and orthodox child and servant of the Church, is what I am now about to observe. If, then, this statute, which had been long forgotten and unthought of—which for generations had hung

‘Quite out of fashion, like a rusty mail
In monumental mockery,’

be still the law—and if it can be used by the Rev. Mr. O'Keeffe, not merely as a shield to guard himself against the lawful censures of his Church, but as a sword at the throat of the Cardinal Archbishop, to extort from him, at your hands, damages in money, then the Catholic religion is not tolerated in Ireland."

Mr. Kirkpatrick has not a word of condemnation for this iniquitous statute, nor a word of sympathy with his Catholic fellow-countrymen in the practical enslavement of their religion, and the penal consequences of its exercise. Neither is he stricken with the strange anomaly (so strange, thank God, as to be without a parallel in the history of the Catholic Church in Ireland), by which a priest avails himself, as a bar to his punishment by his lawful superiors, of an instrument which, ac-

cording to the English law, would actually nullify his ordination, and invalidate the collation of the benefice, for the deprivation of which he sues for damages. It was by virtue of a Papal rescript that the Bishop who ordained him was consecrated into the Episcopacy, and it was by virtue of a Papal rescript that the Bishop who appointed him to his parish exercised his jurisdiction. Yet this is the very authority which in this case the rev. plaintiff, by his counsel, seeks to set aside by the exhumation of a buried statute conceived in deadly hostility to Catholicity, and at a period the darkest, the most cruel, and the most intolerant in the whole course of English history. And this is the statute of which Mr. Kirkpatrick is so rapturously enamoured. He gets inflated as he talks about it, and glories that "the Court of Queen's Bench, true to its ancient traditions," had the musty old record at hand to fetter and to outrage the exercise of the Catholic religion in Ireland. With all Mr. Kirkpatrick's boasting, we are convinced that the Callan Case trial has given a death-blow to the statute of Elizabeth, and that many sessions of Parliament will not have passed till it is swept from out of existence as a disgrace to the better, more tolerant, and more equitable spirit of modern legislation.

Mr. Kirkpatrick is utterly bewildered, and, of course, inaccurate, as to the suspension *ex conscientia informata*. There is no need of defining or discussing here the nature of that suspension, and we refer to it simply for the purpose of correcting some misconceptions of Mr. Kirkpatrick on this portion of the case. He asserts that the Archbishop of Cashel gave it as his opinion that the suspension *ex conscientia informata* could be issued only *ob crimen occultum*. The implication is that, therefore, His Grace held the invalidity of the suspension published on the Rev. Mr. O'Keeffe. Yet, on referring to Mr. Kirkpatrick's own notes of His Grace's evidence, we find him asserting over and over again the perfect validity of the suspension, and arguing that it could be issued *ob crimen publicum*. "The Council of Trent," said the Archbishop, "extended the powers of the Bishop to punish delinquencies from public crime to occult crime," and, he adds, that the words used by the Council "form a very strong argument to prove that the powers refer not merely to occult crime, but also to public crime." "The meaning," continues His Grace, "seems to be that not only should Bishops have the power of punishing public delinquencies, as they had before, but *occultum crimen*." Assuredly, Mr. Kirkpatrick was bound to make this explanation when suggesting or leading

to the misapprehension that the Archbishop of Cashel disputed the validity of the suspensions in the cause in question.

But Mr. Kirkpatrick states more than this, and he tells us that "Cardinal Cullen appears to concur with Archbishop Leahy," that the suspension is applicable only to cases of secret crime. We look in vain through the evidence of His Eminence for a confirmation of this statement. Nay, in the very page to which Mr. Kirkpatrick refers us for the Cardinal's opinion on the point, we find him distinctly assuming the validity of the suspension issued against the Rev. Mr. O'Keeffe *ob crimen publicum*, but arguing with Mr. Purcell, Q.C., who was cross-examining his Eminence, that even supposing the suspension could issue only *ob crimen occultum*, we are not to infer that the Right Rev. Dr. Walsh may not have had the knowledge of some *crimen occultum* committed by the rev. gentleman distinctly before his mind as a reason for the issuing of the suspension—for, says His Eminence, "we are to presume that the Bishop wished to make the suspension valid The sentence does not show that he had no private grounds." It requires a mind of the shape and bent of Mr. Kirkpatrick's to fashion out of this a "concurrence" in the opinion that the suspension *ex conscientia informata* is invalid unless when issued *ob crimen occultum*.

Another misconception of Mr. Kirkpatrick, appears in the passage of the Introduction where he alludes to the plaintiff's audaciously astounding assertion that the suspension *ex conscientia informata* could affect only "regulars." "He cited," says Mr. Kirkpatrick, "numerous authorities from the canon law in proof of his position." On looking to the page to which Mr. Kirkpatrick refers us for the "numerous authorities," we find not a single corroborative testimony—not a single tittle of evidence beyond the *ipse dixit* of the Rev. Mr. O'Keeffe himself. It is true, that on cross-examination by Mr. Serjeant Armstrong, he quoted the Fourth Council of Lateran as decisive of the point, but our candid editor forgot to mention, as was subsequently proved and stated by Mr. O'Hagan, that the Fourth Council of Lateran was held in the thirteenth century, and that this "mode of suspension had its origin in the decrees of the Council of Trent, held three centuries later." He quoted also Cabassutius—but only to be obliged to admit that the quotation had no reference whatsoever to the form of suspension then under discussion. When so much is made of the "numerous authorities from the canon law," one would have expected that Mr. Kirkpatrick

would have alluded in his "Introduction" to the sworn testimony of the rev. plaintiff, that, though testifying as an expert in canon law, he had never read a line of the *Decretalia Gregorii Noni*—of the *Decrees* of Boniface VIII.—of the *Clementine Constitutions*—of the *Constitutions* of John XXII., and that he had but the most superficial acquaintance with a large number of other works, forming a considerable portion of the *Corpus Juris Canonici* of which he was assuming to be such an authoritative exponent. Mr. Kirkpatrick omits to notice that the whole Catholic Church was open to the needs of the Rev. Mr. O'Keeffe. All its colleges—all its religious houses—every prelate and priest—every canonist—every theological professor within it—all were within available reach, and he might have summoned any one of the entire ecclesiastical body in the Church to sustain him in his contentions as to the nature of the suspension in question, if he thought that one of them would hold as he did. There was an abundance of them within these kingdoms, who would have been amenable to a subpoena from the Queen's Bench; and if it happened that foreigners, whom he might have summoned, pleaded their non-liability to the jurisdiction, what a stirring argument in his favour his counsel might develop out of their indisposition to give testimony. It would have been the strongest—we were about to say it would have been the only strong point in the case of the plaintiff; and his advocates might have urged with no little show of reason, that their reluctance to obey his summons afforded a powerful presumption, that their testimony, if it could be got from them, was likely to be favourable to him. But no; not one living authority was summoned to the rescue; and we have seen into what the "numerous authorities" from amongst the canonists and theologians of the dead and gone, so triumphantly recorded by Mr. Kirkpatrick, ingloriously diminished at the trial.

We have dwelt at greater length than we intended on this matter of the suspension *ex conscientia informata*, and would gladly pass on from it, but for another passage in the Introduction in which Mr. Kirkpatrick makes yet another allusion to it. He gets contemplative over the subject, and gloomily moralizes about "the wisdom and the justice of entrusting to any class of officials, whether ecclesiastical or secular, a power like this, which may be made the weapon of the most arbitrary oppression, and the means of inflicting serious and irreparable error." We ask Mr. Kirkpatrick was there occasion for such a homily in connexion with the case he was reporting? If there was, it was his duty to state it clearly. If, as

we maintain, there was not, his observations are either an impertinence or a merely declamatory, as well as a defamatory, burst of clap-trap to catch an anti-Catholic cheer. Before writing such a piece of insolent insinuation he should have recalled to his mind (as we assume he heard it) the emphatic language in which Mr. O'Hagan dealt with a similar charge, when uttered at the trial:—"Whether it was wise or unwise to entrust Bishops with such a power is not the question, and you cannot entertain it for a moment. Is it a law of the Catholic Church? You have the Church acting under it for 300 years. And this is to be said: If it were found to entail any injustice—if it were made an instrument of capricious tyranny, it would never have been submitted to quietly for so long. No complaint is made against it." When those whom it most concerns cry aloud for the abolition of this form of canonical procedure, they may be thankful for Mr. Kirkpatrick's advocacy—but, till then, they are happier without it.

We cannot part from Mr. Kirkpatrick without noticing his overwhelmingly saddening intimation that "the conduct" of the eminent defendant was such as to disentitle him to "the sympathy" of him (Mr. Kirkpatrick) as one of "many" in the community. We are not aware that His Eminence the Cardinal gave himself the trouble of asking for Mr. Kirkpatrick's "sympathy," nor can we say that His Eminence would think vastly about it, were he assured that he had obtained it. But of this we are convinced, that, always excepting Mr. Kirkpatrick, there was scarcely a right-minded man in the community who did not profoundly sympathize with the Cardinal Archbishop in the peculiarly painful position in which he was placed. He was dragged from his retirement by a priest of his own archiepiscopal province into the by no means pleasant arena of a public court, and compelled, in vindication of the wisdom and the justice of the laws he was administering, to testify to a line of conduct on the part of that priest, the unfolding of which must have cost him many a pang. Of the thronged audiences that heard the Cardinal giving his evidence, and detailing the long story of the kind and ceaseless efforts he was making for the peaceful settlement of an unhappy contention, there was not one who did not feel impressed with the truly pastoral affection that prompted, and the patience and considerate mercy that pervaded every effort that he made. Each letter of His Eminence, as it was produced at the trial, only revealed all the more clearly the anguish of heart with which the proceedings at Callan had filled him, and the tender, but earnest zeal with which he longed for the restoration of order and religion to the afflicted parish.

As we have said already, with all its painful incidents and bitter memories, the Callan trial has not been without its gains for the Church in Ireland. It has shown what manner of men are the prelates whom God has placed over it. It has shown that the laws of the Catholic Church are laws of deepest wisdom, and that in the administration of them, the tendency is to the side of mercy rather than to that of rigour. It has shown that punishment is inflicted only when every gentler influence has failed, and that the Catholic who feels himself aggrieved in anything that concerns his spiritual affairs, has no need to go for justice beyond the learned, patient, and impartial tribunals which his own Church has constituted for him.

III.—*Pleadings of the Sacred Heart of Jesus. From the French, by the Rev. M. Comerford; with Preface by His Grace the Archbishop of Westminster. Second edition. Fifth thousand.* Dublin: Powell, Essex-bridge. London: Burns, Oates & Co.

WE owe an apology to Father Comerford for not having noticed before this his very beautiful and most suggestive little book. Its arrival at the well-deserved success of a second edition affords us an opportunity of tendering that apology, and of repairing our omission. The work was originally published in French, but in Father Comerford's hands it has gained, rather than lost, by the translation, and will be found to abound with attractiveness from the beginning to the end. It is offered as another tribute to the Sacred Heart of Jesus, and one other effort to spread even still more widely a devotion that has already taken such a hold of the Catholic instinct of the world. We all remember with what an enthusiastic outburst of loving fervour Ireland yielded herself up in sweet captivity to that Sacred Heart on the Passion Sunday of '73, and how joyfully she commemorated her consecration to It on the Passion Sunday last gone by. This little book of "The Pleadings of the Sacred Heart" is admirably calculated to help on the beautiful devotion, and to kindle again the fire in souls that had suffered it to die out or to decay. The special form of devotional exercises which it suggests takes the shape of a devotion of thirty-three days to the Sacred Heart, in commemo-

moration of the thirty-three years which the Divine Redeemer spent on earth. Each day's devotion consists of a fervent exhortation, supposed to be addressed by the Saviour to the soul; of a "reflection" on some special quality manifested in the Sacred Heart; of a "practice" of piety appropriate to the reflection; and of an "example," taken from ecclesiastical history, the lives of the saints, or authentic sacred legends, always interesting and always instructive.

The simple faithful will find "The Pleadings" an abounding incentive to pious meditations and to practical devotion, and the clergy will gather in its pages many a beautiful and pregnant thought, sure to be of use to them in the preparation of their instructions and exhortations. His Grace the Archbishop of Westminster, supplies a brief but most commendatory preface; and a gracefully written, and most instructive, though by no means didactic "Introduction" is furnished by an accomplished Irish ecclesiastic, who has already rendered more than one good service to Catholic literature. The perfect orthodoxy of this valuable little publication is assured by the *Imprimatur* of His Eminence the Cardinal Archbishop of Dublin, and the approbation of the Lord Bishop of Kildare and Leighlin. We again give our heartiest recommendation of Father Comerford's interesting, useful, and most devotional book.

ERRATA.

In the article on "Devotion to the Sacred Heart," which appeared in the last number of the RECORD, inaccurate expressions and incorrect Scriptural quotations occur. In the hurry of preparing the proof-sheets for the press they escaped our notice.

[NEW SERIES.]

THE IRISH ECCLESIASTICAL RECORD.

JULY, 1874.

CATHOLIC MEDICAL MEN, AND THE MEDICAL PROFESSION IN IRELAND.

IN the year 1843, a Select Committee of the House of Commons sat, took evidence, and reported on the then condition and administration of the Medical Charities of Ireland. A vast amount of useful and most interesting testimony was given on the subject, and on collateral branches of it, and the result was embodied in a bulky blue book of over four hundred pages. Amongst the witnesses examined were men of such eminence as Dr. Graves, Surgeon Cusack, Dr. Nugent, Dr. Phelan, Sir George Cornewall Lewis, Lord Monteagle, and others now amongst the dead; and Sir Dominic Corrigan, Dr. Stokes, Dr. Corr, and one or two others who yet survive amongst us. Many changes of importance in the administration of the Irish Medical Charities were the consequence of their suggestions, and many useful improvements were effected in various branches of the Irish Medical Civil Service.

The management of the State-aided Hospitals of Ireland—as the great channels for the distribution of Medical Charity—formed a prominent topic of inquiry, and incidentally, though most naturally, the mode in which the patronage in the gift of the Hospital Boards was disposed of amongst the members of the Medical profession, afforded material for much instructive examination and information. The principal evidence on this latter portion of the subject was given by Doctor (now Sir Dominic) Corrigan, and as an historical record is valuable and important in the extreme. We regret to say that it is not merely as an historical record of a past state of things that we refer to it at present, for it has not ceased to have its perfect applicability to the state of things as it exists in the State-aided Hospitals of Ireland to-day, and with a few slight

changes of names and dates, Sir Dominic might testify to the prevalence of the same anomalies now.

In 1843, Dr. Corrigan bore witness that Catholic medical men were excluded from hospital appointments, and from offices of honour in the medical world, for the simple reason that they were Catholic, and in 1874 the like rule of exclusiveness is the penalty of their creed. In the thirty years that have elapsed since then, great changes and great reforms have been effected in almost every department of the social world. A more tolerant spirit has grown up in quarters whence it was apprehended that the old demon of a bigoted ascendancy could never have been banished; but whilst this beneficent transformation was being worked elsewhere, the Medical Corporations of Ireland were impervious to those happier influences, and gloried in perpetuating the old shibboleths of hostility to Catholicity. They still clutch with a tight grasp the patronage which has fallen to their lucky lot, and greedily guard it, lest a stray crumb of it should fall into a Catholic's possession. This looks strong language, but it is not stronger than the true circumstances of the case amply warrant, and unfortunately it is but too easy to justify its accuracy.

Firstly, let us take the Dublin hospitals. We speak, of course, solely of those hospitals which derive assistance from the State, and depend for at least a portion of their support on the taxes derived from the community. With hospitals maintained by private contributions we have no right to interfere, beyond uttering a protest against the heartless inhumanity which, at least in one of them, denies to a dying Catholic patient the supreme consolations of his religion in the awful closing moments of his existence. In his evidence before the Committee of 1843, Sir Dominic Corrigan, speaking of the relative number of Protestant and Catholic medical men in the hospitals and other medical charitable institutions of Dublin, said that out of 120 or 130 of such medical officers, only nine, or at the very outside, twelve were Catholics, and, added Sir Dominic:—"There is no use in Roman Catholics in Dublin pursuing the profession unless they have a chance of getting these situations, because, if they do not hold hospitals in a large city, they have no chance of acquiring character, and, therefore, as long as such exclusion exists, you keep Catholics from entering the profession." Immediately following on this statement, Sir Dominic was asked by Mr. Smith O'Brien, who was a member of the Committee: "Do you think that in a country in which four-fifths of the population is Roman Catholic, it is right that a system of management

should continue which practically excludes Roman Catholics from the emoluments and advantages of these institutions which are supported by Parliamentary grants, or by public funds?" And Sir Dominic answered: "I think the system very bad." Clearly his high-minded and liberal interrogator thought so too, but the system lives on and flourishes still. It was sought to establish that the appointments to the Dublin hospitals were the result of celebrity, that is, of eminence and character already acquired in the profession. Sir Dominic emphatically repudiated such a theory, and showed beyond debate that "the celebrity was the result of the appointment. A physician," he continued, "can never obtain celebrity unless he obtains a public appointment; you cannot lay your hand upon a single man in Dublin who has obtained celebrity who has not been previously in possession of a hospital or public appointment; it is that which raises them, and if you shut out persons professing peculiar religious opinions from these appointments, you shut them out from celebrity." He was pressed still further with reference to particular individuals by Mr. George Alexander Hamilton, who was shielding, as far as he could, the exclusives, as to whether it was not their professional standing that secured to them their appointments, and he answered: "In the broadest and most distinct terms I mean to convey to the Committee that Surgeon Smyly, Sir Philip Crampton, Sir Henry Marsh, Surgeon Roney, and many other names of unparalleled eminence, had not obtained celebrity at the time they received their respective appointments . . . and I will say that you will not find a single man whose celebrity has not followed on his appointment."

Such being the value of an hospital appointment—a value reaching almost to a matter of life or death for a medical practitioner—how do matters stand in the State-aided hospitals of the Irish metropolis? In the Houses of Industry Hospitals, which have a grant of £7,472 *per annum*, there are nine medical officers, and of the nine, *one* (Dr. Lyons), is a Catholic. The great surgical hospital of Madame Steevens has a yearly grant of £1,300 from the public exchequer, and out of ten medical officers forming its staff, there is not a single Catholic. The Meath Hospital bears a high character, and has a grant of £600 per year—far away less than it ought to have, considering its usefulness to the poor of a large locality. It has a body of nine medical officers, and there is not a Catholic amongst them. Cork-street Fever Hospital has a yearly public grant of £2,500, and spends it well; but in the matter of Catholic medical attendants, it is worse off now than it was in 1843; for we find from the evidence of Sir D. Corrigan

that in that year out of its staff of nine, four were Catholic, whereas in the boasted "liberality" of 1874, there is not one Catholic on its roll of medical attendants. Mercer's Hospital has a small grant from Government, and out of seven medical officers not one is a Catholic. The Rotunda Lying-in Hospital has a grant of £700 per year, and the Master, its only recognised responsible officer, is invariably a non-Catholic. The Coombe Lying-in Hospital has a grant of £200 per year, and out of a very large staff there is not a Catholic medical practitioner except one, who fills a very subordinate position in the establishment. In the Lock Hospital, which has a grant of £2,500 per year, there is no Catholic physician or surgeon. The Hospital for Incurables, at Donnybrook, has an annual grant of something less than £300, and here, too, there is no room for a Catholic medical man. St. Mark's Ophthalmic Hospital, in Lincoln-place, gets a grant of £100 a year, but its staff does not count one Catholic amongst them.

Thus it is that Catholics are dealt with in the distribution of the patronage in our State-aided hospitals, and that, too, in spite of earnest protests on the part of Catholic medical men against the system of exclusion, and of vigorous efforts to break it up for a better and more equitable procedure. We are not saying with whom the blame rests, nor is it necessary that we should here detail the agencies by which the exclusiveness is maintained and perpetuated. We are concerned merely with the statement of facts, and these facts are precisely as we have given them.

But it is not alone in the hospitals that the system of exclusion prevailed in '43, and flourishes in '74. It is the rule in the two great central institutions that regulate and control the whole medical machinery of the country—that is to say, in the College of Physicians and the College of Surgeons. In his examination before the Committee of 1843, Sir Dominic Corrigan was closely pressed to say whether in the elections and offices of honour, as well as of emolument, in the College of Physicians, he believed that the question of a candidate's religion generally affected the result. Sir Dominic carefully abstained from imputing motives, but stated facts, and mentioned names. Being further pressed as to whether or not he considered that the rejection of a certain candidate, who was named for Fellowship in the College, was attributable to his religion, replied: "I cannot have any hesitation in believing that his religious principles must have caused a considerable bar to his admission." The gentleman of whom there was question was the present Sir Robert Kane.

Have matters improved in the College during the thirty-one

years that have rolled by since then? We, too, shall abstain from imputing motives, but shall adhere to the adamant line of facts and figures. To speak its history briefly, the College of Physicians is an outcome of Trinity College, and has been governed by, as well as has governed it, in its medical branches from the time of its establishment to the present. That period embraces now an interval of about two hundred and twenty years, and has been marked by such a spirit of administration as one might naturally expect from an institution that owes and boasts the breath of its existence to "the Virgin Queen" of "reformed" England. Early in its existence, the "Fraternity" of Physicians, as it was called at first, developed into a Royal Chartered Corporation, taking for its title "The President and Fellows of the College of Physicians in Dublin." It maintained its old connection with Trinity, but reserved to itself the supreme control over the exercise of the medical faculty all through Ireland. From its very earliest days Catholics were an offence to the College of Physicians, and indeed there is a record in its transactions of one Dr. Loyd being cited before the body, and solemnly reprimanded for the fearful guilt of being "a Papist." Its subsequent career has not belied the promise of its infant years.

To come to particulars. For the past fifty years it has admitted but one Catholic, Sir Dominic Corrigan, to its Presidential Chair, and it is but fair to add that Sir Dominic was paid the unprecedented honour of being re-elected to the office of President for five consecutive years. But this was at a period in Sir Dominic's remarkable professional career, when, great as the honour was, its bestowal brought more glory to the College than to Sir Dominic, for his fame was world-wide then, and his name as its President won for it a notoriety greater than any it had yet acquired in the popular estimation.

The second element in the constitution of the Corporation of the College are "the Fellows." How are Catholics represented there? According to the *Irish Medical Directory* of the present year, the number of Fellows is 55, and out of these six are Catholic. Within the last few years, on the occurrence of some vacancies in the Fellowships, five Catholics offered themselves at different periods for election, but only one of the five was chosen. Now, it may be asked, what is gained by being a Fellow of the College? Firstly, it is a mark of celebrity in the profession; secondly, it gives the physician so chosen a share in the disposal of a large amount of valuable patronage. And therefore it is, that, as a direct and necessary consequence of the constitution of the Fellows, we

find that all the patronage of the College goes in the direction of Protestantism. The Fellows, together with the Board of Trinity College, appoint to the various offices of emolument in the gift of the College, and to the Professorship of Medicine in the Royal School of Physic (attached to Trinity College), in Ireland. Such being the state of things, it will not be surprising to hear that from the year 1717 to 1874, only one Catholic has held the Professorship of Medicine in this Royal School of Physic in Ireland. Of the offices within the College itself, the *Medical Directory* enables us to state that out of its four "Censors" only one is a Catholic. It has a Treasurer, and he is not a Catholic. It has a Registrar, and he is not a Catholic. It has a Librarian, and he is not a Catholic. Its Professor of the Institutes of Medicine is not a Catholic; neither is its Professor of the Practice of Medicine, nor is there a Catholic amongst its professors of *Materia Medica*, Midwifery, or Medical Jurisprudence. Its Examiners in Midwifery and in Arts are Protestant; so are the Booksellers to the College, and its Estates Agent is also non-Catholic. There are four Committees of the College to look after the administration of its affairs, to arrange its proceedings, and manage its property and its patronage, and on these four Committees there are but two Catholics, Sir Dominic Corrigan and Dr. Lyons.

Thus it is that Catholics are dealt with in the government of the College of Physicians, Ireland. We have stated the facts as they exist, and, we believe, that further comment on them would spoil the revelation.

We turn now to the other corporate body that rules the medical world of Ireland—the College of Surgeons, Ireland. Do Catholics fare anything better there? We admit at the outset, and we do so with pleasure, that the College of Surgeons can point to a course of procedure far more liberal than the College of Physicians, and that its history, its traditions, and its transactions are of a more tolerant type than has marked its partner in Irish Medical Science. But, having said so much, we say all that can be said in favour of the College of Surgeons, and, unhappily, its modern history is an almost unbroken record of the exclusion of Catholics from all its offices of honour and emolument.

The College of Surgeons does not enjoy the bad eminence of association or affiliation with Trinity College, and, so far, is free from the bitter anti-Catholic influences that hold sway in the College of Physicians. The constituent elements of the College of Surgeons are a President, Vice-President, Council, Fellows, Professors, Examiners, Secretaries, Librarian, Curator, Registrar, and some other less important officers. The

number of Fellows is practically unlimited, and the number of the Council, as appears by the latest official return, is nineteen, exclusive of the President, Vice-President, and Secretary. The Council is elected annually by the Fellows, who have also the selection annually of the President and the Vice-President. All the elections in the College take place by ballot. With the Council also rests the appointment of the Professors, the Examiners, the Secretary, and the Registrar. The number of Examiners is thirteen, and the Professorships amount to just the same number ; these six-and-twenty offices are offices of emolument. Now, let us see how Catholics stand in the distribution of the honours and paid offices of the College. According to the latest official record (that for 1873), the President, Vice-President, and Secretary of the College are all non-Catholic. Out of the nineteen members of the Council there is one Catholic ; out of the thirteen Examiners two are Catholic. And it is important to note, that on the Midwifery Court of Examiners—a Court which, as all educated Catholics know, has to deal, both in theory and as to practice, with opinions and decisions on a branch of obstetrics where Catholic teaching is in direct antagonism with the teaching and practice of Protestant *accoucheurs*—not a single Catholic holds a seat. There are but two Catholics amongst the thirteen Professors, and of all the other offices which we have enumerated above as forming the staff of the College of Surgeons, just one, that of Secretary to the Council, is allowed to be filled by a Catholic. As we have said before, it is not our province at present to discuss the *raison d'être* of such a state of things ; we give the facts, and leave the inferences to our readers.

We may add, and we do so with a sort of pride for the past, and of shame and regret for the present, that there was a better spirit in the College in the old times than there is just now. In those days it was not a rare thing to have Catholic Presidents and Catholic Vice-Presidents. There are men alive who remember White, and Roney, and O'Beirne, and Adrien, and Kerin, and Ellis, and Trant, in the Presidential chair, and none could say that they did not fill it with honour and credit to the profession and themselves. Yet of all the Catholic surgeons now alive in Ireland, there is only one, Dr. Fleming, who was President of the College of Surgeons, and that was more than fourteen years ago. Such procedure as this is not a boastful record for the College, nor is it one that it should glory in perpetuating. Yet it would seem as if it were determined to push onward in the same groove of exclusiveness. We were in hopes that it

would have emancipated itself from the sectarianism that appeared to have been its guiding rule for the past twenty years of its existence, and given proof of the revival of a more tolerant spirit within its walls. A golden opportunity was but recently within its reach. At the annual election of its officers held on the 1st of June, a Catholic surgeon of indisputably high qualifications, and who had close official relationships with the College, offered himself as a candidate for the position of Vice-President. The gentleman to whom we allude was Dr. Edward Mapother. Not a word could be uttered in disparagement of his professional fitness for the office. But Dr. Mapother is a Catholic, and his faith seems to have been fatal to his success. At the election, which was by ballot, he was rejected by a majority of nearly two to one, though, we believe, that assurances and promises given before the election—professions of liberality, and lip denunciations of sectarian exclusiveness—made the Catholics and Liberals in the College most sanguine in their anticipations of Dr. Mapother's success.

At the same election three Catholics offered themselves for three out of the nineteen places on the Council. In the result but one was chosen, and the two others were placed at the foot of a list of twenty-seven candidates. Treatment such as this is an insult, as well as an injustice, to Catholic medical practitioners and to the Catholic people of this country. It is a monstrous anomaly, that in a country where it is the Catholic practice that, in the main, sustains and lifts into eminence our medical men, Catholic practitioners should be ostracised in their struggles for professional life and renown. They are banned in the College of Physicians, and the urn is ever sure to tell against them in the College of Surgeons.

It is neither our wish nor our purpose to make any complaint about Protestant medical practitioners in Ireland; many of them are singularly skilful and accomplished, and most of them are kind and considerate to their Catholic patients. But it should not be forgotten, that there are many Catholic practitioners of whom quite the same might be said with equal truth, and it is not fair that their own co-religionists should not practically recognise their ability and their other good qualities as medical attendants. The Hospital Boards, the College of Physicians, the College of Surgeons, most of our Dispensary Committees—all of them are slow in recognising Catholic claims. If, then, from all these ordinary sources for the attainment of eminence in their profession, Catholic doctors and surgeons are practically shut out, it should be the work of Catholic families, and of all whose advice is asked for in

cases of illnesses requiring medical or surgical treatment, to think of the brethren in the household of the faith, and so to assist them, by the practice which may be thus placed within their reach, to attain that experience and that celebrity which our public institutions almost uniformly debar them from acquiring.

The members of the priesthood, to whom in an especial manner we address ourselves in these pages, can do much in this matter, and, by doing it, they will be doing a right and a fair thing for the Catholic members of the medical profession, and will be hastening, in a most effectual way, the downfall of a system of exclusion in our hospitals and our colleges that has broken the spirit, as it has blasted the prospects, of many an able young Catholic in the medical profession in Ireland. When the majorities at our public institutions find that Catholic medical men can reach to eminence and to wealth without their aid, and when they find that the penalty of their old policy of exclusion is a diminution of fees amongst non-Catholic practitioners, they will have been taught a salutary lesson, and, in self-interest, they may be led upon a wiser, a fairer, and a more honourable track.

IRISH ECCLESIASTICAL COLLEGES SINCE THE REFORMATION.

SALAMANCA.—II.

ON the death of Elizabeth, the Irish, believing that James would be favourable to the Catholic religion, if he did not openly profess it, were elated with joy, and proceeded immediately, as was mentioned in the last chapter, to claim and dedicate their churches, form processions, and celebrate Mass in public.¹ Mountjoy, however, soon disabused them of the

¹ Ex litteris Patritii Rochi, mercatoris Hiberni. scriptis Namete in Britania minore, 16 Maii a 1603. ad Dominum Christopherum Cusacum, Praesidem Collegii Hibernorum in Universitate Duacensi :—"Quod spectat ad statum patriae, postquam accepimus nuncium de morte Reginae Angliae, priusquam adhuc proclamatus esset Rex Scotiae, curavimus ecclesias nostras omnes reconciliari, et missas, conciones, et processiones Romano ritu celebrari. Coeptum est hoc fieri in civitate Waterfordensi 24 Aprilis, et illuc subsequenter Corcagiae, Canicocellae, Wexfordiae, Clonmeliae, et indies magno cum incremento proceditur in his exercitiis. Unde nobis minatur graviter Pro rex Anglus, sed frustra. Nam Waterfordensibus et Corgagensibus firmissime est propositum usque ad extremum spiritum, causam hanc tueri. Quod ut faciant si Rex illis annuere nolit, magni sunt indubie futuri tumultus."

error under which they laboured, and told a deputation that he was amazed at their simplicity, when they said they understood the king was a Catholic, and took advantage of the events we have mentioned to deprive the towns of their ancient charters and privileges. He told the citizens of Waterford, when they pleaded an exemption from quartering soldiers in their town, granted by King John, that with the sword of James he would cut in two the charter of John.

The O'Donnell, in whose name the petition of Dr. Conroy was presented to Philip III., was the celebrated Red Hugh, who in his youth had been taken prisoner on board an English ship, and confined for several years in Dublin Castle. This circumstance, and his romantic escape, have invested him with a peculiar interest. When he reached his *own country* after his escape, he was raised to the chieftainship of his clan, and he immediately entered into alliance with Hugh O'Neill against the power of Elizabeth. They sought aid from Spain, and Philip III. sent over a contingent of 3,000 men, commanded by an experienced officer named Don Juan del Aguila, who on landing occupied the town of Kinsale, and advised the northern chiefs of his arrival. O'Neill and O'Donnell immediately set out to his assistance, but were detained on the way by swollen rivers and flooded districts, caused by incessant rains. Mountjoy and Carew laid siege to Kinsale, and the English blockaded the harbour.

A second expedition, which left Corunna on the 6th of December under the command of General Cubiaur, by the merest chance escaped falling into the hands of the English fleet, for as it was making for Kinsale, but about fifteen miles from the harbour, the wind changed, and the General, who was unaware of the presence of the enemy, was compelled to bear up for Castlehaven, where he arrived in safety, with six ships and 650 men, having lost four ships in a storm which caught them in the Bay of Biscay. This new expedition arrived before the Earls, and the natives about Castlehaven flocked to the Spaniards to receive arms from them, and give them all the assistance they could. The lord of Castlehaven, the lord of Baltimore, O'Sullivan Beare (who sent his brother with 500 men), and many others, welcomed and joined General Cubiaur, and swore allegiance to the King of Spain. Seven English ships came from Kinsale to bombard the Spanish position in Castlehaven, but were repulsed with great loss, and the flagship, which with difficulty escaped destruction from the guns of a battery erected on shore, went to the bottom at the entrance of the harbour of Kinsale on its return.

At last the Earls arrived, and took up their positions,

O'Neill establishing himself in a kind of bog behind the English camp, and thereby cutting off its supplies. It was said he was inclined to adopt a Fabian policy, but was overruled by hotter blood, and the issue of the attack made on the English camp was a complete overthrow of the Irish chieftains. Most of these particulars I take from a Diary kept by a member of General Cubiaur's expedition, in which he does justice to the personal qualities and bravery of the Irish, but regrets their total ignorance of discipline and the tactics of war, to which he attributes this sad and otherwise inconceivable defeat, as they were much more numerous than the enemy actually engaged, and were aided by 300 Spaniards under Colonel del Campo, who made a bold stand till half their number fell prisoners. The Diary adds that Don Juan del Aguila, as soon as he saw the sign agreed on, made a sortie, and killed 400 of the enemy, taking four pieces of artillery and seven banners.

On the 6th of January, 1602, O'Donnell embarked at Castlehaven with General de Cubiaur for Spain, and on the 13th landed at Lueca, in Asturias. After making the pilgrimage of Santiago, and receiving very complimentary messages from the king, he proceeded to pay his respects to his majesty, and beg from him new assistance for his native land. In this prayer he was successful; but in the meantime Kinsale and the Castle of Dunboy fell, and the new expedition, which was on the point of setting out, was countermanded; and O'Donnell, in grief and despair, hastened back to the Court in Valladolid to lay his grievances at the foot of the throne, but was seized with fever at Simancas, a village about two leagues from that town, and passed to a better world in the twenty-ninth year of his age, 1602:—

Vix aevo validus patriam defenderat armis,
Saepe quoque hostis ovans agmina fudit Hugo.
Ivit Hesperium princeps O'Donnellus in orbem,
Auxilio cupiens inde redire suis.
Ast properans tantis subito mors obstitit ausis,
Nam pereunte Hugone, mox perit auxilium.

The news of his death did indeed destroy all hope of succour from Spain, and those who accompanied O'Sullivan, who still kept the field after the fall of his castle, began to desert him, and make peace with the English. First went Macmorrough, baron of Licknow and knight of Kerry; then John Geraldine, son of Thomas, James Butler, and several others, leaving O'Sullivan destitute of forces, so that he was compelled to retire to the North.

The fearful condition to which the country was reduced by these protracted struggles, and by the inhuman conduct of the English in cutting down the standing corn with their swords, while they themselves were supplied from England, may be gathered from the following description of the state in which O'Sullivan Beare found the inhabitants of a certain village, called Aghaturgher, which I meet with in a fragment of the history of that chief's movements:—

“Now the day was at hand on which O'Sullivan and Maguire should meet O'Neill in a certain valley, called *Ion-cuna*, to consult about prosecuting the war. Wherefore, leaving Lough Erne with a small guard, they came to a village called Aghaturgher, where they beheld a most horrible spectacle. All the houses were in ruins except the church, in which about thirty poor wretches were found, fearful to behold, so much were they emaciated by hunger and want. They asked alms in honour of Christ Jesus, His Virgin Mother, and all the Saints, and O'Sullivan ordered some money to be given them. They refused it; and he, thinking they despised the small amount, ordered it to be doubled. Then an old man rising from among them, said: We make the same account of a large as of a small quantity of gold and silver. We want food: money is no use to us. You may keep that for your own necessities, for we can do nothing with it. When this and the neighbouring villages were devastated by the dreadful war, and consumed with fire and sword three years ago, three hundred of us, who had lost all we possessed, entered in here, either detained by the love of our native soil, or impeded by famine and weakness, or what I rather believe, prevented by our own and our parents' sins, from reaching other parts where food might be had. During all this time we have lived on roots, except when one of us should die of famine, for then the survivors feasted by lot on his remains. Now we are only about thirty—the living sepulchres of our dead companions! We have no supply of food: no goods are brought here which might be bought with money: the ground lies long uncultivated, for no one could hope to enjoy the fruits of his labour and industry. We often see the enemy's banners heading ruthless incursions; the sound of the bugles and other military instruments rends our ears; the neighbourhood is reduced to ashes, and the fields are moistened with blood. Those who aid either side are punished by the other, and consequently everything about here reflects the image of death.”

Whose heart does not bleed at this pathetic tale? Who does not pity the condition of those poor wretches, while he admires the heroism of the priests who moved amid such scenes?

For about a year O'Neill continued his hostility, but in the end was compelled to submit to Mountjoy, who granted him pardon in the name of the queen, though he knew she was then some days dead. Now that he had surrendered, a new kind of annoyance was created for him. He was called on to prove his title to several properties over which he and his ancestors held dominion, and his claims were rejected. In 1607 he secretly fled to France with Rory O'Donnell, Hugh's successor, and proceeded by Flanders to Rome, where he lived on a pension granted him by the Pope and the king of Spain, till his death occurred in 1616. In connexion with his flight, Licentiate David Roche writes from Rome, in 1608, as follows :—

“ The brave and invincible O'Neill had arrived at a certain port of France, with his wife and eldest son, and a suite of forty persons, and with him Earl O'Donnell, Maguire, and other personages. The king of France caused them to be detained till he should know whence they came and with what object. O'Neill signified to him that he came because he refused the oath the king of England required them to take—that he was the head of the Church—and would not attend Protestant worship. They became convinced that James would do them still more injury than he had already done in occupying their lands, and planting some 7,000 strangers in them, and they preferred to lose all rather than their souls and faith, in defence of which he had warred against Queen Elizabeth for nearly twelve years, and he was on his way to present himself to the Catholic King, from whom he expected aid. When the Frenchman heard this, he gave him a free pass through his states to go whither he wished. He went to Flanders, where the Archduke gave him a good reception; and thinking to pass into Italy, he was warned there was an ambush laid for him, and so he returned to Louvain, where he is at present, Easter, 1608.

“ In the meantime we heard from a priest, who left Ireland lately, that the English were wild on account of this, and had taken prisoner a noble and Catholic gentleman called Art MacRory, of the house and family of the *Mahunes*, alias *Ursinos*, who was in his inn in Dublin, when two wicked men entered and began to say aloud that if aid should come from Spain or Flanders to the Catholics of Ireland, the city of Dublin could be easily taken, and afterwards the whole kingdom. The gentleman said not a word, and one of the ruffians went and reported the conversation he and his companion had in his presence, and without other cause or foundation the constables go and apprehend

him. He was asked what conversation was that which a little before took place in his inn between two men. He told the truth, that he thought they were drunk, and so paid no attention to what they said, but that he did hear the language reported. Because he did not inform on them, he was condemned to death. They hang him, and half alive cut off his head and quarter him, distributing the portions among the gates of the city; and so this innocent and noble gentleman met his death, to the great grief of all, and even not without murmurs on the part of the heretics.

"An English court constable was going with his men, horse and foot, through the land of Tyrconnell in search of malefactors, and he seized a priest, a servant of God, who was going around catechizing the people of these parts, and administering the holy Sacraments, and he was called Bernard O'Carolan. When asked was he a priest, he said he was; and who was the Head of the Church—he answered, the Pope. 'Enough,' said the tyrant; and he takes him to prison, where he was promised rewards and benefices if he acknowledged the supremacy of the king, but he would not. On the contrary, he said to them:—'What can you give me equal to the blessing I have of being a son of the holy and only true Church, whose head is, as I said, the Pope, and none other?' The constable said: 'If you don't drop that papistical nonsense it will cost *you* your head.' 'I wish such happiness were mine,' he answered. 'You shall soon have it if you don't do what I tell you.' The servant of God answered: 'I could wish for time to bewail my sins, but if that is your will, this other is my resolution, and I know God will pardon me my sins.' And without more delay he is taken out of prison, and on the road, not far from the village of Balbatrim, the good priest was hanged, in the year of our Lord 1606, about All Saints.

"At the same time of that year the river and Lough Neirn, between Tyrconnell and Fermanagh, were dried up (a thing never seen nor heard of before), so that the wreck of the ships lost there might have been collected if people had only thought of it. This withdrawal of the sea lasted twenty-four hours, more or less. It has been ascertained that at the same time there was a great inundation in England, which did great damage along the coast of Bristol. It is said there was a prophecy of St. Columbanus which foretold this drying of the sea, and that a child should then be born with marked arms, who should turn out a person of great valour and renown, and should free his country from slavery. It is added, that a certain man, in taking down the wall of a church, found

a document which said the same thing, and the document was of very ancient date. A child, such as described, has been sent to the king : he was born in Cafra O'Donnell, and was son of the Earl of Tyrconnell, who, with his wife and child, went to Flanders with Prince O'Neill and the other gentlemen mentioned. Time will tell if there be any truth in it."

It is now, however, time we should return to the affairs of the College. The memorials against the Irish Fathers were also answered by the Provincial of the Jesuits, who certifies that he knew the working of the house intimately, and that no such prejudice as that alleged existed against northern students, and if these were not received in equal numbers, it was because an equal number of fitting subjects did not present themselves ; by the Bishop, who testifies to the good conduct of the students, and the discipline observed in their government ; by the Chancellor of the University, who gives the students the highest character, and says he never heard of any complaints of the rule of the Irish Fathers ; and lastly, by the existing Rector of the Jesuit House, who says that no resolution about the admission of students was come to without his being previously consulted, and declares that all the charges made by the memorialists are false, and without any foundation whatever.

Notwithstanding this array of testimony in their favour, the Irish Fathers were deprived of the government of the College by order of the king, who commanded that a Spaniard should be placed at its head. This regulation, however, remained in force but for a short time, and only three Spaniards held the office—Father Francisco de Zuniga, Father Martin de Vallejo, and Father Augustin de Muñesa. This last recommended the Provincial to appoint Irish Rectors, as their government would be more tolerable and satisfactory to the students, and less onerous to the Province. The matter was carefully considered, and the king was requested to revoke his former order, which he did on the 24th of March, 1608, and Father Conway entered anew on the direction of affairs.

In a letter dated Rome, 6th of May, 1604, Claudius Aquaviva, General of the Society of Jesus, in answer to a request of Father Thomas White, established the office of *Prefect of the Mission* in the Irish Colleges. His principal duties were to visit the different seminaries ; to procure peace and good understanding between the professors and rectors, and between the rectors themselves ; to encourage harmony among the students, and aid the rectors in preserving it ; to examine the accounts, and promote the material interests of the different houses, and to decide on the change of students from one

college to another, after consulting the rectors. Father James Archer was the first Prefect. Father Aquaviva took a very lively interest in the Irish Colleges all through his life, and is highly complimented by FitzSimon in his Dedicatory Epistle *ad Britanomachiam*, for his zeal on behalf of those seminaries which gave the Irish Mission a constant supply of Evangelical labourers. *Tuis etiam auspiciis*, he says, *tuoque dextro fulcimine, per mille obstacula, tribus hodie in solis Hispaniis gaudemus Seminariis, ex quibus toti regno, vicinisque insulis, jugi inundatione profluunt ista fidei et pietatis columnina et lumina, illi Christi et Ecclesiae nobilissimi athletae, illi in reducendis ad Christum errantibus gregibus die noctuque, per mille discrimina rerum strenue incumbentes Pastores Apostolici.*

In 1605, Paul V., at the request of the superiors and students of the Irish Colleges of Salamanca and Lisbon, benignly granted to the fishermen of Setnual and Casquaes, and other districts of Portugal, Galicia, and the provinces of Bascay, permission to fish on six Sundays or festivals every year, and sell the fish thus taken for the benefit of these Colleges. This permission was of such importance that the authorities of the College of Seville sought a like privilege for their house. The Indult granting this favour is thus dated:—*Datum apud Sanctam Mariam Majorem anno Incarnationis Dominicae millesimo sexcentesimo quinto, duodecimo Kalendas Octobris, Pontificatus nostri anno primo.* This grant also received the sanction of Philip III.; but notwithstanding the pious object for which it was intended, and the papal and royal authority with which it was invested, the tax-gatherers and the tithe-proctors insisted on having a right to a percentage of the proceeds. This claim was resisted by the Irish Fathers, and the matter was referred to the decision of the celebrated Suarez, who pronounced the following opinion on it at Coimbra in 1610:—"In view of the apostolic and royal orders, I find no reason to entertain any doubt on the principal point in question; and so I hold for certain that the fishermen who act on this licence should not pay ecclesiastical tithes, nor any royal tax whatever, and that no tithe-proctor nor tax-gatherer can compel them to pay any such tithe or tax without manifest injustice, and the obligation of restitution of whatever they take, to the pious object to which it was applied by His Holiness and His Majesty, for their will is clearly manifested in the documents, and there can be no doubt of their power."

In this same year, 1610, a very solemn act took place in connexion with the Irish College, and this was the formal acceptance of its patronage by the states of the kingdom. It was on this occasion it got its very honourable title of

Regale Collegium Nobilium Hibernorum—*Royal College of Irish Nobles*—which has since been its ordinary and official name; and received authority to use as its arms the royal quarterings of Spain. A house was also presented to it in the name of the kingdom, and a stone was inserted over the door with the following inscription:—"This College was built by the Kingdoms of Castile for the support of the Catholic religion in Ireland, in the year in which Philip III., the Catholic King, expelled the Moriscos, enemies of the Faith, 1610."¹

In addition to a yearly grant, Philip III. established a viaticum of £10 for each student who had finished his course, and was about returning to the Mission in Ireland. Some abuses having been committed from time to time on this head, inasmuch as some unworthy persons received the viaticum and remained in Spain, or went elsewhere instead of returning to Ireland, the king finally decreed that the £10 should be paid *a la lengua del agua*, that is, on the seashore at the place of embarkation.

It was also about 1610 that the habit of the students, which is worn to the present day, was adopted. It appears that up to this time they had attended class in a loose soutan, in no way distinctive of their college, but worn by nondescript students of all classes, and so a movement was set on foot to obtain permission from the bishop and the authorities of the University to adopt a dress or uniform by which the Irish might be distinguished as a community. The dress fixed on is a loose mantle of black cloth, with a silver and purple cross worked on the left breast, a *beca*, or band of cloth, which crosses the left shoulder, doubles on the bosom, and then passes over the right shoulder, both points hanging down behind almost as far as the mantle reaches, and a cap of black cloth with four points. It is a most becoming and dignified dress, and at the present day highly honourable from its antiquity, and its having been worn by a crowd of

¹ The Moriscos were not the Moors, but their descendants, who feigned conversion, but in private practised their Mahometan rites, and from their turbulent character were a source of danger to the State. The house mentioned in the text was sold in 1768 by order of Campomanes, who gave the Irish a portion of the magnificent establishment, just vacated the year before, by the Jesuits. This latter was ruined in the War of Independence, and Dr. Mangan and his students had to live as best they could till they got possession of the present house, called *Colegio del Arzobispo*, in 1821, which has been in the possession of the Irish ever since, except from 1830 to 1838, when they lived in several rented houses, such as *El Palacio de las cuatro Torres* (the Palace of the four Towers), and the *Casa de los Bandos* (the House of the Factions), so called because it was in it St. John Sahagun reconciled the furious factions which were deluging the streets, and sometimes even the churches of Salamanca, with blood.

holy and learned men during over two centuries and a half it is in existence.

It is gratifying to know that up to the period at which we have now arrived, our young Irishmen continued to deserve the high character they got in former years for talents, application, and virtue, as is evidenced by the following certificate written in their favour by the Rector and Cloister of the University on the 29th of March, 1609, and addressed to the bishop:—"Although this University has still, and has had, so many native children, who witness in their own persons throughout the world to the virtue and learning inculcated in it, yet it cannot but be content and proud to have adopted and admitted into its family, some sixteen years ago, the college of Irish students, who, under the government of the Fathers of the Society of Jesus, have always displayed so great eagerness in their studies, and in the exercises of virtue and Christian perfection, that they have rendered themselves worthy of the highest estimation that can be formed of them, and of any favours which can be done them; particularly when we consider that their sole intention and desire is to return, as they do, to the glory and honour of God, to preach and defend their sacred religion against the heretics in Ireland and other parts, doing immense good, and sealing with their blood, which many have shed, and by their martyrdoms, which many have suffered, the true Catholic doctrine, through the mercy of God preserved in Spain, and taught in this University."

Several of the alumni of the College of Salamanca had already laid down their lives for the Faith in Ireland, and we only regret that the details of the sufferings of many of them have not been preserved. The materials we have at hand on this point are rather scanty, only a few items being recorded. On the 20th of January, 1608, Dermot Carty, Rector of the Irish College of Bordeaux, writes to say that some alumni of Salamanca were taken prisoners, and among them Licentiate Henry Melan (our old friend from Dundalk, whom we met in Santiago), who belonged to the last batch which had left for Ireland. "He had sharp disputes with the heretics in Dublin, in which he displayed his genius and virtue to the peculiar consolation and edification of the Catholics, and the confusion and pain of the heretics, and so they have shut him up in a hole in prison, and treat him very ill. They had also seized Thomas Geraldine, but through interest and money he was liberated."

Licentiate Thomas Wise, a priest, writes from Rome on the

26th of June, 1607 :—"The persecution is daily increasing. They have written to me from Ireland that a priest called Thady Dimiran, educated in Salamanca, was taken prisoner by the heretical English in Ulster, and among the many other offers they made him was a certain bishopric if he would conform. To which he answered, that he would not abandon the Faith for all the bishoprics and goods in the world, and would rather suffer a thousand deaths than do such a thing. Seeing they could not prevail on him, they announced that with balls and blows they would give him the thousand deaths he spoke of : and so they formed themselves in a long file, and charging their guns, made the good priest pass between them and a wall ; and as he ran along, they fired their guns at him. Before he got half way he fell down breathless and choked with smoke, though none of the balls had struck him, and for three days he could not hear a word. They then tried him with more threats and promises, but could do nothing with him. In the end they tied him to a post, and flogged his naked back with extraordinary cruelty on two successive days, and then threw him, half dead, into a dungeon, where he lay when this was written to me. I afterwards learned from a priest who was not far away at the time, that when they were tying him to the post, to secure him the better, they bored holes in his arms and legs, through which they passed the cords, and this inflicted excruciating pain on him. The heretics finally offered him a professor's chair, and the dignity of a bishop, if he would give in. He told them to take him to their professors, and see if they could convince him, and then they might offer him their tempting rewards. They did so, and he carried himself so learnedly and piously in this dispute, that the Lord appeared to speak from his mouth, according to His promise : *Ego dabo vobis quid loquamini.*"

Nicholas Wise, elder brother of the Grand Prior of England, a person of Christian sentiments, and a great servant of God, and one of the most influential and noble of the city of Waterford, when asked to take the oath of supremacy answered :—"Sir, that is a very novel thing for a man of my age, and so don't ask me to do it, for I wont, let what may be the consequence.' After this they did not molest him more."

We shall now hear something of the labours and risks of Eugene Bernard, who was a fellow-student of Henry Melans, and finished his studies in 1606, when he left for the Irish Mission. In a letter written on the 30th September of that

year to Father Conway, he says :—" I have arrived, thanks to the Lord, safe and sound in Ireland, and have reached this city of Galway, after many dangers by sea and land. Here I found the flock of Christ worried by three infernal wolves, who reside in this town, and are considered the most famous of the heretical preachers of this kingdom. These ministers had unfortunately succeeded in inducing many to attend their meetings and services. I have commenced to exercise my ministry with all possible secrecy. I give sermons and lectures frequently : many come to be reconciled, and although I have been here but barely two months, I have disabused the people of their errors, and there is scarcely a person of any standing with whom I have not treated. I have made their reconciliation laborious, and painted in lively colours the enormity of their crimes, which has disposed them, not only to perform any penance that may be imposed on them but to sacrifice life and property before displaying the like weakness again. I have admitted all such, after proving them some time, to the sacrament of Penance. Their error has all arisen from the stupid ignorance of some priests who were never out of Ireland, of whom I think there are not two in this large province capable of hearing confessions. Some of these allowed themselves first to communicate with, and afterwards be deceived by, the heretics, who told them they could enjoy their benefices and say Mass. I have been on their tracks, and, thanks be to God, with such fruit that scarcely any one pays any attention to the heretics now, or speaks to them ; and knowing that this comes from an alumnus of your college, your Paternity would scarcely believe the efforts they make to lay hands on me. And yet whilst I write this, there is only a wall between me and one of them ; but I dare not venture out by day, and when I go out by night I am accompanied by a guard of Catholics, not in a body, but hanging about, lest the heretics should make any attempt on me."

He writes again on Ash Wednesday, 1607, from the same place :—" From your Paternity's letter of the 18th of August I have received great consolation and courage to suffer whatever may turn up. I pursue my ministry *con amore*, and God sustains me with particular favours. The state of affairs here is totally opposed to repugnant sensuality, but is of infinite pleasure to the soul, which prospers in toil and troubles, of which we have indeed more than a fair share. The plague of persecution is general over the whole kingdom, but extraordinary in the province of Munster, where resides the desperate

President, who bought his office for some thousands of ducados which he is drawing, not out of the legitimate produce of the earth, but from the blood and property of our poor Catholics. And things have come to such a pass that now they don't wait for any legal decision, but rush in crowds into the houses of these servants of God, break open doors, tear off locks, ransack shops, leave no corner unsearched, and dig up the earth and carry off everything they can lay hands on, besides taking the owners prisoners, and maltreating whoever should dare to blame or resist them. This perverse man has presented a petition to the English Council, asking for power to deprive the Catholics of their very houses, as well in the towns as in the country; but though each member in the Council agreed with him privately, they yet refused in public. My neighbours, the heretical preachers I told you of, called Daniel and Walsh, are constantly writing against me to the viceroy and chancellor, proclaiming me a Jesuit. There are several heretics appointed and paid to seize me, one of whom is Captain Radra, an Englishman, and many friends advise me to leave this district, but I am deaf to their counsels, and say that to do so would be the part of a mercenary, *qui fugit quia mercenarius est*; but God grant I may never do anything of the kind. The Lord has been pleased, through my exertions in condemnation of discord, to effect a great improvement in this city, which was strangely afflicted with this vice. It is also a great source of consolation to see the fervour and frequency with which the people approach the holy Sacraments of Penance and the Eucharist, some every week, others every fortnight, and many at least every month. I can assure your Paternity that if I had only one virtuous and learned priest, if for nothing else but to hear confessions, this town would soon give a good account of itself from the admirable inclinations of its inhabitants to all kinds of virtue. My friends and acquaintances among the gentry of the province do not dare to approach me for reasons of prudence, nor I them, for fear of my life, and to avoid being the occasion of danger to them. I don't remember having passed, since I came hither, a single day or night without some fright or other; and what security could I have in the houses of Catholics who are far from securing themselves of either their lives or property? My dear father, for the love of heaven get our friends out there to remember us in their prayers. Even if I were not a child of your house they should still do so out of compassion, knowing the great dangers we run. So I again ask your Paternity to get them to remember this afflicted province so wanting in labourers.

"In this city died just now one of the 24——, a person of estimation, and a thorough Catholic, who had lost large property for conscientiously opposing the heretics. Well, when he was about dying, the heretical minister determined to be present, and go through his ceremonies, which the sick man abominated. He forced his way in, thinking the Catholics, though they refused to go to his church, might communicate with him in a private house ; but not one would go near him, so that he got into a great rage, and rushed out, cursing their perversity, and threatening them with all kinds of punishment.

"I don't know what may happen at the sessions or assizes to be held during Lent, but every one fears they will be terrible. I have had no opportunity of recommending the necessities of your college to the generosity of our people. May God relieve them, so that it may train up many labourers for the thousands of souls which are here perishing for want of some one to guide and instruct them. Take pity on me because I have no one to help me. Our Jesuit Fathers stand in high estimation in this city, but there is not one in it. If it were in my power to select, I know on whom my choice would fall."

With reference to the ignorance in matters of religion, caused by the want of priests capable of instructing the people, I will here give a portion of a very long letter, written by Father James Everard, of the Society of Jesus, to the superior in Portugal, in which he gives him a great deal of interesting news about the labours of the small band of Jesuits in Ireland, not amounting to twelve at the time he wrote, which was in 1610. The letter is in Portuguese, and thus speaks of a mission in Dundalk :—

"Dundalk is about sixteen miles to the north of Drogheda. This Advent was the first time that any of ours went thither. Crowds of all classes, not only from the town but the surrounding country, flocked to hear the Father. Many were unable to obtain admission, and had to return home, the place was so completely filled by people who had got up by daylight to secure a spot. The Father taught some boys, and then made them repeat in public what they had learned, and in this way a part of the great ignorance which prevailed was removed, as the grown up persons, rich and poor, who were deficient, contrived to learn something, and many of them paid the boys to go over what the Father had taught them.

"Around this town many children died without baptism, as the poor people believed that no one could administer it but the priest ; and they were filled with joy when they were as-

sured that anyone could do so, and many of them learned the form from the Father.

“ There was also in this town a dreadful custom of challenging one another to drink, introduced among the people by the heretics who lately came from other parts. A gentleman with the title of *knight*, came as a visitor to the house of the chief magistrate, and he was notorious for this custom. The Father spoke to the magistrate about it, and he promised not to allow any abuse of the kind in his house. It followed that though the gentleman tried to induce people to fall into this vice, he found them all warned by the Father, and so had to lead a decent kind of life, *volens volens*.

“ When the Father preached he was frequently interrupted by the sighs, and groans, and cries of the audience ; and they ran from the sermon to throw themselves at the feet of the confessor. People of standing and judgment said the effects of this mission would be felt for a long time in this town and neighbourhood.

“ Through ignorance of the Commandments of the Church it was customary among these people to celebrate marriages in Advent, with all the solemnity and pomp of other times, and the priests did not interfere with them. It so happened that a marriage of this sort was about to take place soon after the Father arrived, and he took the opportunity to reprehend them for it, and explain to them the Commandments of our Holy Mother the Church, and such an abuse will not occur again.

“ In this town there is one of the best and largest markets in the kingdom every Monday, and so people flocked to the one which fell this year on the Circumcision of our Lord, according to the computation of the old Gregorian calendar still in use in these northern parts ; but though the Father did not command, but simply adverted to the breach of the festival, to show you the obedience of these men, and the credit he enjoyed with them, I can assure you they actually put the market off to another day.”

W. M'D.

THE TWENTY-EIGHTH ANNIVERSARY OF THE CORONATION OF PIUS IX.¹

"My sons, be ye zealous for the law, and give your lives for the covenants of your fathers; and call to remembrance the work of your fathers which they have done in their generations, and you shall receive great glory and an everlasting name."—I MACCABEES, ii. 50, 51.

SUCH, my Lord Cardinal, my Lord, Very Rev. and dearly beloved brethren, were the last words which the aged father of the Maccabees addressed, when dying, to his children. The heartless tyranny of the Ptolemies had but recently been exchanged by them for the equally cruel domination of the great but wicked King of Syria; and, as each succeeding day of his oppressive rule brought some fresh disaster, some additional weight of woe, on the unhappy descendants of Israel, the spirit of that much-favoured but faithless people seemed as if broken for ever. At length, it appears, they caught courage even from despair; they arose in the majesty of their might and anger; measured their strength on the battlefield with the tyrant who had so mercilessly ill-used them, and achieved some of those memorable triumphs over oppression which history records with pleasure, and all generations of men hear of with delight. They fought not, however, for either fame or fortune; they fought only for the covenants of their fathers, for the freedom they had long since forfeited, the altars before which they were forbidden to adore; and, as the aged warrior whose martial genius first fired them into resistance, and who put forth the last efforts of his declining vigour against the enemies of his name and nation, was summoned to his dread account on High, he bequeathed, as we read, no other legacy to his children than the noble lesson contained in the text just quoted. "Be ye zealous," said he, "my sons, for the law, and give your lives for the covenants of your fathers." And, in truth, he could not have confided to them a more sacred trust, or transmitted to them a nobler inheritance—the law of God and the traditions of their fathers, the faith which they had received from heaven, and the glory with which they had just covered it by their valour upon earth—creed, in short, and country, a double allegiance which cannot be forfeited without disgrace, nor preserved inviolate without honour.

¹ Sermon preached on the occasion in the Church of the Immaculate Conception, Marlborough-street, by the Most Rev. Dr. CROKE, Bishop of Auckland.

Now, brethren, it seems to me that the words of the dying Mathathias may be most fitly quoted here to day in connection with the great and glorious Pontiff Pope Pius the Ninth, the twenty-eighth anniversary of whose coronation we are assembled in this Church to celebrate. *He* has been zealous for the law, and has literally given his life for the covenants of our fathers; *he* has called to remembrance the works of the fathers which they have done in their generations, and "he shall receive great glory and an everlasting name." Suffer me, then, brethren, to pass in brief review before you the leading features of his illustrious Pontificate, and in doing so to establish those two important facts—that, while being most zealous for the law, our Holy Father, as the temporal ruler, has been the true friend and best benefactor of his country.

I know not, indeed, brethren, if there be a more ample—there certainly is not a nobler or more exciting—theme than the Papacy, and of the Popes who have lived and died since the days Peter there is not even one, perhaps, whose private character was more amiable, whose public administration was more blameless, whose ambition was more divinely moulded, whose rule was gentler, whose love of liberty was more sincere or more conspicuous, whose aggregate of social worth was greater, yet whose career was more curiously chequered, more saddening, or more suggestive than that of Pius the Ninth. His predecessors did wonders, no doubt, for the world. I do not now speak of persecutions borne by them joyfully for justice sake; of nations brought by them from darkness to light and life; or of the mysterious agency by means of which they cast down for ever the idols from the Roman Capitol and raised the emblem of Christianity over the chief City of the Cæsars. This was but the direct fulfilment of their destiny, the accomplishment of their divine mission. I desire only to speak of them as members of the great human family; as rulers of a high-minded and historic people; as the guides and guardians of European civilization for above a thousand years; and, viewed in that light, it is not too much, I presume, to say of them that their influence on the chief destinies of man was at once salutary and undoubted. They were the first who ruled by the force of public opinion; the first who preached the doctrine of universal fraternity; the first who announced the complete equality of man with man; the first who backed right and justice against the capricious exercise of arbitrary power; the first who governed for the benefit of the many rather than of the few, and who

in turn received from the multitude a freer, a fuller, and a more faithful homage than was ever paid to the masters of the Roman Empire by their Prætorian cohorts. Thus, at all events, brethren, it was of old ; and though strangely the saying may sound in the ears of many, thus, too, it is, thank God, to-day. Time, indeed, that trifles with the stability of every earthly structure ; that feeds, in fact, on the ruins of every human production ; time that loves to see all that is beautiful fade away, that brings forth so many revolutions, and infallibly achieves the overthrow of everything not divinely built up, has, I know, put its destroying hand upon, and swept away, perhaps for ever, some of the accidental prerogatives of the Papacy, but the Papacy itself knows nothing of decay. It has outlived all other institutions ; it has witnessed the rise and fall of many flourishing States ; it has survived all the dreams of pride, all the wanderings of intellect, all the corruptions of taste, all the convulsions, as well as the pacification, of empires ; and thus, 'midst the endless fluctuation of human things, it alone can claim to be unchanged, still rearing prominently its hallowed head on high, and, like some primeval rock in the ocean, defying alike the fury of the surrounding elements and the destructive ravages of time. Yes, the Papacy knows nothing of decay. The Pope, to be sure, is no longer the accredited arbiter of Europe ; but Pius the Ninth, for all that, is quite as powerful as the mightiest of his predecessors, and the Church over which he presides, far from exhibiting symptoms of approaching dissolution, is more compact, better knit together, more widespread, more respected and influential to-day, than it has been at any other period within the last 300 years.

I have scarcely time, in proof of this, to name, but certainly not to describe to you, the memorable gatherings of the Episcopacy which, at different periods within the last twenty years, have taken place in Rome. They fully attest the Catholicity of the Church, and the ready obedience of the chief pastors of Christendom to the present successor of St. Peter. For these assemblages, whether designed for the definition of the Immaculate Conception of our Blessed Lady, the centenary of the Prince of the Apostles, or the canonization of the martyrs of Japan, His Holiness issued no positive command. He spoke but a word—he merely expressed a wish to see his brethren around him—and from the ends of the earth they came in crowds to pledge their allegiance anew at the shrine of Peter, and to lay their hearts' homage lovingly at their Father's feet.

But of these Episcopal gatherings there is one that stands out prominently beyond the rest, the last of them all, the General Council of the Vatican, the most remarkable ecclesiastical event of our epoch, and the greatest glory of the reign of Pope Pius the Ninth. About 800 Bishops attended that Council. They came there from the coral islands of the Pacific, from cities and churches unknown to the ancients even by name. They came there from Newfoundland and the two Canadas; from the plains of New England, the fertile valleys of the Mississippi, and the golden shores of California; from Chili and La Plata and the free Republics of the South; from the classic isles of Greece, as well as from the sacred plains of Palestine and Syria; from the shattered remains of the great patriarchates of the East, from Antioch and Byzantium, and from the sites of the fallen churches of Africa and Asia. From the East and from the West they came. The Teuton and the Dane, the Celt and the Saxon; the descendants of the Northern pirates and of the Latin kings, were alike assembled there. There were 200 Italian Bishops or more; say 50 French, 48 German, a like number from the United States, nearly as many from Mexico and South America, 11 English, 21 Irish, and above 40 Spanish Bishops, to say nothing of the Bishops of the rapidly rising churches of Australia and New Zealand that have literally sprung into existence during the Pontificate of the present Pope.

And for what purpose was this great Council summoned? Was it, as is maliciously alleged by some, to disturb States, to give offence to statesmen, to set up, and, if possible, sustain, claims to universal dominion, or to interfere in anywise with the legitimate powers and privileges of secular princes? No, brethren, but to contrive remedies against the manifold evils by which modern society is afflicted, and which threaten alike the destruction both of the altar and the throne. On the continent of Europe and elsewhere a school of evil teaching was, and is, notoriously open, and doctrines the most pernicious were preached and propagated by it, in defiance of all shame and reason, and to the sore detriment of law, order, and morality. The existence of God, the divinity of our Lord, the immortality of the soul, human accountability—in fact, all the fundamental truths of Christianity—are not only fearlessly canvassed by many of the rising youth of this generation, but are openly scoffed at and contemptuously rejected. At a banquet given, a couple of years ago, on a Good Friday, in one of the chief capitals of Europe, the first toast that was

proposed and drunk was to the memory of the men who crucified Jesus Christ ; and it is only a few months ago since I read, in another quarter of the globe, that, on the occasion of the installation of a famous French revolutionist into what is called "the Lodge of Light," he was asked, as is usual, what were the three great ends which he proposed to himself on entering the fraternity ; and his answer was, to advance human freedom, to spread the doctrine of universal fraternity amongst men, and to *wage war against God*. No man, it is now said, has a right to regulate another man's movements. Each one is to guide himself. There is no certain measure of right and wrong. Every ruler is a tyrant—every restraint is unreasonable. Liberty alone is to be worshipped ; and whosoever dares to stand in the way of universal liberty is the avowed enemy of human progress, and a fit object for the vengeance of every free-born man.

I shall not pause here to refute the oft-repeated calumny that the Catholic Church is unfavourable to human freedom, and that Catholics from the very nature of their creed must necessarily be slaves. We unhesitatingly assert the contrary. We fearlessly say that we yield to no denomination of Christians in our love of liberty. Life would be scarce worth having if it were not accompanied by freedom, and one of the choicest gifts of the God of Nature to his creatures is liberty. Look around you and above you, and see are not all things wholesomely free. What can arrest the progress of the earth's waters towards the sea, or who dares bid the ocean to cease its murmuring ? Fire is free to consume—it is its nature. The lion is free to roar ; the fishes are free beneath the wave ; the birds are free in the air ; and even the meanest reptile that crawls beneath our feet is free to roam within the limits which the generosity of Nature has assigned it. And can it be that man, the masterpiece of creation, may be rightfully despoiled of this, the grandest portion of his inheritance ? No. Tyrants may trample on the outward shrine of liberty ; but they cannot extinguish the living flame on which it feeds. Like the vital spark within us, which leaves its earthly tenement only to travel to a better sphere where it hopes to be clothed in perennial beauty, liberty expelled one country is sure to settle in another—its home may be altered, but its essence is immutable and eternal. We, Catholics, then, are for liberty, but we are for liberty founded on the Gospel. "Where the spirit of God is, there," the Scripture says, "is liberty." Now, the spirit of God is a spirit of order, a spirit of meekness, a spirit of fair play, a spirit of charity that thinketh

no evil, a spirit of universal love; and such is the spirit of liberty which the Council of the Vatican was anxious to encourage and diffuse. Liberty to teach, liberty to command her subjects, liberty to point out evil that it may be avoided, and the right road that it may be followed; freedom of education, freedom for the religious orders, now so scandalously trampled under foot; freedom of association for all righteous ends; such is the only liberty that deserves the name; that liberty the Church has always claimed, and in defence of that liberty every Bishop of the Church, like the martyred Bishops of the German empire—yea, every Catholic now before me should, and I believe would, be prepared to risk his life and fortune.

And, beloved brethren, in this respect, as in all others, our Holy Father the Pope has set us a most encouraging example. Robbed of the sacred patrimony which had come down to him through an unbroken line of his predecessors since the time of Charlemagne; scoffed at, calumniated, and almost reduced to poverty; expelled the palaces hallowed by the footsteps of so many saintly Pontiffs, a prisoner in the very city in which the ashes of the first Pope have found a fitting resting place; he has spent the last seven and twenty years of his life in praying for his enemies, in blessing the children that have remained faithful to his gentle sway, in extending the boundaries of that Church of which he is the holy and infallible head—condemning errors, proclaiming God's truth, oftentimes at the peril of his life; erecting new Sees, establishing sentinels on the watch towers of Israel, walking fearlessly in the footsteps of his Lord and Master, ever "zealous for the law," and defeating all the machinations of his enemies by the dignified uniformity of his attitude, as well as by his thorough and uncompromising independence. Long live, then, our Holy Father Pope Pius the Ninth, to rule over, to edify, and encourage us. May his days on earth be yet many; and may triumphs to come fully atone to him for all the trials and troubles of his past Pontificate. He was "zealous," brethren, "for the law;" and let me now add, as a temporal ruler, he was the true friend and the best benefactor of his country. Let us briefly glance at the history of this case.

The present illustrious occupant of the chair of St. Peter, Pope Pius the Ninth, was raised to the Papal dignity on the 16th of June, 1846, and on the 16th of July of the same year, just one month after his election, he published the famous amnesty of which you all have heard, and which opened every prison door in the Pontifical States. One condition alone was imposed on each

political offender—that he should sign a declaration as follows:—"I, the undersigned, acknowledge the spontaneous pardon which my lawful Sovereign, Pope Pius the Ninth, has accorded me, and I promise upon my word of honour not to abuse in any way, nor at any time, this act of his sovereign clemency in my regard." Immediately after the promulgation of that decree there was not in Europe, it may be safely stated, a more popular prince than the Pope. That is to say, he was popular amongst his own people and in every country where constitutional liberty was respected. But he was not popular in certain despotic European States; in Austria, for instance, and Naples, and the smaller Principalities of the Italian Peninsula; and he became less so when, on the 19th of April, 1847, he announced his intention of summoning a National Council to aid him in all his deliberations, and to share with him the responsibilities of government. Austria, thereupon, became not only angry, but insolent; and the correspondent of the *Times*, writing from Rome on the 28th of March, 1847, for once spoke the truth when he said:—"The resolution of the Pope to pursue a course of reform, to encourage railroads, to emancipate the press, to admit laymen to offices in the State; above all, the dignified independence of action manifested by the Court of Rome has filled the Austrians with apprehension and anger." The promised Council was inaugurated on the 15th of November, and His Holiness addressed the assembled Senate in the Quirinal as follows:—"I have three millions of subjects as witnesses that I have hitherto accomplished much to unite with me my people. You will now aid me with your wisdom to discover that which is most useful for the security of the throne and the real happiness of my subjects." Shortly after came the year of revolutions. Europe was in a blaze. Popular excitement everywhere knew no bounds. Louis Philippe fled from France. The Austrian Eagle was trampled under foot in the streets of Milan. Barricades became fashionable in Berlin and Vienna, and the ancient Republican glories of Venice were for a season, at all events, revived. Rome partook largely of the general intoxication. The so-called apostles of liberty were abroad, and nothing short of a Republic would satisfy the excited populace. What need I say more? The amnesty was forgotten; past concessions were despised: the Pope's Prime Minister was assassinated in open day; the Pope himself was forced to flee from his palace; the great High Priest of revolution was installed in his stead, and the Eternal City had to witness the most Satanic atrocities from the 25th

of November, 1848, to the 14th of April, 1850, when the Pope returned once more to his capital, amidst the blessings and acclamations of his people. Since then, and up to the period of his last dethronement, his policy was one of liberality and reform, and I was, therefore, justified in saying that, even as a temporal prince, he proved himself to be the true friend and best benefactor of his country.

But, brethren, speaking individually for myself, and yet I fancy, reflecting the convictions of many, if not all of you, I unhesitatingly say that, even though I did not recognise in him the divinely constituted head of Christ's Church upon earth, or the wise and beneficent ruler of a portion of God's people, I yet, somehow, should respect Pope Pius the Ninth, and entertain for him the highest reverence and esteem. He has been so tried, so brave, so patient, so consistent, so unyielding ! Borne down upon, and buffeted, and reviled, and persecuted, no effort of malignity was spared to precipitate him from his lofty station. But it was all in vain. He is always dying, and yet he lives ; he is always falling, and yet he holds his ground ; he is always growing more and more feeble, and yet he flourishes ; he has far exceeded the average years of man, and yet he is radiant with the smiles of youth and cheerfulness ; he is always losing his power, and yet when he strikes a blow, hammering down a king, or bidding defiance with unarmed hand to an arrogant emperor, the sound whereof reverberates through the universe, and is felt and spoken of from pole to pole. The wires are always busy with him. The movements of the mightiest of the world's great ones are but rarely noticed, and their utterances, as a rule, held in small account ; but a word from the Pope is flashed to the ends of the earth ; it decides the fate of dynasties, dissipates the doubts of thousands, and fixes the faith of the great body of believers. How potent he must be when all conspire against him ! There is no combination against imbeciles. Europe, in our epoch, allied itself against one man ; but he was the genius of warfare, the greatest captain and strategist since the days of Alexander. We have no fear, then, for the Pope. The last moment of darkness expires midst the first rays of light. Humiliation is often the harbinger of triumph ; and so, as the Lord liveth, he will soon scatter the enemies of our Holy Father, even as the wind scatters the sand on the seashore.

And proud am I, brethren—I, who for some years past have been a waif and a wanderer on the great waste of waters, living as a missionary Bishop on a lone island at the Antipodes—proud am I, when I return once more to the old land in which I was

born, to find the attachment of the Irish people to the Pope and to the faith of their fathers more intense if possible, more active and conspicuous, than at any past period of her history. Yet, for these great and truly exceptional favours which you have received from on High ; for Ireland's unalterable attachment to the faith ; for her unbroken Hierarchy, happily crowned in our days by an Irish Cardinal, whose fame for wisdom and sanctity is over all the Churches ; for her unpurchasable priesthood, and the unswerving fidelity of her noble-hearted people, humanly speaking, you could have had no grounds to hope. Ours, you know, was not amongst the Churches that were most favoured in their origin. There were Churches founded by the Apostles themselves, protected by the Emperors of Christian Rome, and presided over for a long series of years by the most pious and enlightened pastors. The Church of Ephesus, founded by St. John, has long since fallen to decay. The Church of Alexandria exists no longer, though St. Mark laboured much to give it strength and stability ; and even the Church of Jerusalem itself, governed, as it had been, for a number of years by St. James the Apostle, formed no exception to the decline of other Apostolic Churches. What has become of the illustrious Churches of Asia and Northern Africa, of the Churches in which Chrysostom preached, for which Cyprian suffered, and Augustine wrote ? Weeds are now growing over the ruins of Carthage ; and in the capital of the Eastern Empire, built as it was by the first Christian Emperor, and adorned by the piety or patriotism of his successors for above a thousand years, the Crescent has long since displaced the Cross, and the fanatical followers of the Arab Prophet prefer Mahomet to Christ—the licentious teaching of the one to the sublime morality of the other. But here—here in this remote island, now so undistinguished, but once the fairest in the sea, the lamp of Faith once lighted has never yet suffered even the dimness of an hour. Like the sacred fire guarded by the Vestals of another age and clime, we have preserved our faith pure, and in all things unchanged, during the long, long period of fourteen hundred years. True, indeed, that in some respects our Church's first glory has gone down ; that the saint and the scholar journeying from afar have long since ceased to seek shelter on our once hospitable shore ; true, that our religious houses of European fame, the abodes of piety, of peace, and learning, and which formed the chief glory and greatness of this ancient island, teach now no lesson except by their ruins ; true, that our sceptre is broken and our name is without honour in the councils of the great, still may

we boast with pride and truth that we have preserved our faith untarnished, undiminished, unalloyed, 'midst the revolution of empires, and the utter ruin of seemingly more favoured churches.

Furthermore, brethren, look around you everywhere on the scattered children of your creed and race, and what do you behold? Abroad you see our Irish missionaries labouring for God's Church in every land that the sun shines upon, and carrying the glad tidings of redemption to the people of every clime and colour. At home you see the sublime spectacle of a poor and but recently emancipated people building up and beautifying the fallen temples of the Most High, supporting the ministers of their Church in more than ordinary comfort and respectability, erecting colleges, schools, hospitals, houses of refuge, and without Government aid or countenance from the great, walking, I may say, in the van of Christian civilization, and sustaining the great cause of Christian progress and enlightenment in this island. And, oh! brethren, is it not sweet, is it not passing sweet, to see the homes of our forefathers thus built up, their memories vindicated, and the faith for which they fought and bled rising from off the ground on which it was trodden down—ay, and rising with renewed vigour and endowed with marvellous fecundity.

Catholicity, you see, cannot die. The long list of saints who professed and practised it; the million martyrs who died in its defence; the host of scholars who sprang up under its auspices and did battle in its cause; the virtue that it fosters, as well as the civilization that it has scattered, even to the ends of the earth, attest beyond dispute the divinity of its origin. Error, brethren, is not lasting—fiction fades away, even art's most glorious monuments must perish, but truth is not subject to diminution or decay, and what is built on it is enduring as the heavens. Cleave closely, then, brethren, to this fine old faith of yours. Be proud of it; profess it fearlessly; practise it; live in it; and as the last and most precious remnant of your mutilated inheritance, forfeit it not even in death. It is no new-fangled faith framed or fabricated but a while ago. It is the faith which Christ taught upon earth and wherewith he enriched His Church. It is the faith of the Apostles and of the elect even from the beginning. It is the faith for which the martyrs suffered, and the just were persecuted in every age. It is a faith which the proud philosophy of Rome vainly sought to overthrow—a faith, therefore, at once pure, consoling, and apostolical; a faith unaltered by time, untainted by error, indestructible by sword,

or sage, or sophist ; a faith, in short, which as it preceded, so shall it survive, every modern innovation, and yet resume that empire over the world which truth has never forfeited but for a while. Such, brethren, is the faith of our fathers, the faith of which His Holiness the Pope is the fearless and infallible expounder. May it be to you an active faith, as it will be a lasting and cherished one, influencing your thoughts, and deeds, and words, and giving value to them all. And, as you do now praise, and bless, and pray for those who in bright days built up, and in evil days defended, the time-honoured edifice of your native Church, so may generations yet to come praise you and bless you, telling to their children, and to the children of them again, that you of the present age were well worthy of the saints that preceded you, that you "were zealous for the law, and prepared to give your lives for the covenants of your fathers ; that you called to remembrance the works of your fathers which they had done in their generations, and that you deserved great glory and an everlasting name."—1 Mac. c. ii. 50, 51.

DOCUMENTS.

I.—LETTER OF THE POPE TO THE RUTHENIAN BISHOPS.

Venerabilibus Fratribus Iosepho Sembratowicz Archiepiscopo Leopoliens. Haliciens. et Camenecien. Ruthenorum aliisque Episcopis eiusdem ritus gratiam et Communionem cum Apostolica sede Habentibus.

PIUS PAPA IX. VENERABILIBUS FRATRIBUS SALUTEM ET APOSTOLICAM BENEDICTIONEM.

OMNEM sollicitudinem vel a primis diuturni Pontificatus Nostri annis adhibuimus atque operam dedimus ad spirituale Orientalium Ecclesiarum bonum procurandum et fovendum, solemniter, inter cetera, declarantes sartas ac tectas religiose servandas et custodiendas peculiare catholicas Liturgias,¹

¹ Litterae Apostolicae ad Orientales quarum initium *In suprema diei 6 Ianuar. 1848.*

quas pariter Praedecessores Nostri maximo in pretio semper habuerunt. Qua porro in re luculentissima sunt quae Clemens VIII. tradidit in sua Constitutione *Magnus Dominus* an. 1595, Paulus V. in suo Brevi diei 10 Decembris 1615, ac potissimum, reliquis omissis, Benedictus XIV. in suis encyclicis Litteris *Demandatum* an. 1743, et *Allatae sunt* an. 1755.

Cum autem arctissimus existat nexus quo cum dogmaticis doctrinis disciplina praesertim liturgica coniungitur et consociatur, hinc Apostolica Sedes, infallibilis Fidei Magistra ac sapientissima Veritatis Custos, vix ac deprehendit "periculosum et indecorum aliquem ritum in Orientalem Ecclesiam irrepsisse, illum damnavit, improbavit eiusque usum ipsi prohibuit."¹

Rursus memorata cura illibatas servandi veteres Liturgias impedimento non fuit quominus inter orientales ritus adsciscerentur etiam nonnulli ex aliis Ecclesiis accepti, quos, uti ad catholicos Armenos Gregorius XVI. fel. record. scribebat; "Maiores vestri aut, quia rectiores visi fuerant, adamarunt, aut tamquam notam ab haereticis schismaticisque eos discernentem aliquo abhinc tempore assumpserunt."² Quapropter, ceu tradit idem Summus Pontifex, "ea regula omnino servanda est qua statuitur, inconsulta Sede Apostolica, in sacrae Liturgiae ritibus nihil esse innovandum etiam nomine instaurandi caerimonias, quae Liturgiis ab eadem Sede probatis magis conformes esse videantur, nisi ex gravissimis causis et accedente Sedis Apostolicae auctoritate."³

Hisce porro iuris principiis, quae pro universis orientalis ritus Ecclesiis sapienti consilio fuerunt sancita, regitur quoque, uti pluries data occasione declaratum est praesertim in superius memorata Brevi Pauli V., liturgica disciplina Ruthenorum, quos non destiterunt Romani Pontifices singulari benevolentiae affectu ac peculiaribus favoribus prosequi; et vix ac aliquod periculum imminere et eorum fidem in discrimen adduci perspectum est, Apostolica Sedes ad tantum malum avertendum vocem suam absque ulla mora attollere non praetermisit. Solemnia adhuc sunt verba quibus usus est Decessor Noster Gregorius XVI. fel. me.⁴ cum scilicet Ruthenorum natio, ut cuique exploratum est, in asperrima versaretur rerum conditione qua ipsos ad usque tricies centena millia ex Catholicae Ecclesiae gremio miserrime avulsos et hodie lamentamur.

¹ Benedictus XIV. in suis Litteris *Allatae sunt* § 27 diei 26 Iulii 1735.

² Gregorius XVI. in suis Litteris *Studium paternae benevolentiae* diei 2 Maii 1836.

³ Gregorius XVI. in suis Litteris *Inter gravissimas* diei 3 Februarii 1832.

⁴ Allocutia habita in Consistorio diei 22 Nov. 1839.

Nec pariter Ruthenorum nationi defuit ejusdem Apostolicae Sedis auxilium, cum graves et diuturnae controversiae in ecclesiastica Provincia Leopoliensi ob disciplinae et ritus varietatem, atque ob mutuas relationes, quae inter ecclesiasticos viros latini et graeci ritus ibi intercedebant, non absque christianae charitatis detrimento agitabantur, quae per conventionem seu concordiam ab Episcopis utriusque ritus propositam, et die 6 Octobris 1863 sancitam decreto S Congregationis de Propaganda Fide pro negotiis orientalis ritus, feliciter fuerunt compositae ac diremptae.

Verum miserima rerum adiuncta in quibus eadem ecclesiastica Provincia, et potissimum finitima Chelmensis Dioecesis in praesentiarum versantur, omnem Nostram vigilantiam et sollicitudinem iure ac merito rursus expostulant. Nuperrime siquidem ad Nos relatum est inter istos Catholicos Graeco-Rutheni ritus vel acrem controversiam de re liturgica temerario ausu excitatam esse, ac quosdam existere, licet in clericali ordine constitutos, qui rebus novis studentes sacras caerimonias alias immemorabili usu laudabiliter receptas, alias quoque Zamoscenae Synodi, quam Apostolica Sedes probavit,¹ sanctione solemniter confirmatas, proprio lubitu immutare ac reformare pertentant.

Sed quod magis Nos angit, et intima aegritudine Cor Nostrum afficit est quod recenter accepimus de miserrimo rerum statu quo affligitur Chelmensis Dioecesis. Siquidem, recedente eiusdem Episcopo paucis abhinc annis per Nos Ipsos instituto, et spiritali vinculo cum eadem Dioecesi adhuc illigato, quidam pseudo-administrator, quem Nos episcopali munere indignum iam pridem iudicavimus, minime dubitavit ecclesiasticam iurisdictionem usurpare, cuncta in memorata Ecclesia pessumdare, ac potissimum rem liturgicam canonice sancitam proprio Marte confundere ac perturbare.

Moerentes adhuc prae oculis habemus circulares litteras die 20 Octobris anni 1873 editas, quibus infelix ille pseudo-administrator divini cultus exercitium sacramque liturgiam innovare audet, ea plane mente ut in catholica Chelmensi Dioecesi Schismaticorum liturgia inducatur; et ad rudes ac simplices decipiendos, eosque facilius ad schisma impellendos ipse non erubescit in medium proferre nonnullas Apostolicae Sedis Constitutiones, earumque sanctionibus in suum sensum detortis fraudulenter abuti.

Porro quae in praecitatis litteris de re liturgica disponuntur nulla prorsus ac irrita existere nemo est qui non videat,

¹ Benedictus XIII. in suo Brevi *Apostolatus Officium* diei 19 Julii 1724.

eademque Nos nulla et prorsus irrita Apostolica Nostra Auctoritate declaramus. Imprimis enim memoratus pseudo-administrator quavis ecclesiastica iurisdictione penitus destituitur, quam scilicet nec legitimus Episcopus in suo discessu, nec postea Apostolica Sedes eidem umquam demandarunt, ac proinde ipsum *per ostium non intrasse in ovile ovium, sed ascendisse aliunde*¹ ac veluti intrusum habendum cuique perspectum et exploratum est.

Ad haec Sacri Ecclesiae Canones antiquos orientales ritus legitime inductos religiose utique servandos praecipiunt, cum "Praedecessores Nostri Romani Pontifices satius consultiusque duxerint ritus huiusmodi, qua in parte nec Fidei catholicae adversantur, nec periculum generant animarum, aut ecclesiasticae derogant honestati, approbare seu permittere:"² at simul ipsi solemniter indicunt, nemini prorsus, hac Sancta Sede inconsulta, fas esse in re liturgica vel leviores innovationes peragere, quemadmodum satis abunde commonstrant Apostolicae Constitutiones, quas initio retulimus.

Nec ullius momenti est quod ad fucum faciendum adiicitur, nimirum liturgicas huiusmodi innovationes proponi ut orientalis ritus expurgetur et ad nativam integritatem restituatur. Quandoquidem Ruthenorum liturgia nulla alia esse potest nisi quae vel a sanctis Ecclesiae Patribus fuit instituta, vel Synodorum canonibus sancita, vel legitimo usu inducta, Apostolica Sede sive expresse sive tacite semper adprobante: et siquae variationes temporis lapsu in eadem Liturgia occurrerunt, eae profecto non inconsultis Romanis Pontificibus et potissimum ea mente invectae sunt, ut huiusmodi ritus a quavis haeretica et schismatica labe eximerentur, atque ita catholica dogmata ad incolumitatem fidei tuendam, et bonum animarum promovendum rectius et clarius exprimerentur. Quocirca sub dolosa specie ritus expurgandi, eosque in integrum restituendi nihil aliud intenditur nisi parare insidias fidei Ruthenorum Chelmensium, quos ab Ecclesiae Catholicae gremio distrahere, et haeresi ac schismati devovere perditissimi homines adnituntur.

Sed acerbissimas inter, quibus undique premimur, angustias Nos reficit ac recreat praeclarissimum et plane heroicum fortis et constantis animi spectaculum nuperrime Deo, Angelis et hominibus oblatum a Chelmensis Dioeceseos Ruthenis, qui iniqua pseudo-administratoris mandata reiicientes, mala quaeque perpeti atque ipsam vitam in extremum discrimen maluerunt adduci quam avitae fidei iacturam facere et catholicos

¹ Io. Cap. x. v. I.

² Benedictus XIV. in sua Constitutione *Etsi pastoralis* edita die 26 Maii 1742.

dimittere ritus quos ipsi ab eorum maioribus receperunt et incorruptos ac illibatos se perpetuo servaturos conclamarunt.

Nos autem Deum omnibus percibus orare non intermittimus, ut dives in misericordia lumen gratiae suae in corda eorum, qui omne contra fas Chelmensem Dioecesim divexant, clementer effundat, ac simul miseris illis fidelibus omni prorsus auxilio et spirituali regimine destitutis potentem suam opem afferat, et optatae tranquillitatis solatium acceleret.

Post haec Vos Venerabiles Fratres qui tanto studio ac singulari zelo demandatam Ruthenorum curam suscepistis, etiam atque etiam in Domino hortamur, ut liturgicam disciplinam ab Apostolica Sede probatam, vel eadem sciente et non contradicente invectam religiose tueamini, quavis innovatione penitus interdicta, et accuratam Sacrorum Canonum hac in re editorum, ac potissimum Zamoscenae Synodi custodiam Parochis atque Sacerdotibus vel per severissimas, si opus fuerit, poenarum sanctiones praecipiendam curetis. Agitur enim de re gravissima, videlicet de salute animarum, cum illegitimae innovationes catholicam Fidem et sanctam Ruthenorum unionem in summum discrimen adducant. Quamobrem nulli curae, nulli labori parcendum est, nihilque intentatum relinqui debet quo universae in re liturgica perturbationes istae a pravis hominibus excitatae vel ab earum primordiis penitus comprimantur: quibus muneribus fortiter et suaviter obeundis Vos Venerabiles Fratres, Dei opitulante gratia, minime defuturos confidimus.

Quod ut feliciter contingat Apostolicam Benedictionem Vobis, Venerabiles Fratres, et gregibus cuiusque Vestrum curae concreditae peramanter in Domino impertimus.

Datum Romae apud S. Petrum die decimatertia Maii MDCCCLXXIV. Pontificatus Nostri anno vicesimoctavo.

PIUS PP. IX.

II.—DECREE OF THE SACRED CONGREGATION OF THE COUNCIL.

[In certain parts of Italy the infidel party have taken to themselves the right of electing their own parish priests, and, in some cases, ecclesiastics have been found to accept parishes so conferred. In order to meet this difficulty, the Sacred Congregation of the Council has issued the following decree].

THE members of the condemned sects, who are continually endeavouring to obtain power, and who, when they obtain it, direct all their efforts to disturb society and to overturn the

fundamental constitution of the Church of Jesus Christ, fear not, even in the heart of Catholic Italy, to excite the people to follow the sad example of certain men in Switzerland, who have pushed their audacity so far as to usurp and arrogate to themselves the right of pastors of souls. And what is still worse, certain ecclesiastics have been found who, allowing themselves to be corrupted, have not hesitated to accept a parochial office conferred on them so perversely, and to exercise its functions with the greatest presumption and audacity. This is an enormous crime, which overthrows the Ecclesiastical Hierarchy and completely destroys it. In fact, "it is we," says Pope Celestine, "who should lead the people, and not follow them; instead of subjecting ourselves to the caprices of men, it is we who should teach them what is allowed and what is forbidden."¹ It is, then, an exceedingly rash boldness to rebel against the decrees of the Holy Fathers: it is a crime as ambitious as it is contrary to obedience. "From this," adds Gregory VII., "flow the greater part of those perturbations which disturb the Church, ruin our holy religion, and cause religious principles to be trampled under foot."² There is nothing strange, then, in the holy canons constantly condemning such a crime, and visiting it with the greatest punishment. Thus, Gregory VII., already cited,³ Pascal II.,⁴ Alexander II.,⁵ and the Council of Lateran,⁶ held under Alexander III., have solemnly decreed that ecclesiastical investiture at the hands of laymen is completely null, and that clerics who accept such an investiture are forbidden to enter the Church, that they are excommunicated, and that if they persist in wishing to persevere in their crime, they should be deprived of the functions of their ecclesiastical ministry. Nay, more, such a crime involves that exceedingly grievous usurpation of jurisdiction, of benefices, and of the rights of the Church which the Council of Trent⁷ has punished with its anathema as long as the usurpation continues: and the Constitution *Apostolicae Sedis* iv. id. Oct. of the year 1869,⁸ has declared it subject to an excommunication *latae sententiae* reserved specially to the Pope.

Now, since all the decrees of the sacred canons, notwith-

¹ Cap. *Docendus* 2 dist. 63.

² Cap. *Si quis deinceps*, 12 et cap. *Quoniam* 13 cons. 16, q. 7.

³ Cap. *Si quis deinceps*, 12 cap. *Quoniam*, 13 cap. *Si quis Episcopus*, 14 cons. 16, q. 17.

⁴ Cap. *Si quis clericus*, 16. Cap. *Constitutiones*, 17. Cap. *Nullus*, 18. Cap. *Sicut*, 19 cons. 16, q. 17.

⁵ Cap. *Per laicos*. 20 cons. 16, q. 7.

⁶ Cap. *Præterea*, 4 de jurepatr.

⁷ Sess. 22, cap. 11, de Reform.

⁸ Part i., § 11.

standing the salutary advice which they contain, are not sufficient to restrain the audacity and the perversity of innovators, and do not hinder them from committing, in the northern parts of Italy, the same crime which has been lately condemned in Switzerland by the Apostolic authority, our Most Holy Father Pope Pius IX., inflamed by that love which causes his solicitude to extend to all the sheep, has wished that this Congregation of the Council should oppose the same remedy to the same evil. He has, therefore, ordered that in the provinces of Venice and of Milan, and in each of the dioceses subject to the Patriarchal and Metropolitan jurisdiction of these provinces, all that has been so wisely enacted for the Swiss Confederation in the Encyclical letter of the 21st November last, 1873, concerning the election of parish priests by the people, be applied and sanctioned, as in reality by the present decree all such is applied and sanctioned. So that whoever shall dare, in the dioceses we have mentioned, to take possession either of a church, or of ecclesiastical rights and benefices, on account of his having been elected to the office of parish priest or curate by the suffrages of the people, and shall not hesitate to discharge the functions of that office as ecclesiastical minister, incurs, *ipso facto*, the greater excommunication specially reserved to the Holy See, as well as all the other canonical penalties; and all those who so act should be avoided by the faithful, according to the divine counsel, as strangers and robbers who come not but to seize unjustly the goods of others, to corrupt hearts, and to ruin souls. It is thus that the Sacred Congregation of the Council has enacted and decreed, ordering at the same time that what has been enacted and decreed be observed by all the faithful, notwithstanding any exceptions or privileges which would require special mention.

Given at Rome, from the office of the S. Congregation of the Council, 23rd May, 1874.

P. CARD. CATERINI, *Pref.*

P. ARCHBISHOP OF SARDES, *Secr.*

CHRONICLE.

ITALY.

TO pretend respect for the Pope's person, and to credit him with being personally inclined to a policy of conciliation with his revolutionary aggressors, is an old trick of Italian Liberalism. In proof we might allege the line of conduct marked out for, and followed by the members of the secret societies, in the opening years of Pius the Ninth's Pontificate. If we are to trust the liberals, His Holiness is a liberal too, and his seeming opposition to the present state of things is merely due to the sinister influences of Cardinal Antonelli and the Jesuits. Yet it was neither Cardinal Antonelli nor the Jesuits, but Pius the Ninth, who condemned the proposition which stands last in the Syllabus of '64—"Romanus Pontifex potest ac debet cum progressu, cum liberalismo, et cum recenti civilitate sese reconciliare et componere."

We have a token of this anxiety of the liberals to rank His Holiness amongst themselves in a recent correspondence from Rome to the *Nazione* of Florence. Therein is related an alleged conversation between the Pope and a Turin priest, from which it is sought to deduce that the Holy Father would be inclined to a policy of compromise with the Subalpine Government, were he not withheld by the hostile attitude of the advisers who surround him, and who exercise such a fatal sway over his public conduct.

Fearing that this almost worn-out cheat might yet deceive some simple people, the *Osservatore Romano* subsequently published the following notification :—"From a Roman letter to the *Nazione* of Florence, it is given to believe that the Holy See has made offers of conciliation to the Italian ministers. . . . We are formally authorized to declare that the Holy See has not only never bent to propose a compromise with its despoilers, but has ever repelled, as it shall ever repel with horror, whatever proposal shall emanate from them as tending not to guarantee to the Church the liberty of her existence, but only to legalize in some way, before the world, the most enormous of injustices."

2. What conciliation could be effected with a State which favours and fosters impiety, and obstructs the exercise of that religion which, as a State, it professes in one of its fundamental statutes? A saddening instance of the powerful and evil influences of liberal principles on the Italian government has

just occurred at Milan. Not long ago the relics of St. Ambrose, and those of SS. Gervase and Protase, were discovered and authenticated, in the city which they illustrated by their deeds of virtue and Christian heroism. It was resolved to celebrate what is called the "elevation" of these precious remains by a series of imposing and devout festivals. The citizens had responded with marvellous earnestness to the invitation issued for that occasion by the Archbishop, who had had prepared a precious arc, of exquisite design, to hold these sacred treasures. Gifts of diamonds, emeralds, pearls, and gems of every sort, poured in—the spontaneous offerings of the faithful—to adorn the cathedral whither these venerated relics were to be conveyed from the Basilica of St. Ambrose. A solemn procession, in which the Archbishop and Bishops of the neighbouring provinces, as well as the clergy of Milan and its district, were to take part, was arranged and appointed for the 11th of May, with the express permission of the civil authority represented by the Prefect Torre. Scarcely had the radicals and free-thinkers learned the intentions of the faithful Milanese, when they raised a cry of danger to the State, and of outrage to the free consciences of individual citizens, from such a provoking demonstration of clerical principles and clerical power.

A cry from such a quarter was enough for the present governors of unhappy Italy. The question was discussed in the Municipal Council, and afterwards in the Chamber of Deputies. In neither place, of course, was there much partiality exhibited in favour of the State religion and its sacred observances. Besides, the sect devised and prepared what it considered a counter-demonstration (by way of a procession also), to take place too on the 11th of May, in honour of Garibaldi, and to start from the *Piazza del Duomo*, so as to meet the procession coming from St. Ambrose's. This was too much for the nervous system of Signor Torre, who accordingly, on the eve of the day appointed, withdrew the leave already granted, and inhibited by an official decree the public celebration of the religious ceremony.

It will be remembered that the Government but a short time since not only permitted, but honoured with its positive co-operation and official assistance, certain processions which were organized—some of them at the public expense—to celebrate the memory of sectaries, such as Mazzini and Ugo Foscolo. If Catholics had exclaimed against such manifestations as insulting to religion and freedom of conscience, what little notice would have been taken of their complaints!

Notwithstanding the prohibition of the public procession as

arranged, the sacred relics were transferred to the Cathedral, but by *night*, and *under a military escort*. The imposing grandeur and magnificence of the ceremonies within the cathedral, from the 12th to the 15th of May, almost baffle description. Suffice it to say, that there assisted at them between thirty Archbishops and Bishops, while immense crowds of devout worshippers filled the spacious and noble temple.

3. After the defeat of the Minghetti Ministry, and the refusal of the King to accept its resignation, little business was transacted in the Legislative Chambers, which have since been prorogued. It is very probable that before their assembling again the sense of the country shall have been tested by a general election.

The debate on the national defences, which occupied so much time and attention during the past session, was just at the last moment suspended, with the concurrence of the Ministry, principally through the influence of General Cialdini. The latter, in his speech on this measure, used the following remarkable words:—"We have arrived at Rome, *trampling down in our way principles, interests, and institutions*. We have entered Rome by the *moral* means which all understand, and here we remain in opposition to the Catholic sentiment." The General evidently does not forget that the victory achieved by him at Castel Fidardo, and which opened the road to Rome, was not a *moral* one. Perhaps the ghosts of the noble Pimodan and his slaughtered volunteers have been haunting the loyal veteran of late.

4. Though the representatives of the nation have separated for repose, the nation itself is in a state of sad disorder and unrest. Peculation, violent robberies, assassinations, and suicides seem to be the order of the day. On the 22nd of April the Premier Minghetti said to the Deputies: "Gentlemen, there exist now in Italy factories of immorality, wherein cheating the State is taught." Brigandage, especially in Sicily, seems to be on the increase in extent and violence, and has baffled all the measures of the large military force despatched for its extinction. Baron Sgadari, who was lately captured between Passofonduto and Canarello, had to pay the small sum of 127,000 francs for his ransom. We learn from Turin that a Government official, of a respectable family, being unable to live on his pay, killed his wife, three children, and finally himself. At Capua, a captain of Bersaglieri, aged thirty-five years, became enamoured of a young lady aged sixteen, of singular beauty. Her parents did not encourage his addresses, for good reasons. The captain, meeting the young lady

and her mother at a public gathering, placed a revolver at the ear of the daughter, discharged it, and killed her on the spot. He then fired at the mother, and afterwards shot himself. But much greater and more wide-spread alarm has been created by the assassination of Sig. Bolla, sub-prefect of the province of Parma, and by the mysterious disappearance of the Cav. Caraguati, Deputy King's-proctor in Bologna. Both of them received a short time since anonymous letters warning them of danger. The action of the secret societies is strongly suspected in these cases. Food riots, too, still continue throughout the Peninsula, not unfrequently assuming the most dangerous character. At Padua the municipal guards were not sufficient to repress the disturbances, and the cavalry and infantry of the line had to interfere. In several cities and towns the famished populace pillaged both bakeries and inns. The scarcity, instead of diminishing, seems to be on the increase.

5. One of the most wonderful among the many demonstrations of affection and loyalty of which His Holiness has been made the object, since his moral internment in his own palace, was that of the American Pilgrims which has just taken place. Between clergy and laity, the Pilgrims numbered more than 100, each of whom wore on his breast an emblem of the Sacred Heart. They arrived in Rome on the 8th of June, after having visited the Sanctuary of Our Lady at Lourdes. On the day after their arrival they had their first audience of the Pope. His Holiness tendered them a most cordial welcome, entering into conversation individually with some of them who had had previously the honour of his acquaintance. After the Pope had been seated on his throne, the President of the Pilgrimage, Dr. Dwenger, Bishop of Fort Wayne, read an address in Latin, from which we select the following sentences:—"Most Holy Father—Prostrate before the feet of your Holiness, you behold your children, who come from the far West, and who, in these days of your affliction, have feared neither the sea, the desert, nor the immense length of their journey, in their desire to behold in you, Holy Peter, Father of all the Faithful, and Pontiff truly supreme—supreme in labours and persecutions, supreme in patience, hope, and confidence in God. No son ever longed to behold a beloved father with greater desire than that with which we longed to behold your Holiness, and this our desire was not lessened but increased by distance. We have not deserted you in your abandonment by the princes of the earth, and in your imprisonment; but, on the contrary, have come from the farthest parts of the world to

profess, in the face of the universe, our faith, devotion, and obedience to you as the infallible pastor of the entire Church, the centre of the unity of our belief, and the rock on which the Church of God is built." After the Bishop had concluded, Judge Théard, a distinguished jurist of New Orleans, came forward and read an address in French in the name of the laity. He said: "Most Holy Father—You see at your feet certain American Pilgrims from different dioceses of the United States and Canada. We come from a free country, where liberty is well understood, for we are not persecuted; on the contrary, we enjoy the fullest liberty of conscience. We have left our country, our homes, and our business in order to lay at your feet our hearts, our possessions, and our lives if you should require them. . . . Our words cannot express all that submission, respect, and love for your Holiness which our hearts, beating in unison, contain. The greater your affliction, the more powerfully we are moved to love you. . . . You cannot be astonished at the affection which Americans feel for you, the first and only Pope whose feet have trodden American soil. Since so many protestations of obedience and love reach you from all points of the globe, we believe the hour to be not far distant when there shall be but one Fold and one Shepherd. We, the first Pilgrims from America to Rome, have come hither, not to offer you rich presents, but what is more precious, our sentiments of love and obedience. For you and our faith we are ready to undergo any sacrifice. May God preserve you still longer to be the Head of our Church. You have seen the years of St. Peter—God grant you to behold the triumph of the Church."

His Holiness then replied:—"At the moment when the Church of Jesus Christ is assailed by so many different enemies, when the Church seems covered by clouds and darkness, at that same moment God, by His omnipotent breath, chases away the darkness, and demonstrates to the entire world the beacon which guides us pilgrims upon earth, and points to us the path leading to the haven of safety. Different foes endeavour to darken the Church in various ways. . . . This Church, however, will never be found wanting to itself, for it is based on a rock which cannot be moved, and for this reason it to-day is an object of marvel to the world, to angels, and to men. The Church is persecuted everywhere in her clergy and in her people, but her firmness compels her very persecutors to exclaim—*We did not expect to find so much faith in Israel.*

"Do I not say the truth? Are not you yourselves a splendid testimony of this truth? Yes, I may say with the prophet Isaias: 'Leva in circuitu oculos tuos et vide; omnes isti congregati sunt, venerunt tibi; filii tui de longe venient.' These sons and daughters have come from distant lands—'aurum deferentes et laudem Domino annuntiantes.' . . . May God be gracious to you and to your country, so young and so vigorous, where the products of nature and industry so wonderfully flourish, and where the Catholic religion enjoys complete liberty. True believers multiply in America, and repeated conversions render necessary the erection of many new dioceses. . . . Join your prayers with mine, that workmen may be multiplied for the great harvest of souls. May God re-conduct you homewards filled with the spirit of His love, and may that spirit be diffused throughout your families, and influence your relatives, friends, and fellow-citizens. . . . Let my benediction accompany you in your return to your country, follow you in your voyage of life, and be with you in the hour of death, at that moment when you must deposit your souls in the hands of God, to praise Him and bless Him for ever and ever."

The offerings of the Pilgrims on this occasion amounted to about £12,000. One priest presented a gold-headed cane, containing in the hollow a number of gold coins sent by the Negroes who are under his charge. The last of the Pilgrims left Rome, after having celebrated there the anniversary of the Pope's coronation. The religious and unobtrusive demeanour of the Americans during their stay in the Eternal City, wrested a word of approbation even from the *Times*, which is so seldom satisfied with anything that is done about the Vatican.

6. Shortly before this beautiful manifestation of Catholic feeling had rejoiced the heart of His Holiness, there was, in the Sacred City, a meeting of men holding very different ideas, and having very different purposes from those of the devout travellers from the new hemisphere. On the 23rd of May the Masonic assembly of the Grand Orient of Italy held its first sitting in the *Palazzo Lepri* in the *Via Condotti*. The Grand-Master, Mazzoni, inaugurated it with a discourse, in which he warmly urged the necessity of concord amongst Freemasons, as it was only by that means they could cast down their "common eternal enemy, *obscurantism*." Those who know a little of the masonic jargon understand that by *obscurantism* is meant Catholicism. On the evening of the same day another sitting was held. In it Mazzoni was con-

firmed in his post of president, and Tamaso and Mussi were given him as assessors. The latter is the same who frightened the Prefect Torre and the Minister of Worship into preventing the solemn translation of the Saints' relics at Milan. The *Opinione* announced that at this sitting there were represented ninety lodges, but it took good care not to mention how many representatives there were, seeing that the number was very limited, one deputy, in fact, having represented fifteen various lodges. This was in some way compensated for by the visit of several brother masons of Germany, and of one member of the Grand Orient of Hungary. In the third sitting it was proposed to erect a masonic temple in Rome, and the only difficulty which opposed the scheme was the want of funds. As the Syndic of Rome, Pianciani, has been grand treasurer of the sect, and as he wields no inconsiderable power with the Government, it is not impossible that we may soon hear of some of the Catholic churches being delivered over for the *religious* celebrations of the fraternity.

7. At Bologna and some other towns the usual processions through the streets, on the Feast and during the Octave of Corpus Christi, were this year inhibited. In Rome no processions appeared outside the churches. The people, however, as a rule, observed the solemnity of the Feast, closed their shops, and thronged the churches. In St. Peter's—of old the scene of the grandest of religious pageants—High Mass was celebrated at the altar behind the confessional, after which Cardinal Borromeo carried the Blessed Sacrament in procession through the nave.

8. A discovery, interesting alike to the Christian and the man of science, has been lately made in the cemetery of St. Domitilla, on the Via Ardeatina, outside the Porta Sebastiano. Some years ago the Sacred Archæological Society undertook certain excavations there, but were prevented from proceeding by the person who then owned the land. Since that time the property has come into the hands of Monsignor de Merode, who gave every encouragement to the Society to prosecute its labours. The result has been a most important gain to the history of the early Church. A subterranean Basilica, bearing the title of St. Petronilla, and SS. Nereus and Achilles, has been found in a fair state of preservation, and containing invaluable monuments for illustrating the doctrines and customs of the primitive Christians. On the 19th of May, the Octave of the Feast of SS. Nereus and Achilles, the newly-found temple was thrown open to the public, and was frequented during the day by large

crowds of devout and curious visitors, Romans and foreigners. A temporary altar was erected, where Masses were celebrated from an early hour in the morning. Amongst the celebrants was Monsignor de Merode, to whose kind concurrence and co-operation in the searches of the Archæological Society the new discovery is in such a degree due. The director of the excavations was the Commendatore de Rossi, whose skill and sagacity in this department have already obtained for him world-wide fame.

9. Another of the princes raised to the Roman purple in the Consistory of December last, has passed away to another, and, we may hope, a happier life. Cardinal Falcinelli expired on the morning of Friday, 30th of May. Before his being selected as a member of the Sacred College, he had fulfilled several posts of high distinction in the service of His Holiness. The last was that of Nuncio-Apostolic at the Court of Vienna. When he returned to Rome in the end of April, whither the duties of his new dignity called him, his friends, who went to congratulate him on his elevation, were pained to perceive the impaired and prostrate state of his health. He spent his last days in that part of the Benedictine Convent of San Calisto, which has not yet been occupied by the soldiers of Victor Emmanuel. In connection with the Cardinal's decease, a most graceful act is recorded of the Holy Father. The former had, by a will dated so far back as 1863, bequeathed all his property to the Pope, but the Pope has now handed over all of it to two nephews of the Cardinal, of whom one is in holy orders, and the other a layman.

10. The work of confiscating the property of the religious orders, and of ejecting the inmates of the religious houses, still continues. The dispossessed friars and nuns are, in many instances, suffering the most dire distress. Several sisters have been expelled their cherished retreats, and put upon the wretched allowance of three pence or four pence a day. It is honourable to our impoverished country, that out of its slender means it has contributed to alleviate in some degree the sorrows of these delicate and innocent victims of *modern civilization*.

Monsignor Kirby, Rector of the Irish College at Rome, who has been most indefatigable in his endeavours to relieve their pressing needs, will receive any subscriptions which the piety of the faithful may prompt them to offer in this most meritorious cause.

THE IRISH ECCLESIASTICAL RECORD.

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AUGUST, 1874.

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THE PERSONAL CHARACTER OF HOMER, AS TRACED IN HIS POETRY.

IN choosing for the subject of this lecture¹ the Personal Character of Homer as traced in his Poetry, it must be evident that I take for granted one important fact, viz., the unity of authorship in the Iliad, or Odyssey, or both taken together. The investigation of this great fact would require very long discussions. It is sufficient to say that I adopt the side of those who hold it established that the two poems respectively proceed substantially from a single mind. Whether the same mind that created the Iliad also produced the Odyssey, is a point which, I confess, is not so clear to me, the more modern air of the latter poem being very perceptible, not to mention many inconsistencies; though I am far from thinking these difficulties are so great as not to admit of our acquiescing, after all, in the ancient conclusion. But whilst I feel that this uncertainty would rather embarrass the satisfactory treatment of the question before us, it is an advantage so far, that we are obliged to limit our view to one or other of these two great poems. The more we narrow our field, the better it is for the accuracy of our conclusions, which have all the greater chance of being true as far as they go. We may depend upon it that our subject, even if limited considerably more than is at present proposed, will still be found to yield much more matter than I am afraid I am equal to deal with in one, or in many lectures.

I premise, then, that I here confine my attention mainly to the Iliad, the first glance at which will show that if we wish to obtain from it personal characteristics of the Poet, we must go below the surface. He is not, like authors of whom unfortunately modern literature affords too many examples, such as

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Byron or Rousseau, to whose mental vision self is reflected from whatever meets them, whether in the world of Nature or of Humanity. Nowhere does Homer either mention a single fact about himself, or present a single image as interesting merely because it has produced an effect upon his own mind. He seeks to convey clear ideas to the mind of his readers, or rather of his audience, and clear ideas concerning the objects and persons he describes, and never for a moment goes beyond this. You will allow that this is of itself a great and important personal characteristic. Perhaps, even so, I have not brought out this characteristic with sufficient force. The simplicity of Homer is so great that it almost gives an inexact notion of it to say that his object is to convey clear ideas to those who hear him, if we understand that he states that object to his own mind, as if he said to himself—"Now I will try and put that scene very distinctly before their minds." That would be presenting self, even though unselfishly, too much before his consciousness. Imagine him rather as a child, full of something that greatly interests him, and eager to pour it forth to those who he is confident are as deeply interested in it as himself. He thoroughly identifies himself with what he is talking about, and speaks because he has something to say. You are to conceive on the one hand the guilelessness of a child; on the other, the grasp of a most matured and capacious intellect. Just however, as a child, without knowing it, reveals to the grown observer, a whole train, not of inferences, but of sure facts of his history and character, so we, in this late period of time, and this artificial world in which we live, can, if only we take the trouble, find out from Homer himself, personal traits more true than any biography, were it written by a Boswell.

Let us, however, at the outset, ask ourselves what is meant by personal characteristics? They are marks or notes by which we recognise character; and character is two-fold—either the individual nature, bent, passions, imagination, reasoning faculty we bring into the world with us; or else that same individual nature as it stands before the world at any particular moment, intensified, weakened, twisted, stunted, lopped, overgrown, or developed in a thousand ways, by the habits we have acquired, and the people who have surrounded us, who have been our masters, or servants, or companions, or friends, or fellow-citizens. Not an hour but has left its trace, not a sight or sound but has printed some change. Now, we have nothing directly in the *Iliad* about Homer's fortunes or the scenes he had passed through, but we can obtain a good deal indirectly. We can observe what he seems most eagerly to speak of; what first offers itself to his mind when he has

occasion to illustrate something by a simile or metaphor ; what traits he seems most to prefer to dwell upon, and by this means we can get at a sort of individuality, line by line, and colour by colour. We shall never know for certain who he was, but we can ascertain pretty well what must have been "the sights and sounds that nursed his spirit's folded powers." Before attempting this task, a difficult one even in a rudimentary form, I may remark that it is rendered more difficult by the impossibility, in a popular lecture, of quoting the original ; and as to translations, there is certainly none that renders Homer adequately, least of all that best known, namely, Pope's, a great work of art indeed, but no more like the original than a laced and powdered captain in Marlborough's army was like one of the rude chieftains who maintained no unworthy struggle with Cæsar in the wild depths or clearings of the primeval German forests. I am afraid, in short, that I must necessarily rather disappoint the non-classical, as well as the classical portion of my audience, by any translation, however good. That, however, which I have selected is Professor Francis Newman's, whose name, of course, is familiar to you as the brother both by blood and by genius, though unhappily not by faith, of our illustrious academical legislator and first Rector, Dr. John Henry Newman. The translation I allude to is written in a peculiar musical rhythm, which renders, I think, often very happily, the song-like voice of the *Iliad*. It is also remarkably faithful, and I have found it, in many hard passages, equivalent to an excellent commentary.

Coming, then, to the immediate subject of this lecture, it appears to me that the first and most general personal characteristic of the author of the *Iliad* is a large-hearted and genial sympathy with his fellow-men, making him enter into, and love to enter into, some of the purest, tenderest, and deepest of the natural feelings of which the human mind is capable : the love of parent and child, of husband and wife, of friend and friend. Affectionate respect for old age appears often and very strikingly—kindliness and interest in children, exhibited sometimes with great humour, sometimes with a kind of nurse-like carefulness—sympathy for the brightness and promise of early youth, with a passionate regret if they are taken before their time—a very strong and pervading sense of justice, and a sympathy for righteous indignation, even if carried to the verge of excess, is also apparent.

Let us begin with the case of old age, and consider how frequently it comes out in this poem, the prominent character of Nestor, again and again, that of Priam, that of Phoenix—one the green old age of a veteran chief, of which in modern

literature, Sir Walter Scott's *Baron of Bradwardine*, gives the best idea—the other, an old age somewhat waning towards dotage, injured by early habits of power, irritable as sorrows gather round it, but still kindly and gracious—the third, an old age also amiable, but on which rest the dark recollections of no ordinary insolence and ingratitude to a father, in some degree atoned for by deep regret and by a useful life, but still not to depart whilst life remains. I think it must be admitted that this proportion of principal characters in the poem shows that the poet greatly sympathised with old age. Let us now consider a little how he treats it. Menelaus, in the negotiations for the duel with Priam, says:—

“Fetch ye Priam's noble self, to ratify the treaties
In person;—sith his children are outrageous and faithless;—
Lest Jove's high treatise damaged be by aught of rash
transgression.

For younger men's intentions float unstable and untrusty :
But if an old man interpose, forward at once and backward
Glanceth his thought, how either side may best arrange
the future.”—(Book III., 105.)

The description of Priam's conversation with Helen on the walls of Troy, when she points out to him the Grecian warriors in the plain below, exhibits an old age rather pleasing than venerable, indulging a little too much in curiosity, attractive by its caressing manner to the young, as he makes the fair Helen sit beside him, and talk to him, without bearing any anger against her for all the mischief she had caused. Quite at the end of the poem, whilst telling of the domestic vexations she had to encounter amidst the selfish and unfeeling household into which her folly had brought her, she says, Priam, “like a father, was always gentle.” The old age however of Priam, like that of King Lear, is one the respect attached to which partakes rather of the awe which belongs to all objects of terrible reverses, than that which is called forth by the rocky firmness which is sometimes seen in old age. When the old man loses his son he gives way to passionate lamentations, grovelling on the earth, and repelling with weak feverish passion the well-meant services of his surviving sons. It is true that he is kingly: in the beautiful scene of the interview with Achilles in his tent, the hero keeps looking at him with feelings of wonder at his appearance; whilst, on the other hand, the old king looks with wonder at the majesty Achilles shows in a youthful form. But the majesty of the aged Priam is wholly destitute of the heart and vigour of

Nestor. In the latter we are struck by a personal influence, by a good sense based upon a rich experience, by a masculine cheerfulness which hinders the brave old man from yielding to his years. We hear him recall with interest the incidents of warfare he had encountered in the course of his long life, regretting, indeed, his youth that had vanished for ever, but still good-humouredly acquiescing in the will of the gods, who do not give all things to mortals at once, and from whom comes old age now, as at a former period of his life came youth. In Phoenix we trace a very different type, and I think one which is rather peculiar in the midst of the Homeric world. He is an old man of virtuous and fatherly character, but who nevertheless had been guilty, as I have already said, when he was young, of a high act of wicked contempt to his father. The father, in his rage, imprecates curses on his son, and prays that his guilt may be punished by childlessness. The gods, says the aged Phoenix, in looking back to this sad chapter in his life, fulfilled these curses. He had meditated to add to his crime the guilt of parricide, but was restrained by the thought of what men would think of such a deed. This check of conscience he ascribes to the suggestion of some god who put into his mind the talk of the multitude, and the many reproaches of mankind, that he might not be called a parricide among the Achæans. At last he takes to flight, and is kindly received by Peleus, the father of Achilles. This good friend loved him, he says, as a father loves his only son, his latest-born, made him rich, and gave him a people to rule over; and having no son of his own, Phoenix becomes a second father to Achilles, the son of his benefactor, even from his very infancy, and goes out with him to the war as his adviser both in speech and action. His experience of the consequences of his own folly enables him to give a deep lesson to Achilles on the danger of yielding to his impetuosity, and on the wisdom of foregoing even just wrath when the offender entreats forgiveness. Here you see old age under quite a new set of circumstances.

From all this arise the following considerations. We have, as has been established, the circumstance of old age somewhat remarkably brought out in this poem. Now, of course, this does not of itself prove that the poet was advanced in life when he composed it, any more than that he was in the prime of manhood, like his own Achilles and Diomed. But if you couple it with the singular sympathy he shows for early death, and for the situation of the childless, especially for those who have been deprived of their sons by the sudden calamities of war, it does look as if he had had personal

experience, or at least opportunities of personal observation, of those melancholy facts, which only a time of rather advanced life usually affords. Byron at thirty, or thereabouts, speaks of his own earlier years having been cloyed with the ills of Eld, of having been robbed by Time of all that his soul enjoyed. But this is not common. Men require to live some time into life, before they realize how penetrated it is by death. Another thing, too, is worth noticing. We learn from the *Odyssey* that the position of a bard in the heroic times was so far one of dignity, that they were even appointed guardians of unprotected persons of rank ; and some contact of this nature may have given the poet that sympathy he evidently shows in the character of Phœnix, as an aged man, for a friend of princely rank, of whom he had been the adviser and second father. Let me give you one or two instances of the manner in which the poet's sympathy for early death comes out. Take the case of Simoisius in the Fourth Book :—

“Then did a blooming youth fall slain by Telamonian Ajax.

His father was Anthemion ; his mother, with her parents
From Ida's slopes descending came to watch the sheep,
and bare him

Beside the banks of Simois, and Simoisius called him.

Nor paid he to his parents dear his nurture-price, but early

His life was ravish'd by the spear of mighty-hearted Ajax.

On his right breast the brazen point hit him, and through
the shoulder

Pass'd cruelly ; and in the dust, there fell he, like a poplar,
Which in a marshy mead grows smooth, but branchy at
the summit ;

A chariot-joiner cuts it down with iron bright, to fashion
For some fair car a rounded wheel ; prostrate it lies and
wither'd

Beside the river : so fell *he* by Jove-descended Ajax.”

(Book IV., 472—487.)

Even more remarkable is the sympathetic manner in which he describes the death of one of the two sons of the Trojan Dares, the priest of Hephæstus, a man of spotless life, and wealthy. The youth is struck down by Diomed, but Hephæstus rescues the other brother ; “lest that his aged worshipper with double grief be smitten.” But, perhaps, the most beautiful of all is the description of the death of Euphorbus, in the Seventeenth Book, by the hand of Menelaus. As usual, he gives us a distinct idea of the exact mode of death. Mene-

laus, with his broad strong hand strikes the spear into Euphorbus' neck, just where the throat meets the chest, and he drives the point right through to come out at the back of the neck. The poet describes the fall of the youthful warrior as follows :—

“So with a loud crash down he dropt, and o'er him clang'd
his armour.

His hair, that with the Graces vied, was now with gore
besprinkled,

And ample tresses, which with gold and silver were em-
braided.

As when in solitary dell, where rife spring-water bubbleth,
A man may kindly rear a shoot of easy-sprouting olive
Dainty and all-luxuriant ; and round it breezes rustle
From diverse-blowing winds ; and it with a white flower
buddeth ;

But sudden cometh wind indeed, with plenteous weight of
tempest,

And from its own pit wrencheth it, and on the earth out-
layeth :

Such then the ashen-speared son of Panthoüs—Euphorbus—
Beneath Atrides Menelas was slain and stript of armour.”

(Book XVII., 50—60.)

If now we pass on from the sympathy for early youth to the sympathy for childhood, I do not suppose any writer could be named in which it appears so very strikingly as Homer. He must have been excessively fond of children, must have watched them attentively, and thought nothing they did, however trifling, undeserving his serious consideration. Some of the instances I shall give, may seem ludicrous, but they are all the stronger as proving in so elaborate a form, how very marked in him must have been the feeling I am now describing. When Patroclus shed tears because the Trojans are on the point of setting fire to the Grecian fleet, Achilles says to him :—

“Patroclus ! wherefore weepest thou, like to a tender infant,
Who, tripping at her mother's side and clinging to her
garment,

Imploreth to be lifted up and hindereth her hurry,
And, to be lifted in her arms, with many a tear uplooketh,
Like unto her, Patroclus, thou the tender tear-drop sheddest.”

(Book XVI., 7.)

A man must, indeed, have been fond of children, to whose mind, when he wished to describe a hero moved to tears by

overpowering emotions, the image presented itself of a little girl, running by her mother's side, and crying to be carried! In the same book, in describing a furious charge of the Greeks on the Trojans, he compares the former to wasps, who build their nest by the roadside, which children meddle with, and the wasps come out, in an angry swarm, to defend themselves. This was no fancy that could have occurred to a man who had not actually observed such a scene, and noted well the conduct both of the children and the wasps. Homer can tell us that Greek children, between two and three thousand years ago, used to amuse themselves with building houses on the sand by the sea-shore, just as children do now-a-days. He thus describes Apollo overturning the wall constructed by the Greeks:

"Right easily o'erthrew he,
The Achaian rampart, e'en as when a child lays low his sand-
heap;
Who, where the billow lately dash'd, a playful wall hath
built him
Of sand, and when his sport is done, with foot or hand
o'erthrows it."

(Book XV., 361—364.)

He does not forget to notice, when he makes Phoenix describe his tender care of the infancy of Achilles, how the baby-hero, when he took him on his knee, to give him wine, used to blurt out the wine, and wet the tunic of his kind foster-father. And when, in one of the most pathetic scenes of the whole poem, Andromache has just been informed of her husband's death, and bursts out into the most passionate exclamations about the miserable future of her fatherless baby, she contrasts the neglect and insult he must now probably endure, with the indulgence and luxury in which, as a spoilt child, he had hitherto lived:

"Upon the day of orphanhood a boy his equals loseth:
His eyes dejected close their lids; his cheeks with tears are
flooded;
And indigent returneth he unto his father's comrades.
One then he pulleth by the cloak, another by the tunic.
Then one, from those who pity him, awhile a cup forth
holdeth,
Which barely moisteneth his lips, but wetteth not his palate.
The boy with double parent blest him from the banquet
driveth,
With blows of fist bemauling him, and chiding with re-
proaches:
'Off to ill luck with *this!* for not with us thy father feasteth.'

Then weeping, back the boy doth wend unto his widow'd mother.—

Astyanax, who heretofore on knees of his own father,
Did only upon marrow feed and tender fat of wethers ;—
And when thro' weariness of sport slumber might steal
across him,

Then he upon a couch would sleep, within his nurse's bosom,
Or downy pillows, when his heart with daintiness was
filled :—

But henceforth will he suffer much, bereft of his dear father."

(Book XXII., 490—505).

This passage, if you attentively consider it, tells us a great deal of Homer's observations. He had noticed and felt for poor fatherless boys, neglected and even insulted by those who were most bound to be kind to them. Remark also that, fond as he is of children, he does not fail to give a picture of the selfishness and hardness they often show. The boy, both of whose parents are alive, feeling himself strong in comparison with the poor lad whose widowed mother is in depressed circumstances, drives him off, and even strikes him, adding cruel and contumelious language. Then, how vivid is the description of the infant, whilst yet prosperous, fed with dainties at his father's house. It is true these dainties, simply marrow and mutton-fat, do not give us a high idea of the resources of the princely *cuisine* at Troy. They show that the civilization, in that particular, must have been like that of the household of a Tartar chief at the present day. That, however, is not the point I am here insisting upon, but the singular sympathy that Homer's mind plainly had for the enjoyments or the sufferings of very young children. Before quitting this part of the subject, I must notice what every reader of Homer is familiar with, the parting scene of Hector and Andromache. You will recollect that the babe Astyanax is frightened at the plumes of his father's helmet, which the hero lays aside, and then takes the child up into his arms :—

" Thus saying, gallant Hector stretched his arms toward
his infant,

But back into the bosom of the nurse with dapper girdle,
The child recoiled with wailing, scar'd by his dear father's
aspect,

In terror dazzled to behold the brass and crest of horse-
hair,

Which from the helmet's topmost ridge terrific o'er him
nodded.

Then did his tender father laugh, and laugh'd his queenly
 mother,
 And gallant Hector instantly beneath his chin the helmet
 Unfastened ; so upon the ground he laid it all resplendent :
 Then pois'd his little son aloft, and dandled him and kissed
 him,
 And raised a prayer to Jupiter and other gods immortal :
 ' O Jupiter, and other gods, grant ye that this my infant
 Soon may become his father's like, among the Trojans
 signal,
 Mighty to reign in Ilium, and terrible in prowess.
 And when from battle he returns, may some one say
 hereafter,
 ' Far greater than his sire is he,' and may he with him carry
 The gory trophies of a foe, his mother's heart to gladden.'
 Thus saying, in the mother's arms he placed the tender
 infant ;
 And she her own dear child receiv'd within her fragrant
 bosom,
 Laughing amid her tears : the which her husband saw, and
 pitied ;
 And soothing her with hand and voice, he spake, her name
 pronouncing :
 ' Oh elf-possessed ! let not grief extravagant betoss thee.
 No man, o'er passing fate's decree, shall hurry me to Pluto :
 But Destiny, I well aver, no mortal wight hath scaped,
 From the first day he saw the light, nor noble heart nor
 coward.
 But thou, returning to thy house, to thine own work betake
 thee,
 The loom and distaff,—diligent ; and see that thy atten-
 dants
 Their tasks appointed duly ply ; but *men* must care for
 battle—
 All, who in Ilium are born, and I, thy Hector, chiefly.'"—
 (Book VI. 466—493).

I may notice, in passing, the tone of savagery that is observable in the midst of all this splendid poetry. It is the father's best wish for his child, that he may live to gladden his mother's heart by carrying home the gory trophies of a foe, This quotation may serve as one of the best examples, not only of the sympathy for childhood, for which I introduced it, but also of that for the parental and conjugal relations, and of the sentiments of Homer with regard to the position of the female sex in society. In so large a subject as that before

us some points must necessarily be briefly glanced at, on which whole chapters might be written, and this is one. To speak generally, I should say there is to be seen in Homer a good and kindly estimate of the female sex. True and heartfelt affection of the husband towards the wife, he distinctly assigns in the mouth of Achilles, as the mark of a brave and sensible man. The feelings of Andromache towards Hector amply show what, to Homer's thinking, ought to be those of a good wife towards her husband.

In the incessant bickerings of Zeus and Hera, we have another picture which no doubt he drew from the life, of what he had observed in many a great chief's household; and I may say the same of the curious passage already alluded to, where he makes Helen speak sadly of the strife of tongues she had to endure from her numerous sisters-in-law of both classes, the sisters of her husband, and the wives of her brothers-in-law, living most of them in the same palace, and from whom, in the domestic life of a Greek or Trojan lady, there would be little means of escaping. Her feelings towards Hector beautifully illustrate those of a sister towards a brother. He, too, like the old Priam, had always been kind to her in the midst of the unkindness of the rest of the kindred. The feelings of sister to sister I cannot say I have observed to be particularly brought out in the *Iliad*. One passage there is very characteristic, as showing Homer's refined observation of domestic manners. It is the description of the spy Dolon in the tenth book. Dolon is represented as a rich man, rich in gold and copper, his father still living, the herald Eumedes; his principal or only merit is, that he is a swift runner, and his character is exhibited as a mixture of vanity, of a false kind of daring, and of cowardice, the latter thoroughly mean.¹ He is vain in the absurdest degree, as he asks Hector to promise him no less than the horses of Achilles, if he executes faithfully the duties of a spy; he is daring so far as to attempt a dangerous service, which he has neither the sense nor the courage to carry out successfully. When he is caught in his adventure by Ulysses and Diomed, he instantly has recourse to the most abject entreaties that his life may be spared, tries to tempt the heroes with the promise of heavy ransom, and eagerly gives them all the information he can think of about the state of the Trojan army, and about the splendid horses of the Thracian king Rhesus, who had just arrived as an ally to the Trojans. All this shows an effeminate, nervous character with a good deal

¹ For this not unfrequent combination of false daring with cowardice, compare the character of Oliver Proudfoot, in the *Fair Maid of Perth*.

of conceit. Now, Homer, in introducing this unfortunate man to the reader, remarks very significantly, that he was an only son, *with five sisters*.¹ It is not Homer's way to convey unnecessarily the results of observation in the form of general remarks on life, such as are so lavishly thrown out in the pages of a modern novelist. Rather, he gives you his facts, and leaves you to draw your own conclusions; but from the kinds of facts he produces, and the way in which he produces them, you can often make a very probable guess at what his own personal ideas must have been. It is hardly necessary to observe that the relation of friend to friend had especial charm for the mind of Homer, since a large part of the action of the *Iliad* turns upon the friendship of Achilles and Patroclus. And this also is deepened by the tragic death of the latter, which brings about the return of Achilles to the war and the death of Hector.

I have now viewed the personal character of Homer in its domestic aspect, and have endeavoured to make out the thoughts that most habitually presented themselves with this reference to his mind. I have also, in passing, guessed at some circumstances of his life which account for their prominence. If we suppose him to have been left desolate, to have been deprived by death of those dearest to him, this would explain, first, his familiarity with childhood and youth, and then the deep, ever-recurring idea of early death and of parental bereavement that pervades his poems. Also, perhaps, in some degree for the intensity of his conception of friendship, as supplying the void caused in the human heart by the taking away of those in whom the affections are most deeply centered in the circle of home. Other reasons, however, may account for this. The military life, for which he had intense sympathy, is, more than any other, favourable to the formation of warm friendships, and, again, is most liable to the interruption of those friendships by death.

I pass on to some other characteristics of his mind belonging to the moral order. First, I think, as the *Iliad* turns upon that idea, we may affirm with certainty, that he had a strong sense of justice and fair dealing. Achilles has been treated in an arbitrary manner, and with a good deal of meanness; he resents this with great energy, withdraws from the war, and disdains even a humble, not to say abject, offer at reconciliation. Now that the poet should have made this the very key-

¹ Remarked by Hunter, "as a proof of Homer's sagacity in observation: having himself found that youths under such circumstances are generally more or less effeminate."—(Gladstone's *Studies on Homer and the Homeric Age*. Vol. III. p. 467, note).

stone of the whole structure is, I think, not a little remarkable. If we consider that huge mass of the modern literature of fiction, on what passion does the interest turn in almost every instance? On the passion of love, simply on the difficulties that oppose, or the opposite influences which favour the marriage of the hero and heroine. Now, in Homer, a very long poem is so managed that instead of this, interest, yes, and very deep, absorbing interest is obtained for the passionate sense of wrong, of injustice, of scandalous ill-treatment, inflicted on a person of a very lofty mind, of heroic courage, and who had rendered splendid services to the man, greatly inferior to him in mind and dignity of character, though superior in rank, who thus unworthily requites them. Though it does not fall within the plan of this lecture to take much notice of the *Odyssey*, I may remark that the interest there, in the end, turns upon the deserved retribution inflicted upon outrageous insolence and injustice; and so far, this would fall in with the unity of the authorship of the two poems. Now, if an author makes the labour of his life, such as either poem, or both together must have been, turn upon a particular idea, it is plain that the idea must be a favourite one, that his whole mind must have been full of it, that he had thought over it again and again, till it acted upon his intellect, and genius, and heart, as the moon acts upon the tides of the ocean.

Now, I believe I can prove to you the truth of this observation, by quoting a passage where this sense of justice and hatred of injustice comes out when one is not at all prepared for it, and nothing in the context suggests it. There is a description of a storm of rain in autumn in the Sixteenth Book of the *Iliad*, as follows:

“And as beneath a tempest’s weight all the dark earth is loaded,

Upon a day of autumn, when his greatest glut of water
Jove poureth down, if he with men be wrathfully indignant,
Who in assembly of the folk by force give crooked verdict,
And Justice rudely drive away, the gods’ observance slighting;
Then all the flowing hollow brooks, from the high clouds
are filled,

And many a steep outstanding cliff is rent by gush of
waters,

Which streaming to the purple sea right headlong from the
mountains,

Resound with mighty moan, the while the works of men
they ruin:

So mightily the Trojan mares in fleet careering moaned.”

(Book XVI., 384—393.)

The picture here presented is powerfully drawn. We can imagine the poet in some mountain-fastness of one of his kingly chiefs, or it may be in some lonely farm among the hills, looking out on the down-pour of rain all through the wild autumn-day. The idea that seems most readily to offer itself to his mind is, what means all this hubbub of nature? and the answer is: It comes of the *injustice of men*, and of falsehood usurping the place of truth, and of the anger of heaven manifesting itself against these guilty deeds. Closely connected with this is the feeling of hatred and scorn for falsehood, which, indeed, must be a prominent feeling in all states of society where individual courage is highly essential, since courage and untruthfulness can never go together; and it must be remembered that a great mind like Homer's, whilst, intensely individual, will still represent, in the strongest degree, what the noblest among its people either are or tend to be. Thus in the Fourth Book, where Agamemnon is encouraging the troops:

"Then not a-slumber hadst thou seen the godlike Agamemnon,
Nor like a coward skulking low and from the fight reluctant.

But he himself, on foot proceeding, view'd the ranks of heroes.

Whome'er he saw industrious of charioteering Argives,
Beside them standing, thus he spake to whet their proper courage:

'Argives! not yet remission make of furious encounter!
Never will father Jupiter of lies become a patron:
But they who wilfully have wrought annoy, against the treaties,

The vultures on their tender flesh shall surely make a banquet.'"—(Book IV., 223—237.)

And in the Ninth Book, Achilles says to Ulysses:

"The word which in my heart I hold and shall be fact accomplished,

This with unflinching hardihood it liketh me to utter,
To stay you, each on other hand, from whimpering beside me.
For like the gates of Aïdes, that man to me is hateful,
Who one thing hideth in his mind and uttereth another."

(Book IX., 309—313.)

The subject of the moral constituents of the personal character being closely connected with the religious, this would be the proper place to discuss the latter. I will offer a few remarks on the subject, but anything like a complete

discussion of it is impossible in the space of a single lecture. Although religion is interwoven through and through with the very texture of the *Iliad*, yet in order to form a just idea of the manner and extent of the influence which the popular religion of Greece had over Homer's mind, in virtue of his personal character, we ought to be able to compare his works with those of contemporaries, which, of course, are not extant; and again to determine the question how far the popular religion, as set forth in his poems, was in fact the creation of his own mind, or, at least, expanded by it. Still, even with the materials before us, many interesting conclusions may be drawn. For example, to what extent do the purer principles of religion, as compared with the false and idolatrous principles with which they were commingled in the Greek paganism of all ages, appear to have had attractions for his mind? In other words, do we find that his mind takes its prevailing tone from those deep truths of which even the natural reason assures us, rather than from the idle tales which filled an imaginary heaven with gods and goddesses, the impersonations in many cases of the elements of nature, in others even of the passions and vices of mankind? If we apply these questions as keys to the Homeric poems, the answers to them would afford means of forming a probable conclusion as to his personal character, with reference to the great cardinal point of religion. It has been said, I think, that Homer was like some other poets of transcendent genius, who took up with the religion they found around them, without any strongly marked interest in it, not inclined to make it their ruling idea, still less to question it. This view some critics have taken of Shakespeare. My impression as to Homer's religion, or religiosity, would not be what I have thus described. I should, on the contrary, rather judge that the popular Paganism of his day had great fascination for him; that it engaged a large part of his thoughts, and was a world in which his mind ranged as eagerly as it did in the world of nature and of man. Only, if his imagination, even in proportion to its richness and variety, found a congenial atmosphere in "the smoke and stir" of the Olympian heaven with all its earthliness, still he often surprises us by a religiousness of thought, conveying deeper truth than he himself could be aware of. For example, Agamemnon says to Achilles:

"If excellent thy prowess is—I trow 'tis God that gave it;"
(Book I., 178)

and Achilles, when obeying the suggestion of Athena:

"Who yieldeth fealty to gods, to him they greatly listen."
(*Ib.* 218).

I might add the remarkable passage in the Sixth Book, where Diomed speaks of the evil fate and short life of the profane son of Dryas—

“When into enmity he rush’d with all the gods immortal.
Wherefore against the blessed ones fain would I shun to
battle.”

(Book VI., 140).

And in the Ninth Book the strange allegory of the *Litai*, daughters of Zeus, lame and haggard, personifying the slow effect of penitential prayers in remedying the evil caused by wild Folly that has gone far ahead. These may serve as instances, but in passages of this class, the Odyssey is richer than the Iliad.

I pass on to offer some observations on the Poet’s political feelings. It is not difficult to discover what they were, and what they would have been in such a world as we now live in. Homer’s habit of mind evidently led him to look up with enthusiasm to kings, descended as all the kings of the heroic age were supposed to be, from gods. It delights him to dwell on the dignity of their persons, on the grandeur of their situation, on the high courage which generally makes them equal to what is to be expected of it. I may here remark, in passing, that it has been argued with great ingenuity by the late Professor Keble,¹ that Homer himself belonged to a comparatively humble class in society, from the simple admiration, unmingled with envy, with which he describes again and again, the magnificence that surrounds those of the highest rank. In his poems we hear little of the commonalty except as acting in masses. The grand interest turns upon the chiefs. On the other hand he shows in the most marked manner his aversion to what we now call the revolutionary way of thinking, by drawing in the broadest caricature, the personal appearance, and the demeanour of one who at that early period anticipates the Greek demagogue of four or five centuries later. I will quote this well-known passage at some length, because it certainly exhibits very strong antipathies on the part of the Poet :

“Then did the others take their seats, confined to rightful
places ;

But still, incontinent of word, chatter’d alone Thersites,
Who with disorderly discourse and cleverness ill-omen’d,
Disdainful of decorum, knew against the kings to wrangle.
Whatever might the Argives stir to laughter, that he utter’d ;
And of the host which came to Troy, none was as he so ugly.

¹ *De Poetica Vi medica* : Prælectiones Academicæ Oxonii habitæ, a Jo. Keble, A.M. Oxon., 1844 (Præl. XXIV., p. 156, 232).

One of his eyes was fix'd awry ; one foot of his was crippled ;
 His shoulders round and bunching were, toward his breast contracted :
 Sharp was his head ; and downy hair, but scanty, budded o'er it,
 With Achileus he chiefly was in feud, and with Ulysses ;
 For chiefly them revil'd he : now at godlike Agamemnon
 He keen invectives screech'd aloud. Against him were the Achaians
 Smitten with indignation and marvellously wrathful.
 But he with brawling insolence then rail'd at Agamemnon."
 (Book II., 211—224).

If we could imagine a little infusion of the democratic element, in a gathering of Highland clans, this would be the way in which the favoured bard of a great chief, the MacMurroughnan-Fonn of Vich-Ian-Vohr, would hold up to ridicule the insolent and troublesome declaimer who presumed to push himself forward among his betters. And such a bard would describe the personal chastisement that would probably follow, with no less relish than Homer does that inflicted on Thersites by Ulysses. Yet a passage like this does not at all imply that in Homer's political ideas there was anything arbitrary or tyrannical. Everything proceeds according to a settled order, established by custom, or if this is infringed upon, public opinion at once asserts itself, and the evil-doer in no long time finds reason to repent his folly. The council of chieftains have perfect freedom for the expression of their individual sense of things, and the leader of the confederacy is no more a despot over them than they are over the people whom they govern. Perhaps, all this may appear to be passing a little away from the consideration of Homer's personal character ; still you will admit that what he describes with so much animation is evidently what he felt from his heart ; and, so far, though he simply thought as other Greeks did, we obtain a part of his character, when we ascertain the part which he had in common with the world in which he lived. The same remark will apply to the national feeling which he evidently entertained in a very intense degree. A striking proof of this, and to my mind also of the historical probability that there really was a struggle between primitive Greece and a Trojan state, is the manner in which he contrasts the Greeks with the Trojans, attributing to the former the proud qualities of European stability and organization, but describing the latter as a mere crowd, such as the vast armies of the

East have ever been since history took cognizance of them, from the days of Xerxes downwards. I will quote, as an example, the opening of the Third Book :

“When severally thus were they beneath their leaders marshall’d,
The Trojan ranks, like flocks of fowl, mov’d on with noise and clatter ;
As verily the scream of cranes across the sky is carried,
Who, scar’d by storm ineffable, and by the scowl of winter,
Soar on the pinion clamouring toward the streams of Ocean,
Unto the men of Pygmy breed murder and ruin bearing,
And at the early morning, set dire controversy forward.
But yon Achaïans, breathing might, march’d all of them in silence,
Each for his comrade resolute some feat of arms to venture.”
(Book III., 1—9.)

Thus he compares the Trojans to noisy wild-fowl, or to flocks of cranes, and the latter fighting with Pygmies, their dwarfish antagonists ; but he institutes no comparison here for the Greeks. They are simply brave soldiers, marching in silence, each giving strength to each, and to the whole mass. Where, in another passage, he does give a comparison for the Greeks, he takes it from one of the most impressive objects in nature, the steady roll of the waves of ocean flowing to the shore.

“So then the bands of Danaï, close-wedg’d, to war were moving,
Line after line, incessantly.”—(Book IV., 427).

The unfortunate Trojans are likened to a flock of sheep baa-ing in the yard of some great cattle-master. We certainly must infer from this that a very strong national partiality entered into the personal character of the poet.

I come now to the concluding part of the inquiry I have proposed in the present lecture, and this regards the poetical aspect of Homer’s character, not in the way of criticising his poetry, but only to show how his poetry throws light upon himself ; what sort of ideas filled his mind, and whence obtained. Much has been done of late years to illustrate Shakespeare by studying the scenery that actually surrounded him at Stratford. I believe even yet, the study of many localities in Greece and Asia may greatly add to the distinctness of our conception of Homer ; but a study of the *Iliad* alone will furnish, as I said in commencing, a sort of bio-

graphy of him, not indeed marked by dates, or even by individual places, but still a biography, because we can ascertain from his own words that he saw, not this or that scene, but scenes like it, and that they produced such an impression on his imagination that he can paint them in colours that retain their freshness as when he saw them at the dawn, or in mid-day, or in the rays of the setting sun, so many ages ago. Or we might compare such pictures to what we are told of the swords that have been found buried for perhaps as many centuries in the dry sands of Persia, and when discovered were still bright and keen as when they left the hands of the cutler. What, then, does the *Iliad* reveal in this kind about its author? It proves that he was familiar with the sea and its dangers; that he travelled a great deal, sometimes, I think, alone, and under circumstances of great anxiety and risk, particularly in mountainous countries, and what we should call bush-regions; that he knew Greece from end to end, its cities and fortresses, as well as its mountains and rivers, but that nevertheless his habits were rather those connected with a country-life; that he had seen a great deal of the rough, hard, pursuits of people like herdsmen, farmers, woodcutters; above all, that he was thoroughly conversant with the chase, especially that of the lion, to which he continually alludes, and this not so much by way of amusement, as hunting with princes (as we see it so often represented in the Assyrian sculptures), but rather for the destruction of a dangerous animal which inflicted serious mischief on property. He makes it quite plain that he was exceedingly fond of horses, which he describes with that animation that shows early and constant familiarity with horsemanship. We find also that he must personally have witnessed a great deal of fighting, and that he sympathized most thoroughly in all the incidents of a battle, the endless varieties of violent death which he describes—being manifestly not the mere invention of fancy, but drawn from an abundant stock of real memories. We find that he delighted, with something of the taste which characterizes Walter Scott, or, before him, Shakespeare and Spenser, in gallant shows, in rich entertainments, in the discourse of kings and chiefs, varied by the song and the lyre; that he must have had access to this of a familiar kind, so as to mix with such persons, with at least the equality which genius gives to its possessor, and to understand what high breeding is, not merely in the nobly-born warrior, but also in the lady, which comes out occasionally, very remarkably, both in the *Iliad* and *Odyssey*; that, as I have already hinted, he was himself a lonely man, in at least his advanced years, but

that his sympathetic character threw him all the more lovingly into those associations which a disconnected man is able more easily to form than those who have the ties of home and family of their own. I conceive that with the imagery which such habits and such surroundings would give him, his mind was full to overflowing; and that though his observant eye and all-encompassing glance had ranged over green forest and misty mountain, over the sparkling waters of the Ægean with its thousand isles, over the deep glens of Arcadia with the clashing of their dark torrents, over the reedy plains of Asia with their flocks of screaming wild-fowl; and had derived from all a wealth of imagery like nature itself, yet, still, that the greatest charm of his poetry is, that it was almost as much the creation of his people as it was his own; that he drew from their genius, and reflected back upon it what he drew. One of Ireland's poets—and it is a pleasure to me in this place to do honour to his name, because we may claim him as a colleague of our own—Professor Aubrey de Vere, has very beautifully seized on the same characteristic in another poet, who has also bound up his own individuality with the mind of the people from whom he sprang:

Honour to Scotland and to Burns!
In him she stands collected,
A thousand streams one river make—
Thus genius, heaven-directed,
Conjoins all separate veins of power
In one great soul-creation;
And blends a million men to make
The poet of the nation.¹

R. O.

¹ Aubrey de Vere's Poems, 1855, p. 41, "To Burns' 'Highland Mary.'"

IRELAND'S OFFERING TO THE SACRED HEART.¹

Stude sapientiae, fili mi, et laetifica cor meum ut possis exprobranti respondere sermonem.

Study wisdom, my son, and make my heart joyful, that thou mayest give an answer to him that reproacheth.—PROVERBS, xxvii. 11.

FROM all eternity the Almighty Father found His ineffable delight in the co-eternal Wisdom, which He possessed in the beginning of His ways, of old, before the earth was made.² Afterwards, when in the fulness of time, that Wisdom of the Father was seen upon earth,³ He, in turn, found His delight, and found it in being with the children of men.⁴ And as the Father delighted in His Son, because He was the brightness of His glory and the figure of His substance, so the Incarnate Word finds His chief delight on earth in His rational creatures, because they image forth His own distinctive quality of Wisdom. Hence, the sacred Scriptures declare that "He loveth none but him that dwelleth with wisdom."⁵ And He Himself, speaking through the author of the Proverbs, in the text I have recited, tells us that His love for souls in which wisdom shines is more than love—for it is love in its most beauteous form—joyous love—love mingled with delight. Nay, more: He there describes this His joyful love as caused in His breast not merely by the beauty of wisdom in itself, but also by the efforts made by the human soul to attain to the possession of it. And, therefore, as a father might tenderly plead with a child, He pleads with man, that by skilful culture of his faculties, and by earnest striving after wisdom, he would make joyful His heart. And thus, the entire process of man's spiritual and intellectual training in true wisdom is set before us, as an object invested with a solemn and almost awful power over the heart of God. "Study wisdom, my son, and make joyful my heart!"

Wisdom is described as the knowledge of things human and divine, and of their causes. Now, since, as the Vatican Council teaches, there is a twofold order of knowledge, one being by natural reason, the other, by divine Faith—one including the things which natural reason can reach, the other, the truths of revelation; a Catholic University, being a place of teaching universal knowledge, is the natural home of both, and is, therefore, in a sense most true, the seat of wisdom. It is the

¹ A Sermon preached at the Consecration of the Catholic University of Ireland to the Sacred Heart of Jesus, by the Right Rev. George Conroy, D.D., Bishop of Ardagh and Clonmacnois, on Trinity Sunday, 31st May, 1874.

² Proverbs, viii. 22, 23. ³ Baruch, iii. 38. ⁴ Proverbs, viii. 31. ⁵ Wisdom, viii. 28.

place wherein men are taught how best to comply with the divine exhortation of studying wisdom in its widest range; and, therefore, without presumption, we may believe and hope that it is a place precious beyond others in the sight of that God, who alone, as Job tells us, rightly understandeth the way of wisdom and knoweth the place thereof.¹ It is in this faith and in this hope that it behoves us to assist at the ceremony of to-day, by which Catholic Ireland consecrates her University to the Sacred Heart of Jesus Christ.

Some there are to whom this ceremony is simply void of rational meaning; others, again, will deride it as an extravagance of childish piety, or resent it as an exhibition of unenlightened fanaticism. But, in sober truth, it is an act of surpassing dignity and loftiest significance. For it is the act of a nation; and a nation's act in the cause of truth and justice, ever possesses an indisputable grandeur of its own. And it is a national act of the highest order, for it is a solemn renewal of the profession of Faith by which Ireland long ago dedicated her intellect to Jesus Christ. And she has chosen to give to this act the form of consecration to the Sacred Heart of Jesus, guided rightly by love's delicate instinct to believe that this choice would give to the Heart of Jesus the greatest joy, and to the souls of her children the richest graces to help them in their season of need. Besides, the Sacred Heart enables her, in the words of the text, to give an answer to those who reproach her, for it contains at once the noblest defence of her past struggles, and the sure grounds of her hopes for the future. No element of true grandeur, then, is wanting to this ceremony, which thus unites in closest ties the mind and heart of a believing nation with the mind and heart of the Incarnate Word.

And, in the first place, it is a nation's act—for it is the direct outcome of a principle that has distinctively marked at all periods the genius of the Irish people. The whole history of Ireland moves on two lines representing two of the master passions of our race—the love of religion and the love of learning. But in our history these two lines never run apart; rather, like the mystic lines in the tracery that adorns the Celtic crosses, they are bound to each other at so many points, and by ties so fine and close, that no power can sunder between them. The Irish have ever loved scholarship, but they would never have it separated from religion. No man can be the child of science—it was said in a Celtic monastery of the sixth century—who does not love truth and justice, and there is no truth and justice without the knowledge of God. And as it was in the sixth century, so has it been ever since, and

¹ Job, xxviii. 23.

so it is now in the nineteenth century. And if any were to gainsay it in spite of the express declaration of the Irish people, from the highest to the humblest class—in spite of these countless religious schools throughout the land, crowded with a joyous throng, while the godless institutions are as barren mothers without children—the very walls of this University would cry out against them. No royal munificence has bidden it to arise; no imperial treasury has subsidised it; no wealthy noble, no merchant prince has endowed it. It is the creation of the nation. There is not a stone in it but has a voice and cries out its witness to the faith of the men of the Irish race, who from Ireland, and England, and Scotland—from America, and India, and Africa, and the islands of the sea—have sent their painfully earned money to build up in this, the heart of their native land, a shrine wherein fullest science and simplest faith may dwell together in amity. And the hands that raised the University rested not until they had raised likewise this stately church; and high over the altar they enthroned Her who is the Seat of Wisdom, that so the generations of students, who were to come hither to seek for science, might ever find the Light of the world, as the Wise Men of the East found Him—resting on the lap of Mary. Now, what is to-day's ceremony—by which Ireland's highest seat of intellectual culture is reverently placed within the very sanctuary of Divine love—but a magnificent outward expression of the principle which has thus ever been the very life of Irish thought—that education and religion should be inseparable. This consecration of the University to the Sacred Heart is, therefore, an act belonging to the whole Irish race. We are not alone here to-day. We are here, the representatives of the millions of our nation now scattered over the earth; and hither, too, has come a shining cloud of witnesses stretching from every period of our past history to mingle their voices with ours—from the venerable founders of great schools like Armagh and Clonard, to the felon priest who taught grammar in the heart of the morass—bringing with them the glorious traditions that are Ireland's conquests from the ages—to swell Ireland's antiphon, with which she prays to-day that God may sanctify this house which she has built for Science, and that He may put His name there for ever, and that His eyes and His heart may be there always.¹ How glorious for Ireland, and how impressive this spectacle of millions of minds swayed by a single thought, and of millions of wills knit together in one resolve, not to secure any questionable material or political triumph, but for an object the noblest that can stir the pulses of a high souled nation, the intellectual

¹ 3 Kings, ix. 31.

and moral and religious progress of its sons. No wonder that, like David's, the heart of the Catholic Church in Ireland is filled to-day with great joy as she beholds her faithful people make these their offerings! No wonder that with him she too should cry out—"O Lord God of our fathers, keep for ever this will of their heart, and let this mind remain always for the worship of Thee!"¹

And next, to-day's ceremony is the noblest of all national acts, for it is a national Act of Faith in Jesus Christ. The habit of faith, St. Thomas tells us,² works by a double process. It inclines us to believe what we are bound to believe, and it restrains us from assenting in any way to those things which we ought not to believe. This double fruit of the supernatural habit of faith has been splendidly illustrated in Ireland's action with reference to Education during the last three hundred years. With unerring accuracy of judgment, and with invincible vigour of will, she ever turned away from systems and institutions that were hostile to Faith, while she as unvaryingly recognised and cherished those that were favourable to it. And this is especially true of University Education.

An eloquent voice has described,³ in touching language, how across the sanguinary scene of war and turbulence and bloodshed that followed the English occupation of this country, there flitted from time to time the graceful vision of an University, appearing to-day, disappearing to-morrow, reappearing on an after day, but unhappily never able to root itself on a firm foundation in the soil. Alas! this picture is but too true, even to-day; but the fault is not Ireland's. It is true, that with the failure of the University schemes, with reference to which these words were first spoken, Faith had little to do, for as yet the unity of religion was unbroken in the two countries. Nevertheless, there were then at work other causes of failure besides war and the turbulence of the times, and of these causes due account has not always been taken. No matter how fair the outward seeming of each University that then presented itself, its success was hindered by one serious drawback. The language on its lips was not the language of Ireland—it wore the mien and air of a stranger—it was not warm with Irish blood—it had no kindred with the Celtic millions. And, therefore, though Ireland pined with longing for the stores of learning it had brought, she could not cherish it as her child, and it disappeared. But when the vision that had disappeared in the Catholic times reappeared in the reign of

¹ 1 Paralip. xxix. 18. ² In Lib. iii. Sent. Dist. xxiii., q. iii., art. iii.

³ Speech on moving for leave to bring in a Bill relating to University Education in Ireland, by the Right Hon. W. E. Gladstone, M.P. London: Murray, 1873, page 25.

Elizabeth, the Faith of Ireland rose indignant against it. For, this time, its ornaments were the plunder of God's altars and of the shrines of the saints—its dowry, the spoils taken from the weak—its doctrines, the condemnation of all that her children revered. It was the daughter of the stranger come back again, flaunting in the face of a Catholic nation the strange creed she had learned during her period of absence. What could Ireland do but close heart and ears against her wiles, and pray for patience to endure her pitiless tyranny. Again, however, a change has come. The power which created that University has risen up against her, and lo! in its turn the Protestant University has disappeared, and, in its stead, a new University, as unblushingly godless as the worst creations of infidelity, is presented for acceptance by Ireland. And if Ireland turned coldly away from the stranger in the Reformation period—if she rejected the Protestant University because it was the foe of the religion she loved—with what scorn does she not look upon the University that has cast off its baptism to secure for itself a few more years of existence? But, at length another fair and graceful vision of an University meets the gaze of Ireland! No stranger this one, but the bone of our bone, and flesh of our flesh; no follower of false religions, but beautiful with the beauty of the holiness of the Sacraments, keeping, amid the fullest treasures of Science, the true Faith; with the blessing of Peter on her brow, and the sweet name of Mary, the Seat of Wisdom, engraven upon her heart; no slave of infidelity, but with the faith and the love of Jesus Christ glowing in her soul, and boldly proclaiming to the world, that though now-a-days Christ is to some a stumbling block, and to others foolishness, to her He is the power of God and the Wisdom of God.¹ Like some royal bride bearing in her bosom the hopes of empires, this Catholic University carries within it the best—I had almost said the only—hopes of Catholic Ireland. It is the visible symbol of principles without which Christian liberty is impossible in this land. It is a protest against the tyranny which would violate the sacred rights of parents to control the education of their children. It is a protest against the tyranny that would refuse to the Church the exercise of her heaven-given prerogative of guarding the Faith of those who call her the mother of their souls. It is a protest against the mutilation of education by banishing from the schools the knowledge of God and of the supernatural order. And it does more than protest against what is wrong and false; it asserts what is right and true. It asserts that Faith and Reason are not necessarily foes, but rather twin

¹ I Cor. i. 23, 24.

lights of various orders to conduct man to the knowledge of truth. It asserts, with the Vatican Council, that the Catholic Church, far from opposing the highest culture in human arts and learning, promotes it and helps it on. It asserts, with the same Council, that the Church does not forbid the sciences to follow, each in its sphere, its own proper principles and its own proper method; that she holds the liberty of so doing to be one of the just liberties of science; but that this liberty must not be abused for the destruction of Christian faith. It asserts the just claims of the Irish Catholic to all the educational privileges and helps that are given to others. On it depends the future of Ireland, for the education given to this generation of Irishmen will colour for centuries the history of our country. Towards this University Ireland's spirit of Faith turns in love; and this is the offering which on this day she humbly presents to Jesus Christ. Can we conceive of a nobler act of national Faith? The Catholic University is the fruit of Ireland's Faith, gathering up in itself all of good that has been purchased by the sufferings of three hundred years. By solemnly devoting it to-day to the Sacred Heart of Jesus Christ, Ireland declares that the continuity of that profession of Faith shall be unbroken. By it she proclaims that she has given and will preserve her intellect captive to the Incarnate Word, and that neither death, nor life, nor things present, nor things to come, nor might, nor height, nor depth, nor any other creature, shall be able to separate her from the love of God, which is in Christ Jesus our Lord.¹

Nor has her love been at fault in choosing to address her offering to the Sacred Heart, since no other devotion could be more consoling to Christ, none more fruitful of graces to her children. For what is the object of this devotion to the Sacred Heart of Jesus Christ? Pius VI. tells us that "the substance of this devotion consists herein, that under the symbolical image of His Heart we should meditate on the boundless charity and outpoured love of our Divine Redeemer." The Heart of Jesus, then, is the symbol of His love, and, like every other real symbol, it invites our consideration to the three distinct elements that go to make up its symbolic character:—firstly, to the *sign* itself, which is the real Heart of Jesus inseparably united to the person of the Word, and therefore adored by the faithful without separation or abstraction from the Divinity; secondly, to *that of which it is the sign*, namely, our Divine Redeemer's love; thirdly, to the *reason* why the Heart of Jesus is the symbol of His love—namely, because of the intimate connexion naturally existing between the human heart and the affections of the soul. Now,

¹ Rom. viii. 38, 39.

from our consideration of these three points, there springs up in the devout soul a triple act of love—of adoring love, due to the Sacred Heart of Jesus, inseparably united with the Godhead; of grateful love, awakened by our Redeemer's immense love for us; and of penitent love, answering with its poor sympathy the sorrows with which that Sacred Heart was racked for our sins. This triple love is the proper fruit of the devotion to the Sacred Heart; and happy, thrice happy, those pure souls who taste of it in its own fulness, and are filled with the blessings of its sweetness! And these three loves answer, each to each, to the three solitary joys which, as the Holy Scriptures tell us, belonged to the Heart of Jesus. The first was His joy at the simple faith of His followers, by which they believed in His Father and in His own divine nature. St. Luke (Luke x. 21) tells us how in that same hour He rejoiced in the Holy Ghost, and said: "I confess to Thee, O Father, Lord of heaven and earth, because Thou hast hidden these things from the wise and prudent, and hast revealed them to the little ones. All things are delivered to me by my Father, and no one knoweth who the Son is but the Father, and who the Father is but the Son, and to whom the Son will reveal Him." And may we not hope that the adoring love which springs from the contemplation of the Sacred Heart will renew this joy of our Lord! His second joy was in the consciousness of being beloved by His own: "These things," He told them (John x. 11), "have I spoken to you, that my joy may be in you." And of what else did he then speak except of that furnace of His love which ever glows in the Sacred Heart? It was just after the institution of the Eucharist, and just before the agony in the garden, and yet in the midst of the sorrow of separation from His own, and in the very shadow of death, the Sacred Heart found joy in the thought of the grateful love of His children. And what else is the Sacred Heart ever repeating to us but these same things that Jesus spoke of on that saddest night? And when our hearts are warmed by its silent eloquence, does not our grateful love give fresh joy to our Lord? His third joy was that joy of heart which He felt on the day He was crowned for our sake with the crown of thorns, to which allusion is made in the Canticles, when we are called on¹ "to go forth, and see our King with the diadem wherewith His Mother had crowned Him on the day of the joy of His Heart." That crown of thorns He yet wears on His Heart, and the penitent love it must needs excite in our souls will, indeed, bring back to Him the day of His joy. And thus the triple stream of love that flows into our hearts from the

¹ Cant. of Cant., iii. 11.

Heart of Jesus is allowed to return in waves of gladness to its Divine source. Blessed, then, be that Heart, which teaches to our cold souls so many happy secrets of love ! And thrice blessed be it in this time and place, for nowhere are its life-giving graces more needed to-day than in the great seats of learning. There, more than elsewhere, men have forgotten how to adore and how to love ; the name of Christ has been cast out from academic halls as if it were an unclean thing ; and in every avenue to every science the professors of infidelity have laid snares for thoughtless youth, that so they may slay in their unwary souls the Faith of Christ. Not that in the beginning, at least in our country, these men openly dishonour Christ or His doctrines ; but, rather, like the destroying angel that smote the first-born in Egypt, they set themselves to their work under cover of darkness—the darkness caused by the systematic exclusion of Christian knowledge. They know well that he who knows not Christ will not adore him ; and therefore do they forbid in the schools the language of Catholic theology, each term of which, St. Gregory of Nyssa tells us, is as a perfumed vase breathing the fragrance of God. Now, the Sacred Heart is in itself a compendium of all Christian Doctrine. The unity of God's essence and the distinction of the Divine Persons ; the Incarnation of the Son, the Reality of His adorable Humanity ; the inseparable union of the two natures in one Divine Person, with all the gracious and tender mysteries flowing from these, are to be read therein. Fixing on this Heart the gaze of an enlightened faith, Catholic students will find in it a treasure of religious knowledge. And the adoring love that shall spring from this saving knowledge will be to them, in the fire of the daily temptation that meets them, as the angel of the Lord who went down with Azarias and his companions into the furnace, and made the midst of the furnace like the blowing of a wind bringing dew, and the fire will not touch them, nor trouble them, nor do them any harm.¹

Nor is grateful love less needful. It would seem as if a poisoned breath had passed over modern Science, blasting its high aspirations, and killing its sympathies with whatever is noble and elevated in the destiny of man and of the world. It positively cannot, or will not, see in man anything but the brute animal, owing such better qualities as it has to a process of natural development, without an immortal soul, without freewill, without a true moral sense, without the image of God. It cannot, or will not, see even the possibility of a supernatural revelation opening out before man the surpassingly fair vision of a supernatural order, in which his place is little less than

¹ Dan. iii. 49-50.

that of the angels, so tenderly and so fully is his life encompassed by God's loving care, and so glorious the end towards which his existence is directed. And accordingly, its whole study is to sap the natural truths that are the preamble to Faith, and to subject to a solvent criticism the records of revelation, in order to degrade them to the rank of old-world legends. All in vain does nature, and history, and the insatiable cravings of man's soul panting after the living God, plead with this brutalized science in favour of a recognition of our matchless dignity; no *sursum corda* can rouse it from the depths of materialism and sensuality in which it buried itself. Alas! in losing its faith in God's love, it has lost the key to the mysteries of the universe. But whosoever contemplates that abyss of wisdom and of love, which is the Sacred Heart of Jesus, will find all these mysteries made clear in the light of the ineffable love that glows therein. Who shall dare, even in thought, to question the dignity of that creature for whose elevation God's love bridged over the space between heaven and earth in the Incarnation—for whom the Eucharist was instituted—for whose dear sake the pains of the Passion were borne! And who will find even the Incarnation, the Sacraments, the Passion, too much for the infinite love of the Heart of Jesus? Ah, surely, at the sight of that open wound in the Sacred Heart, the *non credam*—the *I will not believe*—of unbelieving Science will be changed, as on the lips of Thomas, into the cry of grateful love:—*My Lord and God!* For who that reflects constantly on the boundless love of which it is the symbol, can marvel at any place of dignity assigned to man by that Divine Goodness which recognises as man's best claim upon it, man's own littleness and misery!

And then the need of penitent love! The sense of sin seems as if it would die out of the world. How heinous it is to transgress the law must needs be forgotten by minds upon which the law itself has little hold, and the law whose sanction is not remembered is a law that is dead. And if this be true of all ages and of all places, how much more is it true in case of those who, in great centres of learning, in the flush of youthful passion, set out to voyage over strange seas of thought alone, or in the current of evil example. But who that habitually looks upon the Sacred Heart of Jesus ever crowned with its crown of sorrow, can forget how tremendous the sanction of that law, whose Author did not spare even His own Son because He had taken on Himself the iniquities of us all. And as the thought of the enormity of sin grows upon him he will seek in the Sacred Heart itself a means by which he may cleanse his soul from its foul stains. Borrowing of its

sorrow for the offences against God, he will humbly confess his guilt in the Sacrament of Penance, and, sprinkled with hyssop he shall be cleansed, and washed in the blood of the Lamb, he shall be made whiter than snow.

Most fittingly, then, does Ireland to-day consecrate her University to the Sacred Heart of Jesus, commending to the love of the Incarnate Wisdom the cause of religious education in this country. The Sacred Heart is her sufficient answer to those that reproach her. Men marvel at our obstinacy in clinging to the principle that religion and education must not be separated. To shrink from that principle is to renounce our part in the Sacred Heart of Jesus Christ, for now the question has been narrowed to this—education with and for Christ, or—Paganism? Men say that we are unwise advocates, and imperil by our rashness the cause we love. If so, let us place it in the hands of the best of advocates. It is a just cause; and is not the Heart of Jesus the Throne of Eternal Justice! It is a holy cause; and is not the Sacred Heart the Sanctuary of Holiness! But, just and holy as it is, this cause is, humanly speaking, a weak one, as the cause of justice too often is on earth. It has been tossed to and fro as suited the calculations of politicians; it has had arrayed against it the power of bitter foes, and the treachery of dishonest or weak advocates. But did not Pilate and Herod chaffer in petty political intrigues over His stricken Heart, smarting from the violence of enemies, and the shame of betrayal by friends! Let the world say that success is beyond our strength to achieve, at any rate it is not beyond the strength of Almighty God. That strength we here suppliantly implore to-day. “Now, therefore, arise, O Lord God, into Thy resting place, Thou and the ark of Thy strength.”¹ “See what things the enemy hath done in the Sanctuary. . . . they have defiled the dwelling place of Thy name on earth. They said in their heart, the whole kindred of them together: Let us abolish all the festival days of God from the land. . . . How long, O God, shall the enemy reproach: is the adversary to provoke Thy name for ever? . . . Deliver not up to beasts the souls that confess to Thee: and forget not to the end the souls of Thy poor . . . Arise, O God! O God! arise, and judge Thine own cause.”²

¹ 2 Paralip. vi. 41.

² Psalm, lxxiii.

IRISH ECCLESIASTICAL COLLEGES SINCE THE REFORMATION.

SALAMANCA.—III.

NOW that we have drifted into the persecution which raged in the beginning of the reign of James I., I shall give a few more extracts from letters I have at hand, which throw light on the sufferings of the Catholics of those dreadful times. One of the correspondents, who writes in English, says:—"There has been in Drogheda, in the year of our Lord 1606, in this Lord Chichester is days, who then was Lord Deputy, and is yet, such persecution as no man durst walk the streets that was a Catholic, but presently they should be apprehended, and brought before the Lord Deputy and Council, to be examined of what religion they were. If their answer was that they were Catholics, then were they demanded if they would go to church. If they answer that they would not, then were they presently sent to the jailer to be kept in prison; they were kept so close for half a-year, that nobody was let go towards them but those that carried them their meat: thus did they live in this miserable case till it pleased the judges to set them at liberty. There was one tanner there, who was a preacher, that did great harm to the common people, for he did nothing all day but watch the streets for the poor people, and when he had taken them, he would like to carry them to church against their wills, by which means he made the poor people so much afraid as they were glad to leave the whole town. One day an alderman was taken, and he was compelled to go to church and hear the sermon."

This alderman had not the courage displayed by another gentleman, whom the Lord Deputy met on the streets, and compelled to go to church in the same way. Chichester being in Drogheda in 1607, met this gentleman as I said, and knowing him to be a Catholic, and a person of high estimation, told him to accompany him to church, and hear the sermon. Mr. Barnewell, for so the gentleman was called, went as far as the door, and there stopped, saying: "This far, sir, God and my conscience allow me to accompany you, but no farther." The viceroy told him, blandly at first, and then savagely, to go in, and seeing he could not prevail on him, struck him a cruel blow on the head with his stick. Then the macebearer attacked him so savagely that he fell to the ground like a dead man, and the viceroy had him dragged into church, where he

lay insensible and gasping all the time of the sermon, and no one dared to approach him. Some of his friends afterwards took him home, where he gave his blessed soul to God in two hours. This act of cruel barbarity is related by Mr. Thomas Wise, on the authority of a gentleman named Dillon, from Meath, who arrived in Rome in 1607.

The writer of the letter from which I have already quoted, goes on to say in his own quaint old English:—"In the same year Mr. Stone being walking without St. Laurence is gate, met with a poor friar alone in his habit; this Stone demanded of the poor man whether he had money or no, the poor man answered he had none; with that he took the poor man back, and beat him till he was weary; the poor man took it very patiently, but hard by that place was three or four young men taking their pleasure, and by chance they overheard the cruel blows which the poor man felt. Hearing the noise, they come forth, but when they saw it was the poor man, they took the fellow and beat him excellent well. After he was beaten he made his complaint to the Lord Deputy, and he got a warrant to the sheriffs to apprehend those young men. Two of the young men were taken, and carried to Dublin, but they were kept in prison till they paid a sum of money to this man, and like to be cruelly punished for beating of that knave." Then he relates how the jury would not present, or find a bill against, the Catholics for absenting themselves from church; how Andrew Carrol, being chosen mayor, was asked to take the oath of allegiance and supremacy, and on refusing, was cast into prison, and had to pay £100 to an Englishman who had acted for him; and how Stephen Dowse, an alderman, being at Mass on a Christmas morning, was informed on by a maid servant, and committed to jail for six months, when he was liberated on bail, and finally we meet with the following most curious and interesting items:—

"The Lord Primate of the realm, dwelling within three miles of Drogheda, kept court in it every Tuesday in the year. He made a secret law in his own court, that whosoever was married since that time twelvemonth should pay unto him four pounds sterling, and every man that had a child borne him since that time twelvemonth, should bring the priest and the child to the church, or else they should pay four pounds sterling. It passed of four or five court days, and the people made no account of it; and when he saw that, he told them that he would excommunicate them all. The poor people hearing him say that, made great haste with as much money as they had to come to him; some brought ten shillings, and other some brought twenty, according their ability. One Mr.

Harry Cormuck, an alderman of the town, seeing the extortion of this man, went to the Lord Chancellor, and told him how his poor neighbours were used. The Lord Chancellor hearing it, did wonder at it, and gave him a commission whereby all those that did deliver any money unto the Lord Primate, that it should be restored unto them again, and that this law should be used no more. When the alderman came back he delivered the same to the Lord Primate, but the poor people could never get their money from him.

"The Lord Primate one day secretly did go about searching of priests, and by chance he broke up a door wherein two or three friars did dwell, and on the back side there was a little chapel where the friars did say Mass. He broke up the door, and by chance he found a cup of tin, and the Lord Primate thought it was silver, and he clapt it up and gave it to his son to keep. They found a suit of vestments and other things, but he carried all away, and locked it in the vestry in the great church, but that night all was taken away out at a little spike-window, and it was never known who took it away; thus was the Lord Primate served."

At the risk of wearying my readers I will give a few more extracts from our gossiping correspondents' letters, written in 1606 and early in 1607:—

"The President of the province of Munster is one of those who employ most warmth and fury in this persecution. He began with supreme arrogance and cruelty, by abolishing the prerogatives and privileges of all the cities and towns of his jurisdiction, against all reason and justice. He has imposed on all magistrates, mayors, and their assistants, on all gentlemen of title, and even on their vassals of any weight or importance, the oath of the ecclesiastical supremacy of the King, with awful threats against those who should refuse. And for this purpose he collected a crowd of people of all classes, the agents of his wickedness, who so oppress the miserable and abandoned Catholics that they don't even dare to cultivate the land. The villages and country districts are harassed beyond description, and will become deserts, if what is going on at present lasts only six months more. The number of respectable people they take prisoners is extraordinary, and incredible the confiscation of property they have made, so that many illustrious houses and families are on the point of destruction. Groans and sighs are the language of the people, and yet it is consoling to see the great courage of these poor Catholics. We attend to their wants in every way we can, and in this we have received great help from those who came this year from the College of Salamanca, who, with their virtue,

zeal, and learning, labour with marked fruit, encouraging the weak, and exhorting the brave and valorous knights of Christ. They are divided among the places requiring their aid most. Through the grace of God, very few of our people have shown any weakness : in the city of Waterford, only one ; in Cork, the mayor, and he said that what they asked him to do was against his reason and conscience, but he would obey the King ; in Clonmel, one ; in Limerick, two ; and in Kinsale and Kilmallock, very few. The people of the other towns are so firm and determined, that they are prepared to die sooner than renounce the Faith." Thus wrote David Karney, Archbishop of Cashel, in November, 1606, and in December of the same year, Father Christopher Holywood says :—

"A gentleman named John De Burg, owner of great estates not far from the city of Limerick, a worthy servant of God and brave Catholic, had a priest in his village. When he was about to say Mass one day, before a large congregation, he found an armed force of the President's was coming, and animating the people to persevere in their faith, he advised them to hide ; and he himself, at the gentleman's request, did the same. He only waited to gather the ornaments of the altar, and with these the gentleman retired to his castle, with three servants. The enemy set fire to the houses about the castle, and surrounded it. After a little, the gentleman resolved to make a sally with his people, having first recommended himself to the Lord. Taking the chalice in his left hand, under his cloak, and putting the ara between his shoulders, inside his shirt, and the other ornaments about his person, he thus, with his sword in his hand, broke through the ranks and camp of his enemies. He killed some, and wounded others, escaping (with his servants) with only a lance-thrust between the shoulders, which broke the ara without injuring him ; and he was more sorry for the loss of the ara than if they had half killed him.

"The President afterwards proclaimed him a traitor, and he was soon taken, and put in the public prison of Limerick ; whence, after treating him very ill, they brought him to trial, —offering him, at the same time, the restitution of his property and high offices in the state, if he would only render obedience to the king, by taking the oath of supremacy, and go to church. He answered that neither for rewards nor punishment, neither for threats nor promises, would he consent to do so ; nor was it a good exchange to give heaven for earth, and so he would not for the whole world offend God, who had ever showered favours on him ; that he renounced and abominated all the Church of Rome — the only Catholic and Apostolic

Church—abominates and condemns; and that he firmly believed there was only one head of this Church on earth, the supreme Roman Pontiff, true and legitimate pastor of all such as are to be saved; and in defence of this truth I am prepared to lay down my life. The heretics, finding there was no chance of moving him, pronounced sentence of death on him. When they came to the gallows, he made a tender appeal to the by-standers, beseeching the Catholics to pray to God for his perseverance, and not to take example from the wretched prevaricators and cowards who complied with the demands of the heretics. With this they cut off his head, and all his property was confiscated."

Another correspondent says:—"The mayors of Dridat (Drogheda) and Dublin, with other gentlemen from the neighbourhood of Trim, are kept in prison—some of them because they would not denounce their neighbours for not going to church. They have, besides, taken prisoners many priests and alumni of the Spanish colleges—in the neighbourhood of Kilkenny, five; in Waterford, three; in the environs of Cork and Limerick, others; and many more in different places. They deposed Paul Sherlock, mayor of Waterford, for not taking the oath, and for absenting himself from church, and condemned him in £200; and they took his successor, named Leonard, with his officers and other gentlemen, prisoners to Cork. Many are condemned to pecuniary fines, amounting to more than their property is worth, and so they are languishing to death in prison. Some have fled to the mountains and solitudes, and many others of note are selling the little that remains to them, to go to die in some Catholic land. The insolence the Catholics endure cannot be described. Day and night, spies are set to ferret out friars and priests; and a religious has been known to carry the Blessed Sacrament to a dying Catholic with a mask on, for otherwise it were impossible. Besides all this, these diabolical agents have invented the plan of calling their exactions 'royal prerogatives,' which gives them the right of inflicting whatever injuries they wish. There have been some cases of weakness, but through the grace of God they are very few compared with the number of firm and consistent Catholics."

During all this time that the devoted servants of God were suffering for the Faith in Ireland, the faithful band of the Irish sons of St. Ignatius, to whom the destinies of the College were entrusted, were labouring night and day in training new combatants for the glorious struggle. Among these Fathers none worked harder—none reflected more credit on his native land,

and the seminary in which he laboured—than the saintly William Bath.

Father Bath was born in Ireland in the year 1566. His parents were people of distinction in the province of Leinster, and owners of *Drimconcrach*, and other properties. He was reared on the pure milk of the Catholic Faith, and trained in every Christian virtue.¹ His parents dying, he succeeded as eldest son to all the wealth and possessions of his house ; but his elevation to his new and distinguished position did not make him vain or proud : on the contrary, his Christian spirit, moderation, and mature judgment, became more conspicuous. On an occasion when the Viceroy had some matters of importance to bring under the notice of Queen Elizabeth, he chose for this embassy the juvenile years of William Bath, knowing his youth would be a recommendation of which men of more mature years were destitute. Young Bath became a great favourite with the Queen, whom he delighted with his wonderful skill in playing all kinds of musical instruments, and amused by teaching her the Art of Memory, while his many other brilliant parts won for him general estimation. Unlike most men in like circumstances, young Bath was not deceived by the flattering gifts of good fortune, or the delights of the splendid Court of London, but saw through their false brilliance, and there and then determined to lead an ecclesiastical life, dedicate himself to study, and be ordained priest, and with that intention he returned to Ireland. The immediate occasion of this resolution was his one day seeing the English fleet enter London laden with the spoils of the Spaniards. He happened to be in a window overlooking the river, with a friend, a nobleman and relative of his own, to whom he said, after contemplating the grand display made by the victorious fleet :—"Heresy would seem to triumph over the Faith—error over truth—in this triumph of a heretical sovereign over the Catholic King ; but all this will pass away, and death shall come on us. How much better would it not be to spend one's life in some retired corner of a Catholic country, preparing for that last hour, than thoughtlessly amid the scenes of festivity and dissipation in which we mingle."

Arrived in Ireland, most brilliant matches were offered him in marriage, but did not shake his resolution of living a life of celibacy. He then determined on renouncing his extensive possessions in favour of his brother, and afterwards made his way to Flanders, where he dedicated himself to study and the

¹ MS. in handwriting of Father Paul Sherlock. Oliver mistakes when he says he was a heretic in his youth.

practice of virtue. He led a life of strict retirement, great penance, and continual intercourse with God, and our Lord inspired him with strong desires of serving him in some Religious Order. Resolved on abandoning the world, and subjecting his will to another's, he was in great perplexity which of three Orders, which then flourished with strict observance, he should embrace, the Carthusian, Capucin, or the Society of Jesus. A fervent zeal for the conversion of sinners and the salvation of souls inclined him powerfully to the Society; but he feared that in the pursuit of these souls, and the intercourse with the world, he should miss the sweet repose of serious contemplation which craves retirement and solitude. In the midst of this perplexity, his body, overcome by the interior labours of his soul, struggling to ascertain the will of Heaven, he one day fell asleep, and these words of St. John sounded in his interior: *Ingredietur et egredietur, et pascua inveniet*; and longing to know what they meant, he was given to understand that the pastures and spiritual food he sought, he should find in the active life observed in the Society of Jesus. Acting on this benign promise, he immediately took steps to enter the Society in Flanders and succeeded. After a few months novitiate the superiors found him so advanced in spiritual things, that they appointed him companion to the Master of Novices. After giving rare example of all the virtues in his novitiate, he was sent to the College of St Omer, where a great number of English Catholic youths were educated. Here he assisted to train in letters, but much more in virtue and all kinds of spiritual knowledge, those young men, the promise of their native land; but falling into bad health, and his life becoming endangered, he went to Italy, by order of the Father General, and completed his studies in the College of Padua. Here he conceived that burning zeal for the good of souls which lasted his whole life, his only delight being to reach them, and recognising no difficulty where their salvation was concerned. Day and night he was ready to attend any one who should call him, and he would seek them out himself in the prisons and hospitals, and wherever else he could discover those in need of his services, always preferring the poorest and most neglected.

While he was thus practising for his future labours, it so happened that His Holiness appointed Father Louis Mansonio, of the Society of Jesus, a man of great sanctity, prudence, and learning, Apostolic Nuncio in Ireland. The Father-General named William Bath as his companion, and thus he went with the Nuncio to the Court of Spain, where they were to receive certain necessary instructions. Whilst they were at

Court, however, peace was made between the crowns of Spain and England, and the embassy of the Nuncio came to an end. Father Mansonio returned to Italy, but Father Bath remained at Valladolid, where the Court then existed, and thence he went to the University of Salamanca, where God had reserved for him so many victories and triumphs over hell. He received from heaven a singular gift of giving the Exercises of St. Ignatius with such extraordinary effect, that he could do what he liked with souls, and his room was constantly crowded with people who came to be instructed by him. A great reformation among the citizens followed; but it was in the young men, the intellectual flower of Spain, who frequented that famous University, God wrought most wonders.

He took particular pains in instructing the poor, and established a confraternity of the humblest classes, which he placed under the patronage of the rich. At the same time he assisted in the Irish College, which during its short existence under the direction of the Jesuits, had sent a crowd of labourers to the vineyards of Ireland, many of whom became learned professors, bishops, archbishops, and martyrs. Most of these passed under Father William's direction as dean of the house, and learned music and ceremonies from him. He procured the writing of a book, called *Janua Linguarum*, which was composed under his direction, and was of great service to novices in Latin, and he has left besides three other works—*An Introduction to the Arte of Music*; *a Spanish Treatise on the Sacrament of Penance*; and *Instructions on the Mysteries of Faith, in English and Spanish*.

He performed the Spiritual Exercises of St. Ignatius three times a year, and every month he had a day of retreat, which he called the day of his reformation, on which he always fasted till nightfall. He paid so little attention to the things of the world, that he scarcely took the trouble to learn the difference between the various pieces of money, and always had to study it when he had occasion to go on a journey. If the distance were not very great, he always travelled on foot, and never looked for ease or comfort wherever he might put up. He was rigorous in the use of the discipline, and always wore a hair shirt. His sleep was the shortest on hard boards, and his mortification so extreme that his superiors had to interfere to moderate it. He had extraordinary devotion to the Blessed Virgin, in whose honour he fasted every Saturday, and the vigils of all her feasts, on bread and water, and spent two hours in prayer, contemplating her virtues and prerogatives.

His fame became so widespread that he was called to

Madrid to give Spiritual Retreats to the first personages there, where God was pleased to call him to Himself, through a fever, which carried him off, after receiving all the sacraments, on the seventh day of his sickness, the 17th June, 1614, in the forty-eighth year of his age, of which he had spent fifteen in the Society. He was professed of four vows, and died as he had lived, a model of sanctity and Christian perfection. He is honourably mentioned by Father Philip Alegambe among the writers of the Society of Jesus.

Some time between 1614 and 1620, the Irish Fathers asked for one of the Irish Colleges in Spain for the training of young Jesuits for the Irish Mission, but their petition was not successful. I find in their statement the following item about the novitiates of the different Religious Orders then in active service in Ireland:—"The Irish Religious of other Orders have their convents for the training of their members in different Catholic kingdoms—the Irish Friars of St. Francis in Louvain, besides another monastery in Paris; the Irish Capucins in France, the Irish Dominicans in Andalusia, the Irish Monks of St. Bernard in Bordeaux."

PATRES ET FRATRES HIBERNI E SOCIETATE JESU,
ANNO 1617.

In Hibernia.

	Aet.	In Soc.	
P. Christophoris Holywodius	58	33	Fingalliensis, Superior.
P. Thomas Sheyn . . .	58	33	Clonmelliensis.
P. Barnabas Kearnéus . .	48	28	Cassiliensis.
P. Nicolaus Leynach . .	61	31	Clonmelliensis.
P. Andreas Moronius . .	63	31	Clonmelliensis.
P. Patritius Lenanus . .	63	20	Medensis.
P. Jacobus Everardus . .	42	19	Felersensis.
P. Mauricius Wisaeus . .	48	20	Waterfordensis.
P. Walterus Walaesus . .	44	21	Cassilienses.
P. Robertus Nugentius . .	38	18	Medensis.
P. Joannes de Moorla . .	35	17	Medensis.
P. Joannes Shaens . . .	36	13	Kilkeniensis.
P. David Galvaeus . . .	38	13	Galvensis.
P. Stephanus Murtye . .	33	16	Waterfordensis.
P. Jacobus Butlerus . .	38	18	Rosensis.
P. Gulielmus Wytheus . .	34	13	Waterfordensis.
P. Joannes Lombardus . .	33	13	Waterfordensis.
P. Edwardus Clarus . . .	37	13	Waterfordensis.
P. Thomas Comofortius .	34	13	Waterfordensis.

	Aet.	In Soc.	
P. Ignatius Briverus . . .	38	9	Waterfordensis.
P. Joannes Brimingamus . . .	44	10	Galvensis.
P. Joannes Barnavellus . . .	19	18	Medensis.
P. Thomas Keranus . . .	42	10	Conacensis.
P. Robertus Bathaeus . . .	35	13	Dordracensis.
P. Gulielmus Molonus . . .	31	11	Dublinensis.
P. Nicolaus Nugentius . . .	30	9	Medensis.
P. Michael Barieus . . .	—	10	Rosensis.
P. Ricardus Datonus . . .	38	15	Kilkeniensis (mortuus)
P. Jacobus Saulus . . .	38	10	Cassiliensis.
P. Thomas Raghtor . . .	62	3	Federensis.
P. Petrus Strongus . . .	50	3	Waterfordensis.
P. Georgius Geraldinus . . .	33	13	Medensis.
P. Robertus Nittervallus . . .	35	13	Medensis.
P. Georgius Galtrinus . . .	27	9	Dublinensis.
P. Thomas Halaesus . . .	38	12	Kilmalocensis.
P. Henricus Cusacus . . .	34	12	Dublinensis.
P. Ricardus Comofortius . . .	38	13	Waterfordensis.
P. Jacobus Morganus . . .	32	9	Medensis.

In Lusitania.

	Aet.	In Soc.	
P. Cornelius de Rocha . . .	42	19	Tuamensis.
P. Andreas Nolanus . . .	32	17	Galvensis.
P. Robertus Curtinus . . .	31	13	Dublinensis.
P. Joannes Bapt. Duigin . . .	33	13	Ossinensis.
P. Guil. de Cruce, alias Chrach . . .	—	—	Burgensis, Ep. Casil.
P. Petrus Naishe . . .	—	—	Federensis.
Nicolaus Hacket . . .	20	2	Federensis.
Paulus Lombardus . . .	16	1	Waterfordensis.
Matheus Gorman . . .	—	1	Tuamensis.

In Mechico.

	Aet.	In Soc.	
P. Michael Waddingus . . .	26	8	Waterfordensis.

In Paragua.

	Aet.	In Soc.	
P. Thomas Fildaeus . . .	—	—	Dublinensis.

In Hispania.—Prov. Castellana.

	Aet.	In Soc.	
P. Jacobus Archerus . . .	68	34	Kilkeniensis.
P. Thomas Vitus . . .	60	24	Clonmelliensis.
P. Ricardus Conveus . . .	45	25	Rosensis.
P. Ricardus Valaesius . . .	35	19	Waterfordensis.
P. Thomas Briones . . .	35	13	Kilkeniensis.

	Aet.	In Soc.	
P. Jacobus Comofortius . . .	34	15	Waterfordensis.
P. Jacobus Walaeus . . .	35	15	Waterfordensis.
Lucas Waddingus . . .	24	8	Waterfordensis.
Thomas Vitus . . .	18	5	Clonmelliensis.
Paulus Sherlocus . . .	18	4	Waterfordensis.
Cornelius Driscoll . . .	20	3	Corcagensis.
Nicolaus Vitus . . .	18	2	Clonmelliensis.
Stephanus Brunus . . .	20	1	Galvensis.
Joannes Carneus . . .	16	1	Rosensis.
Barnabus Lincon, Coad. . .	50	6	Waterfordensis.

In Prov. Toletana.

	Aet.	In Soc.	
Franciscus Moronius . . .	18	1	Clonmelliensis.
P. Michael de Morales, alias Cantrael	—	—	Kilkeniensis.
Joannes Leonardus . . .	18	1	Waterfordensis.

In Bavaria.

	Aet.	In Soc.	
P. Stephanus Whitaeus . . .	—	—	Clonmelliensis.
P. Ambrosius Waddingus . .	34	13	Waterfordensis.
Thomas Hanrechanus . . .	20	1	Clonmelliensis.

In Austria.—Provincia Rhenana.

	Aet.	In Soc.	
P. Mauricius	—	—	—
Georgius Drackett . . .	—	—	Drogheda.

In Italia.

	Aet.	In Soc.	
P. Franciscus Braye, Romae	28	3	Clonmelliensis.
P. Edwardus Barnewalus in Loreto	30	13	Dublinenses.

In Belgio.

	Aet.	In Soc.	
P. Henricus FitzSimon . . .	50	26	Dublinensis.
P. Petrus Waddingus . . .	33	15	Waterfordensis.
Michael Geraldinus . . .	28	10	Dublinensis.
Joannes Plunquetus . . .	—	—	Medensis.
Michael Chamberlinus . . .	—	—	Medensis.
Stephanus Goldens . . .	—	—	Corcagensis.
Joannes Yonge	—	—	—

In Gallia.

	Aet.	In Soc.	
P. Thomas Burkeus	28	10	Limbricensis.

The following additional list is of later date, about 1634 :—
 Post suprascripta : in Castella, P. Thadeus O'Sulevanus, Casiliensis ; P. Edwardus Walsheus, Waterfordensis ; P. Petrus Phedanus, Medensis ; P. Ignatius Lombardus (Rector Compostellanus) Waterfordensis ; Frater Joannes Barbrius, Novitius, Waterfordensis. In Boëtica, P. Ricardus Barrett, Galvensis (dismissus è Societate) ; P. Petrus Vitus, Waterfordensis ; P. Petrus Dillon, Medensis ; P. Ricardus Lince, Galvensis ; et in provincia Castellae alter Ricardus Lince, Galvensis quoque (hic legit duos cursus philosophiae Prov^{ce} et theologiae Valisoleti et Salmanticae). In Toletana provincia, Joannes Vitus, Clonmelliensis ; Franciscus Lea, Waterfordensis, professus in Paragua ; Patritius Carnaeus, Casseliensis. Omissi ex provincia Castellae, Jacobus Carnaeus, Casseliensis ; Joannes Eganus, Medensis. Ex provincia Boetica, Laurentius Rocheford, Wexfordensis.

The brackets were added as interlineations by a still later hand, in which is also the following :—Item in provincia Castellana, Andreas Salus, Casseliensis ; Joannes Clarus et Andreas Lincol, ambo Waterfordensis, omnes tres studentes, P. Nicolaus Hore, Rosensis, Thomas Creveus, Limiricensis, Novitius.

The following notes are of the date of 1634 :—*Barnabas Kearneus*, mortuus, Theologiae Professor : de ejus sub nomine Christopheri Savelogei, scriptis, vide de Scriptoribus Societatis. Scripsit sermonum duo volumina. *Robertus Nugentius*, Superior Missionis in Hibernia. *Stephanus Murtye*, Admirabilis ingenii, Legebat Theologiam Compostellae, ubi mortuus, vel potius Bayonae portu. *Gulielmus Malonus*, Scripsit Anglice satis erudite contra Usserum Pseudo-Primates Hiberniae. *Joannes Bapt. Duigin*, et Gulielmus de Cruce, Legere Theologiam Ulyssiponae. *Paulus Lombardus*, Discessit è Societate. Michael Waddingus, Rector nonnullorum Collegiorum. Ricardus Valaesius, Egregius Predicator. *Lucas Waddingus*, Legit Cathedram primariam Valesoleti, probitatis et doctrinae magna cum fama. *Paulus Sherlogus*, Legit Cathedram Scripturae Regii Salmanticensis Collegii : edidit tria volumina in Canticam Canticorum Salamonis. *Thomas Vitus*, discessit è Societate. Cornelius Driscoll, mortuus, discessit è Societate. Stephanus Whitaeus, Perinsignis Theologiae Professor. *Henricus FitzSimon*, Scripsit erudite de Hereticis : Latine *Britanomachiam*, et Anglice, *Ad Rideraeum*. Petrus Waddingus, Lovaniae et Pragae docuit Theologiam multa cum fama : prodiit ingeniosum ejus *de Filii Dei Incarnatione* opus.

In 1610 Father Everard tells us there were not twelve Jesuits in all Ireland, and in 1617, notwithstanding the bitter

persecution, and in spite of the decrees of expulsion, we find they numbered thirty-eight!

As our present article is drawing near its limits, I will conclude by giving the following beautiful letter of Dr. David Karney's, though referring to a period we have now passed:—

“When I was over there among you (in the Irish College, Salamanca), I gave you a full account of the state of this our native country, and of the troubles and dangers with which we are surrounded. These have since become palpable in the cruel death inflicted on our brother, the bishop of Down, and his chaplain, the 1st day of February of the present year, which we have already detailed to you. At present the state of our affairs is very doubtful; for though we appear to enjoy some alleviation, which we attribute to the happy union of the Catholic Crown with the Most Christian Crown of France, and we would look for complete emancipation if the like occurred between England and Spain, yet we are in suspense, waiting to see how this relaxation of the persecution may end; not because we doubt of the benignity of our king, but because we fear that those by whom he is surrounded may wish to raise a new tempest against us. For this reason we do not dare to exercise our office and the functions of our religion openly, to avoid exasperating them, and falling into their traps, as long experience has taught us that when they dissemble most, they are weaving new snares and preparing fresh trials for us. At the very time at which I write the heretical bishops are holding a meeting in Dublin, by order of the viceroy, and we know not for certain what they are machinating, but we are sure that nothing will come of it favourable to us or our holy religion.

“We have ample evidence that a Parliament is about to assemble, and this makes us very uneasy, for we may expect nothing less from it than serious injury to our faith, as in all probability the votes of the perverse will outweigh those of the Catholics, so that they may decree what they like. Within our jurisdiction some wicked men and greedy officials have appeared, who will not pass even the miserable sacristans, who have scarcely enough to eat, but lay on them fines and taxes, which if anyone will not, or cannot, pay, or if he refuses the oath of the king's supremacy, he shall get well off with the loss of his property and the privation of his office.

“Some time ago, as I am credibly informed, there came to this country that deceptive and false bishop called Knox, who in the Isles bordering on Scotland committed such cruel acts on the Catholics, and intends to do the same here, and they assure me he has a commission of martial law from the

king to hang, wherever he may find him, any priest or religious, without examination of cause, or the observance of the forms of law and justice.

"They are busily employed in planting their colonies, as they call them, depriving the natives and rightful owners of their lands and possessions which they inherited from their ancestors from time immemorial to the present, and giving them to strangers and heretics without law or reason. Feeling these and other grievances, some inhabitants of the town and neighbourhood of Wexford, who are regarded as the most warlike people of the kingdom, and are skilful mariners, have put to sea in a well-found ship, to lead the life of pirates, and harass the heretics.

"Come what may—let our adversaries plot as they will—we are determined to labour as God helps us, instructing our Catholics, and exhorting them never to consent to anything prejudicial to the liberty of the Catholic religion. In other secular affairs we do not mingle, but leave to God to employ His divine providence in behalf of the church when we do what we can.

"This year has been one of prodigies here, for the summer has been very dry and hot, and it has twice rained blood in two different parts of the west of Munster. In the cathedral church of this diocese a great fall of snow occurred on the day of the Holy Ghost, though it was then exceedingly hot, and it fell only within the cemetery. May God grant it be of as happy omen as what fell in Rome when the church of Our Lady, St. Mary Major, was founded.

"From Ireland, the 18th July, 1612.

"DAVID, Archbishop of Cashel."

W. M'D.

CHRONICLE.

SPAIN.

OUR Spanish Chronicle has suffered a long interruption, and that, too, at a time when events in that sadly-disturbed Peninsula were becoming deeply interesting. But matters of more immediate interest to the readers of the RECORD crushed us out, and we trust we may be excused for going back a little, the better to understand the actual position of affairs, and, as far as possible, record the events in regular historical order.

2. The double failure to relieve Bilbao, under Moriones and Serrano, early in the spring, induced the military authorities on the Republican side to entrust the direction of the campaign to Marshal Concha—by no means a friend of the actual *regime*—an ardent Alphonsist, but equally ardent in his hostility to Don Carlos. He displayed no mean knowledge of strategy in his plan of relief. But even his acknowledged superiority on this head would not have availed him more than his predecessors in command against the dauntless battalions of the King, if the army at his disposal had not been strongly reinforced, principally by gendarmes and excise officers, who were brought up from every city and town in the Peninsula, and on whom every reliance might be placed; and by a considerable accession of strength in the matter of artillery, in which the Carlists were already at a vast disadvantage.

Concha's plan was to take a select body of troops in the direction of Balmaseda—a good deal to the south-east of Somorrostro—and leave Serrano with the remainder to attack the entrenchments constructed above the latter valley. The Royalists by this move were compelled to extend their line towards Balmaseda, and consequently weakened it very much; and at the very point menaced by Concha, they could only place 3,000 men and a couple of mountain pieces; whilst Concha marched with 15,000 men, supported by a numerous artillery, and divided into three brigades, to debouch at the same moment by different roads, all which could not be defended by the Carlists. What followed was foreseen, and the relief of Bilbao is due to the prudent and masterly retreat of the Carlists, and not to any brilliant feat of arms performed by the Republicans. A short extract from the despatch of Vinale, Minister of State to Don Carlos, will best describe the manœuvre. "On the 29th the column of General Echague feigned several movements on our left flank, without determining the point of attack until the evening of the 30th, when it advanced towards the heights of Galdames. Echague was immediately driven back on several points by the 1st battalion of Alava, two of Castille, and one of Aragon, who took several prisoners, and mules laden with ammunition. But night coming on, the enemy renewed his attack on one point defended only by a single battalion, which fought desperately, but was ultimately forced to yield to vastly superior numbers. Master of the heights of Galdames, the enemy had attained the first point of his object, which was to break our lines, in order to envelop our two isolated wings and advance towards Bilbao. The situation of our forces, above all, of the right wing, was extremely dangerous, so that Dorregaray resolved

to abandon the line of Somorrostro on the 1st of May at three o'clock in the morning. This retreat was carried out in the most perfect order to positions on the right bank of the Cadagna, whither later on General Elio marched the left wing. Our new line of battle extended from the hills commanding the bridge of Castrejana, passing by Mount Banderas to the hill in front of Desierto. However, it was manifest that these positions, exposed to the enemy's fire and well within range of their new guns, and also exposed to the fire of the garrison from within Bilbao, could not be held as they were in 1836 by General Villareal against Espartero. These cogent reasons determined Generals Elio, Dorregaray, Mendiri, Larramendi, Velasco, and Lizaraga, assembled in council of war, to advise the abandonment of this line, and to raise the siege. A second council was held during the night, at which the King presided, and it was in furtherance of the resolution come to at this second council that the siege was raised and the retreat ordered. The retreat was effected in the most perfect order, not even a musket or a cartridge falling into the hands of the enemy."

In this whole affair Serrano contented himself with playing a secondary part; and having ascertained the retreat of the Royalists, first on Zornosa and then on Durango, he gave Concha a proof of his confidence in him, by appointing him Commander-in-Chief of the Army of the North. He then betook himself to Madrid to take part in another species of warfare—political intriguing—in which he generally proves more successful than in the field.

3. Matters were not proceeding very quietly in governmental quarters at Madrid. The exultation with which the news of the relief of Bilbao was received soon gave place to the usual discord that has characterized every Spanish Cabinet for the last forty years. The different phases of Republicanism represented in the Ministry became more marked and less harmonious. Some of the Federalists demanded the immediate proclamation of *their* panacea for the evils of the Peninsula, and feelings became so excited that the ex-Federalist Deputy, Santa Maria, could not be restrained from sending Martos down stairs with an expedition not very dignified for a Cabinet Minister, and drawing down the censure of his colleagues on himself. Concha was suspected of preparing a pronunciamento in the Alphonsist sense, and Serrano, by the great deference exhibited towards the veteran strategist, was supposed to be in the plot. Many clamoured for the re-assembling of the Cortes, but Sagasta would not entertain the proposition. This omnipotence of Sagasta made Martos, Echegaray, Garcia

Ruiz, Topete, and Balaguer his declared enemies. In the midst of such conflicting counsels, Zabala, the Minister of War, on whose shoulders the heaviest responsibility pressed, was in a state of the greatest anxiety, and earnestly prayed for the return of Serrano. This latter availed himself of his position as Chief of the State, and seeing the impossibility of any results from such discordant elements, he persuaded the ministers to resign, and thus got rid of all the Republicans. In reconstructing the Cabinet, besides the portfolio of War, he entrusted Zabala with the Presidency of the Ministerial Council; and Ulloa succeeded Sagasta in the Ministry of State and Foreign Affairs. Sagasta, anxious to be in the way of manipulating the elections to the Cortes, and ruling the executive at the same time, accepted the portfolio of the Interior taken from the Republican Garcia Ruiz; Romero Ortiz, Conservative, succeeded Balaguer in the Colonial office, and an unknown Rodriguez Arias took Topete's place in the Marine. Finally, Camacho took up the Finances from Echegaray; Martinez replaced Martos in the Ministry of Justice, and Alonso Colmenares Mosquera in Commerce and Public Works. On the morning of the 13th of May the new Ministers went through the ceremony of taking some form of oath to defend a constitution which has no existence, and to observe laws which Serrano, as dictator, may alter or abolish. They then published a long rhapsodical manifesto in the *Gazzetta* of the 15th, deploring the civil war, but congratulating the nation on the recent successes, and promising, of course, immediate peace and prosperity, as the inevitable result of their wise administration. This manifesto implied also a decided leaning to the constitutional monarchy, with Isabella's son for king; in no other sense can we interpret the words: "*From 1868 the character of the revolution has been weakened and corrupted.*" General Pavia, who swept away the Cortes in January last, understood them in this sense, and sent in his resignation. His example was followed by several Captains-General of Provinces, and not a few general officers in high command were quietly relieved of their duties, and replaced by others known as anti-Republican and strong supporters of the Alphonsist movement.

A good many partisans of the Monarchy, fearing that the party that ruled under Isabella would also command under Don Alfonso, offered the crown to the Duke or Duchess of Montpensier. But the Duke and Duchess replied to the offer with an absolute refusal. Then was the design conceived of bringing in the Hohenzollern family; holding out as an inducement a political and military alliance between Germany and Spain against France and Catholicity, and which

would be more than sufficient to crush every hope of the Legitimist party. It was reported that three of the new ministers, including Sagasta, were in favour of this project. But as soon as it was divulged, it created such emotion in France and England, and above all in Spain, that it was abandoned immediately, and emphatically denied in the Berlin official journals.

These manœuvres served to advance the cause of Don Alphonso. For most political men placed in the alternative of choosing between the Republic and a foreign prince, saw no salvation for Spain except in the accession of the Prince of the Asturias, whom all knew to be acceptable to the army, and especially to Concha. Some few hesitated, partly through fear that under the name of Don Alphonso it would be Serrano and Sagasta actually reigning; partly because of the manifest danger of party struggles for court influence; and lastly, because they feared the influence of Isabella and her courtiers on the young king. But thanks to the favourable offices of the Berlin government, these difficulties seem to be vanishing, and Bismarck is content to have the Prince of the Asturias for his vassal when he cannot have a Hohenzollern; since with either, owing to the useful complicity of Serrano and Sagasta, he can succeed in creating a new enemy for France, and have a new ally in the war undertaken against the Papacy and Catholicity.

In furtherance of this *entente cordiale* between Serrano and Berlin, on the 24th of May, the Count Hatzfeld, a confidential agent of Bismarck, was sent in all haste to Madrid. The *Memorial Diplomatique* of the 6th of June published a correspondence from Berlin, intended as an apology for Prussian tactics, in which the determination is clearly announced to fight the Papacy as long as it professes to resist civil power; which is, in other words, as long as the Papacy will not consent to become the obedient servant of the civil power. This apology continues:—"The German government is interested in the pacification of Spain, and is hostile to the enterprise of Don Carlos. . . . Germany has need of an outlet for her commerce She wishes to establish useful commercial treaties, above all with countries having large colonial possessions. And this is the whole secret of Count Hatzfeld's mission." In the very same issue of the *Memorial*, at page 356, we have another authentic letter, dated from Madrid, in which we read as follows:—"Concerning Count Hatzfeld, he has been received by the Ministry assembled in Council. I don't pretend to know State secrets, but I can assure you that the confidential envoy of Prince Bismarck made fully known to the Spanish government the object of his mission. The

Ministers, whilst listening attentively, looked at each other in mute astonishment. One of them—whom I dare not name—remarked, when all was over, to an illustrious personage, ‘I can’t reveal what passed in the Council, it is a State secret; but I never would have believed that you could find in the brains of any one diplomatist *tanta astucia unida a tanta maldad*.’” It is clear, therefore, that there is a perfect understanding between Germany and Serrano, and dating from long before the pretended butchery of Captain Schmidt by the Carlists, which is now made a pretext for despatching a German squadron to cruise in the Bay of Biscay, and sending a threatening notice to France if she dares to permit the passage of war material in aid of Carlism across her frontier. Another month or two will develop the plot, and some there are who see in the unequal struggle going on in the Northern provinces of Spain the beginning of a reaction that will spread itself over Continental Europe.

4. Meanwhile, we must not lose sight of Don Carlos and his brave little army. General Elio, overcome by excessive fatigue, utterly disproportioned to his venerable years, resigned his command into the hands of the King, but retained his position as Minister of War and of Foreign Affairs. The King had no difficulty in finding a successor in Dorregaray. The new Commander-in-Chief fully justified the expectations formed of him, discovering with singular perspicacity the plans of the enemy, and foiling them by the rapidity of his movements. Concha, from Bilbao, sent out flying columns in search of the new positions taken up by the Carlists. One of these columns arrived in the neighbourhood of Zornosa, but got a very unwelcome reception from a brigade of Royalists, and having suffered heavy losses, had to beat a precipitate retreat. Concha, finally leaving in Bilbao a strong garrison, with some gun-boats to defend the Nervion, sent the remainder of his army by sea to Santander, and thence by rail and other modes of conveyance to Miranda sull’ Ebro. There he indicated by various movements a wish to march sometimes on Durango, and sometimes on Estella in Navarre. Dorregaray was on the alert—he fortified all the passes, and kept good guard. A month passed by in this apparent inaction, marching and countermarching in order if possible to divide the Royal army, and repeat the trick of Galdames, or else drawing them down to the plains where he could overpower them with his cavalry and artillery; but the Carlists did not fall into the trap: and, finally, on the morning of the 24th of May, Marshal Concha thought to surprise the Royalists, and break through their line, and thus penetrate into the centre of the Basque

provinces occupied by them. He advanced from Vittoria with 25 or 26,000 men, divided into three columns. The column on the right marched towards Ulibarri, that in the centre on Villareal, and the left in the direction of Orduna. The Carlists who occupied Villareal quickly abandoned it for a better position on the heights at the rear, which are almost impregnable. At Ulibarri they offered such resistance, that the Republicans commanded by Echague could make no progress; and Concha, perceiving the failure, ordered the retreat on Vittoria. It seemed, however, that this inglorious attempt of Concha had another object, to draw off, forsooth, the Royal battalions in Navarre towards Guipuzcoa, and thus leave Estella open to a surprise in the march back. Dorregaray, who suspected this design, kept the greater portion of his army in the vicinity of Estella, leaving the hills of Alava, Biscay, and Guipuzcoa to be defended by indigenous battalions. The King transferred his head-quarters to Tolosa, and shortly after his illustrious consort, Donna Margarita, made her entry into that capital amidst the greatest enthusiasm. Don Carlos wished, moreover, to give a settled appearance to those Provinces as far as consistent with the progress of the war, and by a decree dated from Tolosa, 6th of June, constituted a Royal Council of State, composed of the following members: for Navarre, Don Salvator Elio, formerly magistrate and brother of the Marshal; for Guipuzcoa, D. Stefano Zurbano, ex-Deputy General of the Province and the Cortes; for Biscay, D'Arieta Mascarn, ex-Deputy to the Cortes, and Corregidor of the Province; for Alava, Senor De Rivas, ex-Senator. These gentlemen are most respectable, enjoy a great reputation, and are greatly esteemed in their respective Provinces.

5. Intriguing continued at Madrid: the wife of Serrano being the newest political agitator on the *tapis*. By dint of giving grand receptions every Tuesday, she succeeded in getting together a committee of *intimes* to prepare a new idea—a consulship for five years, and then indefinitely, with a million pesetas of a civil list, and the royal palace for a residence. What ambitious woman would not encourage such a proposal? However, other fears began to grow. A goodly number of officers in the Northern Army were openly disaffected to the Sagasta *regime*. They would fight of course, but they were getting weary of fighting under no banner; and everything seemed to pave the way for a pronunciamiento in favour of Don Alphonso the very day after the next victory over the Carlists that Concha was infallibly leading them to. But little did he know that he was marching to death. From Vittoria he transferred his head-quarters to Logrono, from whence he

threatened Estella, ascending the right bank of the Ega. But this was only a stratagem, as his real plan was, by a rapid march to the north and west, to take them in flank and cut off their retreat. When all was in readiness he left Logrono for Lodosa, on the northern bank of the Ebro. Here he made a speech to a deputation made up of the Alcalde and principal citizens, promising that, as Navarre wished for war, she should have it, and plenty of it, and that he would leave a lasting memorial of his present march through it. From Lodosa Concha passed on to Sesma, or Sesina, and there his eloquence was again poured forth. The *Diritto* of July 4th gives the following extract from his speech to the Sesinese :—"We will trample your fields of corn, we will consume your products, we will take your savings, and employ yourselves as beasts of burthen to transport our material. Since you despise peace, you shall have war." At Lerino he made a similar terrific announcement. Can we wonder, then, at the Navarrese, naturally hot-tempered, being goaded into the wildest excesses when opportunity offered? And yet the English journals are loud in their execration of the uncivilized warfare of the Carlists, and have nothing to say against the fiery proclamations and speeches which naturally provoked perhaps individual acts of cruelty that are seldom absent from the records of any civil war. This veteran strategist renewed the attempt made by Moriones last year at the battle of Los Arcos, to open a passage for his army and occupy Estella, but he made it in a different way. Estella is not a fortress, and its principal defences are the heights which surround it. It is difficult of access from the south and east, but has a weak point on the north-west, and this route was selected by Concha, hoping to surprise the Royalists, who appeared to expect the attack from the opposite side. Marshal Concha's forces numbered 40,000 men, 2,500 cavalry, and 80 guns, 40 of which were on the *Placencia* model, or most improved Krupp guns. However, he could not commence so soon as he had expected. The difficulty of getting supplies in a hostile country, where even the mules were obstinate in refusing their assistance, combined with sickness and bad weather, retarded his movements. The Carlist force did not exceed 20,000 men, all told, with but a few squadrons of cavalry, and about 20 guns of old pattern and short range; but they were well entrenched, and brave to desperation. A strong division of Concha's army under Echague made a round by Sanguessa to Pampeluna, thence to fall down on Estella from the north; a second corps moved from Tafalla; and the third, under Concha himself, moved from Sesma to Lerin. The Marshal proceeded slowly until all the three corps were supposed to be in

position, then, by a sudden evolution, he crossed the Ega, arrived at Larraga, marched to Villatuerta, and on the 24th of June found himself only a few kilometres distant from Estella. On the morning of the 25th, the two corps commanded by Martinez Campos and Echague, commenced the assault, and with little difficulty occupied several outlying villages, whilst Concha, extending to the right by the aid of desperate cannonade, captured, on the 26th, the important position of Abarzusa, with the manifest intent of cutting off the Royalist retreat towards the Ametzcuas. On the same day Echague's corps captured Zabal. Both this village and Abarzusa were sacked and burned immediately by the Republicans. On the morning of the 27th, Concha disposed everything for a general attack. The battle for several hours was an artillery battle, but at five in the afternoon it became desperate, especially near Pena de Muro. The right of the Republican army, under Martinez Campos, was overpowered by the fire of the Royalists, and commenced to fall back in disorder. Two brigades from the centre, under Echague and Blanco, with 30 guns, came up to his support. The Royalist General, Mendiri, saw the moment come for a decisive blow. With eight battalions of Navarrese, and under the fire of the 30 guns of the enemy, he made a change of front, cut to pieces two picked battalions opposed to him, and took the assailers in flank and rear. The Republicans were confounded, and meanwhile the terrible Navarrese, with repeated bayonet charges, made fearful havoc. Then Concha himself, with his staff and fresh battalions and cavalry, moved up to confront the Royalists, and confident of victory. But the terrible Navarrese, pursuing the fugitives, were nearer than he imagined; a discharge of musketry wounded his adjutant, whilst he, dismounted from his horse, was observing the movements of the enemy. Being pressed to move out of danger, Concha put his foot in the stirrup to remount, when bang went another crash of musketry, and a ball, hitting him in the side, passed out near the other side, and stretched him for dead. Around him several of his staff fell dead or wounded. The Navarrese coming on, the body of Concha was near falling into their hands, when a hussar officer, lifting him up in his arms, placed him across the horse, and galloped with him into Abarzusa, where a few minutes after he expired.

This event finished the battle, and the Republican General Echagne, who succeeded Concha in command, ordered the retreat, which was severely harassed by the Royalists. The loss on the Republican side was near 5,000—on the Royalist side scarcely 500. They celebrated the battle of Estella as the greatest victory yet achieved.

THE IRISH ECCLESIASTICAL RECORD.

SEPTEMBER, 1874.

ACTIVITY WITHIN THE CHURCH.

THE Church never could, and never can, fail in its sanctity. Its Divine gift of holiness can never cease to be one of its distinguishing marks. It was holy in the first days of its existence—it was holy amidst the almost universal demoralization of later generations—it is holy to-day—it will be holy unto the end of time. No social corruption that may be around it can destroy this vital attribute of its constitution—no political revolution can avail to rob it of this glorious “note”—and no polemical turmoils can extinguish in it the Divine principle that will ensure, even unto the last, the holiness of the Catholic Church. Nay, it is one of the singular, the miraculous manifestations of its career, that the more and the worse the corruption that prevails around, the fiercer the revolutions that agitate the world, and the more relentless the intellectual hostility of the age to the teachings and the morality of Catholicity, all the more apparent becomes its abiding sanctity, and all the more heroic the fortitude and the endurance of those charged with the guardianship of its doctrines, its traditions, and its devotional practices. Its history is almost one unbroken illustration of this strange but splendid anomaly; and never was this anomaly (we use the word rather because it expresses than suits our meaning) more significantly illustrated than in the times in which we live ourselves.

For, assuredly, since the foundation of the Church never had it a harder, a larger, or a more varied struggle to wage than it has to-day. Every fragment of the temporal power, from which in many critical periods it derived no little human support, has been torn from its hands. Nations that in olden days desired no higher glory than the championship of God's Church, have long since forfeited their old renown. Royal

houses, whose proudest memories are of dangers dared and victories achieved for Christ's Vicar on earth, have proved false to the ancient cause, and have darkened the recollections of faithful services to God and His Church with the shadows of blasphemous sacrileges. Till now there was scarcely a period when the Sovereign Pontiff could not count at least one friend amongst the crowned heads of the universe, and when he had not a Pontifical treasury, to which he might have recourse for means wherewith to meet the daily and pressing needs of the Ecclesiastical administration. To-day all this is changed. Pius IX. is friendless amidst the monarchs of the world, and, so far as aught of his own is concerned, he is a pauper in a prison. Yet, never was the sanctity of the Church manifested more visibly, as well as more vividly, and never was its activity greater, more wide-spread, and more intense. This activity, as a portion and a result of that sanctity, is manifested in the unprecedented unity in heart and desire of its Supreme Pontiff and its Episcopacy. This glorious union has been the theme of many a stirring address recently delivered by the Holy Father, and has comforted him, as it has strengthened them and their flocks, in the calamitous times through which we are passing. There is scarcely a single public or social question—for, of course, we exclude matters of doctrine altogether—on which Pontiff and Prelates are not as one, and on which a community of sentiment has not increased a hundredfold the abiding community of sympathy. Never, too, were the affectionate relationships of the shepherds and the flocks stronger or more warm than they are at present. Wherever the pastor is persecuted, whether it be by a godless republic, as in Switzerland—by a military despotism, as in Germany—or by an infamous Masonic conspiracy, as in Brazil—the sheep gather round him, and testify to his unpurchasable fidelity.

In this way is manifested the sanctity of the Church ; and so, strange as it may seem after what we have said about the universality of the hostile agencies at work against Catholicity, it has come to pass that never, in a certain sense, was the Church more popular than it is in these our days. In its existence of eighteen centuries was there ever a Pope so loved by the peoples as is Pius IX ? Messengers of love have sped to him in his prison-house from every quarter of the habitable globe, and every anniversary with which it is possible even remotely to link his name, is gladly availed of by his children in every clime to send him fresh tributes of their affection and their fealty. And what shall we say of the veneration which all the world feels towards the Sacred City of the Popes itself ? Since the day when Peter fixed the Papal Chair at Rome, that

marvellous old city has never ceased to enjoy the reverence and the attention of Christendom. Whenever Rome spoke, angry voices were hushed into silence, and peace settled down upon contending nations as upon contending individuals. In its career of varying fortunes and vicissitudes it has accumulated many thrilling memories; but we believe that none of them will form so significant a chapter in its history as the memory of how Rome was looked to and loved during the gloomy but glorious days of the Pontificate of Pius IX. Kings speak from their thrones, and their words are comparatively unheeded. But every word that comes to us from Rome—from within the prison-doors of the Vatican—is read with eagerness by hundreds of millions; and the policy of governments that yearn for the downfall of Rome as the centre of Catholicity, and therefore of true Christian civilization, is, by necessity, often moulded and modified by the allocutions of the illustrious and venerable prisoner.

But it is in another, and in a perhaps more practical sense than this, that we say the Church was never more popular than it is just now. We mean that the Church is popular in the sense that there is a wondrous activity of devotion amongst its members, its Laity as well as its Ecclesiastics, and that the practices of piety and of charity are more constant, more general, and more universal, particularly amongst the Laity, than at any former period of its existence. True, there is a permanent something in the externals of the Catholic Church that always attracts and fascinates the heart, as much as—nay, perhaps, even more—than it does the eye of man. Its beautiful ceremonies—surpassing in their significance even their wondrous beauty—can never be witnessed without an emotion of solemnity, and without bringing with them the inspiration of a better and a holier feeling. Pagans have felt the force of this undefinable sensation, and not unfrequently have changed for good beneath its influences. Catholics, be they ever so hardened, ever so irreligious, cannot resist the ineffable spell; and when they are sharing in a Catholic ceremonial, they are, at least, proud of the gorgeous ritual their Church can boast of. But now-a-days, thank God, there is abroad amongst Catholics more than a mere emotional glory in their membership of the Church, and in the varied splendour of its ritual. Its ceremonial is more popular than ever; but besides this, its prescribed works of practical piety are more eagerly accepted, and much less shrinkingly performed, than in far less troubled times. No one is now ashamed of being a Catholic, and the miserable worship of human respect that in not far-gone days checked the hand of many a Catholic, as at a *table d'hôte*, or in some moment of fancied danger by boat or rail, it was about to be, almost by

an instinct, lifted up to make the sign of the Cross, is being fast relegated to a rapidly diminishing circle of professing Catholics, who, pitied, when not despised, by their own co-religionists, are looked upon with contempt by those of other persuasions.

Let us take a glance over the world, and see the network of Catholic action and activity with which it is just now covered. The Vincent de Paul Society is a growth of less than forty years, and it is within the last nine or ten of them that it has achieved its widest extension. There are few episcopal—we had almost said few parochial—districts throughout Christendom where a branch of it does not exist; and we say emphatically that the rule of the Vincent de Paul Conferences requires, and almost effects, that a member shall be a practical Catholic. If he is not, or does not begin, or if he ceases to be the latter, he is not, or else he soon ceases, to be the former. We believe that we are saying of the Society of St. Vincent de Paul nothing more than what the common sentiment of the Church warrants, when we say that, under God, it has been a powerful means for popularising (we use the word again in the sense already explained) the devotions and devotional practices of the Church amongst the laity of all ages and all classes.

The "Catholic Unions" are the outcome of the Catholic spirit of this very day. They have risen up, as it were, from the ruins of the plundered temporal power of the Pope, and are the surest pledges of its not distant restoration. They sprang into existence at the voice of the feeble old man whom fraud and force have made a captive in the Vatican. They asked and obtained his blessing; and, we believe, they are destined before long to hear the joyful tidings that the chains have fallen from around the Peter of our generation. The "Catholic Unions" have put before the world no sensational programmes. They have no thrones to overturn—no outraged nationalities to talk big about avenging. They want to dismember no empires, nor to annex new territories. They cannot point to Krupp's cannon or to Schneider guns as within their reach to enforce their views, and drive home their arguments. They are simply "Catholic Unions" for religious purposes—aiming at the promotion of God's glory and at the well-being of God's Church on earth, by assisting in the divine and peaceful work which their Church has in hand, and by attending to their own spiritual welfare. Some years ago such "Unions" would have been almost impossible; if not banished by force they would have melted away before the ridicule of infidel lampooners and the faintheartedness of Catholics themselves. But now they are strong, active, and

thriving organizations, existing and flourishing on their bold and undaunted avowal of their Catholicity, and on their inculcation of the practical observance, as a condition of membership, of the rules and requirements of the Catholic religion. There is a "Catholic Union" in almost every country in the Christian world, and in most of these countries there are various branches acting in concert with the Union of each capital city. There is a bond of fellowship between each one of these Unions, no matter how severed by distance, by race, or by language. They constitute a great brotherhood of faith and charity—needing no secret oath to bind them in a condemned alliance—hiding nothing from the world—plotting in darkness no social, political, or religious rebellions—conspiring for no assassinations—not mocking at God with the blasphemy of a mysterious but impious ritual—nor indulging in any of these orgies, whether of worship or good-fellowship (as it is called), that form so large and so essential an element in the "religion" of Masonry and other kindred societies. With thus little of outward, or, indeed, of inward mere human attractions, the Catholic Unions have been a splendid success, and have flourished away in America and in Australia just as gloriously as in Italy or in Ireland.

In conjunction with the rise of the Catholic Unions, we may instance the rise of the Circles of Catholic Workmen throughout France. These, too, are the offspring of to-day's activity within the Church, and are doing noble service in the frail but beautiful capital of that bright, though unfortunate land. As the Catholic Unions sprang from the shattered fragments of the temporalities of the Papacy, so, the Circles of Catholic Workmen sprang from out the charred ruins of Paris, and from beneath the devastating footprints of the demoniacal *petroleuses*. But notwithstanding the causes that almost gave to the circles their being, there they are in the heart of the former infamy of Paris, and their presence and their influence are already being felt amidst the hitherto godless and lawless classes of the worst portions of the city. Within the last few weeks, they have had their religious celebrations at the chapel of one of their circles on Mont Parnasse, and their deeds of beneficence and practical Catholicity were recounted with admiration at the great Congress of Catholics held a short time since in Paris, under the patronage of the illustrious Cardinal Archbishop of the Metropolitan See.¹

¹ Whilst these pages are going through the press, a Congress of the representatives of the various Circles throughout France is being held in the city of Lyons. The proceedings were fixed to commence on Monday, the 24th, and to close on Saturday, the 29th of August. The most happy results are anticipated from the Congress.

The love of our Lord in the Sacred Heart, which constitutes so marked a feature of modern devotion, is another testimony of the spirit of sanctity and of spiritual activity within the Church. It is a magnificent profession of faith in the Divinity of our Lord, and a protest against the infidelity of so many modern schools, which would rob our Redeemer of the glory of the Incarnation. A single word from the prisoner of the Vatican kindled into a glow the ever-burning love of the Church for the Sacred Heart, and at this moment there are but few portions of its wide dominion that have not been purified, elevated, and blessed by consecration to that Heart. Just at this moment, there is lying before our Holy Father Pius IX. a supplication that he would deign to order the consecration of the Universal Church to the Divine Heart of our Lord, and there is every likelihood that the supplication will be granted.

The Church thinks but little of money as a test of sincerity or earnestness in its cause. Not so the world, and therefore it is, that to the world, we point to the "Peter's Pence" as an evidence, which with the world ought to be irresistible, of the practical activity of the Catholics of the universe. From the day the first rude hand was laid on the sacred patrimony which had come down to Pius IX., the children of his vast charge have been contributing to his own support and to the sustainment of the gigantic ecclesiastical administration of which he is the head. They have never tired of giving, and are always eager for fresh opportunities of generosity. Through the medium of the proprietary of a single Italian newspaper, the *Unita Cattolica* of Turin, more than a million of francs have been laid within the space of a few years as offerings at the feet of the Holy Father, and we believe we are under the mark in saying, that within the last dozen of years Ireland itself has sent, without pressure of any sort, more than a million of pounds sterling, as her tribute to "Peter's Pence," for the wants and beneficent purposes of the Sovereign Pontiff. America has been generous beyond measure, and from California, as well as from Canada—from Peru, as well as from New York—from Vancouver, as well as from St. Louis—the gold has flowed on to Rome in an almost ceaseless current, and in a current as abounding as it was ceaseless. Australia has not been behind hand in munificence; and, in brief, wherever, all the world over, there is a Catholic community, the activity of Catholic faith and of Catholic sanctity as well, is significantly displayed in the astounding results of the organization for the "Peter's Pence."

But perhaps that which testifies most of all to the present popularity of the Church is the number of religious con-

fraternities for the laity which have arisen in recent times, and each one of which is flourishing with unexampled, as indeed it must have been unanticipated, success. It would take us far beyond the limits we have proposed to ourselves in the present paper to enter upon an enumeration of the distinguishing characteristics of each of these confraternities; they may form the material of future notices on the suggestive theme that now engages our consideration. For the present we shall limit our attention to one of these associations—one which, brief as has been its existence, has already accomplished much noble work, and is still only in the infancy of what promises to be a glorious career. The association we allude to is the Confraternity of the Holy Family. It is one of the youngest of the great organizations within the Church, and the history of its simple origin, and its splendid achievements, is one of the most recent, as it is a most irresistible testimony of the action and the activity we have spoken of before. Like most of the great works within the Church of God, the Holy Family Confraternity began in an humble and unpretentious way. About thirty years ago there lived in the busy thriving town of Liege, in Belgium, a holy man, M. Henri Belle-table, who had served in the Belgian army, and had risen to the rank of captain in the service. He was a man of strong and earnest faith, and was profoundly saddened by the sights of irreligion and infidelity that too frequently fell beneath his view. He erected a little oratory in his house, and invited a few working men, who lived in his neighbourhood, to join him in evening prayer. They consented, and they came. He exhorted them to a great love for Jesus, Mary, and Joseph—the Holy Family of the Christian dispensation—and urged them to model their households on what they might well conceive to have been the mode of life in the blessed house at Nazareth. The evening devotions at the oratory of the captain of engineers became the topic of conversation amongst the workmen of Liege, and many new associates gathered in to share in them. The fervour of the little throng was almost infectious, and many who came to scoff, remained to pray. The memory, the example, and the beautiful traditions of the Holy Family were the life-spring of the association. The oratory became too small for the crowds of men who assembled each evening, and the Fathers of the Redemptorist order, whose convent was near at hand, and who had heard of the pious doings at the engineer's, placed their church at his disposal, and cheerfully volunteered to take part in the devotional exercises of the good and devoted men. The captain of engineers joyfully accepted the proffered kindness, and put himself and his spiritual troop under

the care of the good fathers of St. Alphonsus. They set apart one evening in each week for their special use in the Church, and after a while there was scarcely a vacant seat in their spacious temple. The venerated bishop of Liege was made aware of the noble work, and he heard of it with delight. He paid more than one visit to the fervent men at their evening devotions, and blessed them for what they were doing. He saw its capacity for vast good, and took a part himself in the framing of the rules for the guidance of its members. Not content with this, his lordship made an earnest petition to the Holy Father for his approval and benediction of the association. His supplication was granted, and Pius IX., by two briefs, dated respectively 20th and 23rd of April, 1847, formally sanctioned the pious association, conferred upon it several indulgences, and elevated it to the dignity of an Arch-confraternity, with the privilege of establishing branches all over the world, and of affiliating them to itself. Power was also given to it by the Sovereign Pontiff to communicate to these branch Confraternities the favours and indulgences which he had imparted to itself. The brief of the 23rd of April gave permission for the establishment of branch sodalities for females as well as males, and the permission was at once taken advantage of for the formation at Liege itself of an association for the pious females of the city. Subsequently to this, other indulgences were granted to the Arch-Confraternity and its affiliations by the Holy Father, and he watches its progress with paternal interest. These indulgences are all set forth in the English "Manual of the Arch-Confraternity," compiled by the Redemptorist Fathers at Clapham, London, and published by Messrs. Burns, Oates, & Co., the Catholic publishers of Portman-street, London.

Since the very first hour of its establishment the Holy Family Confraternity has been prospering, and as it prospers has been accomplishing a glorious mission. It soon passed the limits of Liege, and got too great for Belgium. It has been established in France, and with the Circles of Catholic Workmen, is silently, but securely, working the regeneration and the resurrection of that magnificent country. It is widely spread throughout England, and has found in Ireland, where the names of Jesus, Mary, and Joseph have been household lisps for centuries, a congenial home. It is well-known in America and Australia, and missionaries have carried the Confraternity of the Holy Family away to the farthest and wildest portions of the Indies and New Zealand.

Wherever it has been established, blessings have followed in its course, and public immorality has been vastly diminished.

We do not mean to say that from wherever it is established, vice disappears, as if by magic or by a miracle. We are not such Utopians as to expect such a thing, nor such poets as to say it. But we assert, and from experience, that vast spiritual and temporal advantages have followed its establishment, and that a more vigorous encouragement of it would result in still greater advantages. From what we have said, it will be seen that the Holy Family Confraternity is principally designed for men. It began with men, and its chief concern is about men. Of course it does not exclude women from membership of it, but, practically speaking, it is a confraternity of men. If the men of a city or of a parish are good, the women will be sure to be good as well; and without deciding for particular localities, we believe that, as a rule, it will be better to limit the confraternity to men alone. Make the head of the family virtuous, and the family will be also virtuous. The Holy Family Confraternity does not enforce total abstinence from intoxicating liquors as a condition of membership, but it insists on temperance, and it insists on temperance with peremptory and most praiseworthy earnestness. The history of more than two or three generations of our people, and our own cotemporary records, are the terrible evidences of the havoc drunkenness has wrought amongst our countrymen both here and abroad. At home it pauperizes, abroad it degrades them—socially it has demoralized, politically it has helped in a large degree to enslave them. But for this hideous abomination there would be but little to stain the character of our nation; for whatever of criminal excesses are committed by our people, are all referable in some way or other to the curse of drink. But for it we would indeed have great reason to be proud of our countrymen, as we might point to them as the most moral population on the face of the earth. For, where else is there a more fervent faith—where else is there a more earnest, a more generous spirit of charity? and has it not been their unbroken, their unvarying hope and confidence in God that sustained them so gloriously and so patiently through centuries of fearful sufferings? But this disastrous evil of drunkenness is eating into the vitals of our country, and debasing and corrupting its manhood. To check its progress, to stop it, and to crush it, is one of the lofty purposes of the Holy Family Confraternity, and it bids fair to be successful.

It is a task of mighty magnitude—but blessings will be sure to follow on those who venture upon it. The evil is a terrible one, and demands the united energies of all who love their country and their creed. It is not lessening, but extending,

and is working disaster as it extends. It is only from such religious Confraternities as the Holy Family, the Apostleship of Prayer, and kindred associations that there is hope for our people; and so long as there is a parish or a district without a branch of one of these associations, so long will that parish or that district be itself a prey to drunkenness and dissipation, and it will act as a corrupting agency to neighbouring parishes or districts where these Confraternities may have been established. The extirpation of drunkenness is one of the most pressing social duties of the hour, and for the effecting of this purpose the Confraternity makes use of, as the infallible means, union in prayer, religious exercises, and the frequentation of the Sacraments.

As far as we are aware, the *modus operandi* for the establishment and for the working of a Holy Family Confraternity is as follows:—The privilege of erecting a confraternity belongs to the Redemptorist Fathers. Two or more of these Fathers, either at the conclusion of a mission given by them, or else at a retreat preached for the special purpose, found the confraternity. It is then placed in charge of a priest of the parish in which it is established. This priest receives in writing the approval of the ordinary of his diocese for this work, and immediately puts himself in communication with the Rector of the Arch-Confraternity at Liege, and receives from him the letters of affiliation and other documents necessary for aggregation to the Arch-Confraternity. The Confraternity is divided into sections, each section numbering about thirty, and to each is allotted a saint for its patron. To each section there are appointed a prefect and a sub-prefect, who are responsible to the Director for the attendance, as far as possible, of the members at the devotional exercises of the Confraternity. A night is fixed upon for the weekly meetings of the Confraternity, and in the selection of this night the general convenience of the brotherhood is consulted. Each member is supposed to be present at each meeting, or to send word, with the cause of absence, if he cannot come. The meeting opens with the recital of a part of the Rosary of the Blessed Virgin, of the prayers of the Confraternity as given in the Holy Family Manual, and with prayers for special intentions of the members (which the Director receives before the devotions begin), in which all the brethren are asked to join. After the saying of the prayers, it is usual to have an English hymn sung by all the members, if possible, or by as many as can be found capable of, or with a taste for, sharing in this portion of the proceedings of the meeting. After this, where there is a system of weekly communions

for sections of the Confraternity, it will be found useful and convenient that the Director shall announce the sections that are to prepare for holy communion for the following Sunday. We are aware that in this matter of weekly communions in batches or sections there is not a uniform practice. In some places it is considered more advisable that there should not be any prearranged communion for the members as such, but that each member, though of course earnestly urged to regular monthly confession and communion, should be left to himself, and free from even the semblance of even the gentlest coercion. In other places it is deemed wise and salutary that the members should be told off to go to communion together in sections, that, as members of the Holy Family Confraternity, they may communicate as brothers—in this way spiritually assist each other, and be, moreover, a scene and a source of edification and moving example to their fellow parishioners and their neighbours. We shall not presume to decide which is the wiser mode of action, for a vast deal will depend on local circumstances and requirements; and the prudence and experience of the local Director, after counsel with his brother priests in the district, will securely settle on the course to be pursued. Where, however, it is the custom to have weekly sectional communions, the time we have indicated above will be found most suitable for the announcement of the arrangements. The Director may then deliver his evening address to the members, selecting for his subjects, and his treatment of them, whatever his own judgment and mature consideration will suggest to him as most advisable and most appropriate. After the sermon, or lecture, or exhortation (whatever be the form it may take), it is usual to call the roll of the sections, intimating that the prefect is to answer, when his section is named, how many of his members are absent, and whether they have sent a reason for their absence or not. This will be the last business work of the meeting, and, where the great privilege of permission for it has been had from the Bishop of the Diocese, Benediction of the Adorable Sacrament will beautifully close the functions of the evening. The Benediction is a great privilege, and a great blessing, and is always felt as an abounding consolation by the brotherhood before they retire to their homes from the Church at night.

Membership, properly so called, is not constituted until the act of consecration to the Holy Family has been made, and the consecration accepted and solemnized by the spiritual Director. Previously to his consecration, the postulant for membership must have proved himself worthy of enrolment in the Confraternity by regular attendances at the weekly meetings, and on the

prescribed mornings of communion ; by good conduct, and general edification. If it has been otherwise, he is not to be admitted into the Confraternity. The Director will arrange the period of probation, and at suitable intervals during the year he will arrange an evening for the consecration of the new members, accompanying the function with an appropriate exhortation to the old, as well as the new members, that they persevere in the safe road on which they have set their feet. At the consecration, the insignia of membership, the medal and ribbon of the association, are blessed, and the members are thenceforward empowered to wear them at the religious exercises of the Confraternity.

Besides the weekly sectional communions, there are two (at least) general communions each year, at which every member is expected to be present. For many reasons the periods of Christmas and the month of May will be found to be most suitable for the making of these general communions.

It is advised that once each year a week's retreat should be given to the Confraternity, and this retreat might be selected as the occasion of one of the general communions. At this retreat, the Director will find it advantageous to associate with him some other priest or priests who may be comparative strangers to the members. In addition to this help from his brother priests, the Director will also derive much assistance by occasional special meetings and conferences with his prefects and sub-prefects, who, if judiciously selected, will often give him most sensible counsel and be a great source of comfort and encouragement to him when almost inevitable defections and shortcomings occur. And having spoken of "defections and shortcomings" as not alone possible, but inevitable, we may mention that one of the greatest glories of the Holy Family Confraternity is that it makes ample provision for such sad contingencies, and has at hand the friendly help and the merciful consideration for the defaulters. When a brother falls, whether it be by drunkenness or otherwise, and that, as a consequence, he becomes faithless in his attendances at the exercises of the Confraternity, he is looked after, kindly and lovingly, at once. His prefect, or sub-prefect, takes him gently aside, as it were, for a word of friendly counsel, and of encouragement as well—bidding him not to give up because that he has fallen, but to take heart, and see that he puts himself right before his God again. If the prefect and the sub-prefect fail in stirring him to remorse, or to hopefulness, then the Spiritual Director is summoned in to try what he can do, and it is rarely that the Director's words—permeated as they always will be by the thought that he is speaking in

the name of Him Who came to call sinners to repentance, and Whose angels rejoice when one such does penance—will not produce the desired result of winning back the straying one to the pasturages which temporarily he had abandoned.

Thus it is that the Holy Family Confraternity works its mission of good amongst the laity of the fold of Christ, and it is a proof of the marvellous spirit of action and activity in the Church that its success has been so enormous, so unvarying, and so universal.¹ We have traced its rise, its growth, its development, as one out of many instances of the existence of such a spirit throughout the length and breadth of the Catholic Church, and as one other fresh evidence of the infallibility of the Divine promise that “the gates of hell should never prevail against it.” Amidst the awful gloom of the present, the history of that Confraternity breaks out upon us like a burst of golden light from heaven, and gives a foreshadowing of the near approach of a period of unsurpassed glory for the Church of God. As we have said, it is, however, only one out of many testimonies of the abiding sanctity of that Church, and we have taken it because it is one amongst the latest. On another occasion it may be permitted us to show that older institutions in the Church perpetuate unto our times testimony to the like effect, which they have rendered through many generations of the past, and that they lack none of the fervour and enthusiasm that have sustained them in vigour through many centuries and many vicissitudes. For them, and for the younger workers in God’s vineyard, we say with all our heart—may it be so to the end.

IRISH ECCLESIASTICAL COLLEGES SINCE THE REFORMATION.

SALAMANCA—IV.

FATHER JAMES ARCHER was born in Kilkenny in 1549; was educated in the famous school of that city, conducted by Father Peter White; and joined the Society, according to the figures in our last article, in 1583, at the age of thirty-four years. A contributor to the RECORD, to whom

¹ On the twenty-fifth anniversary of the foundation of the Arch-Confraternity (July 12th, 1869), the number of affiliated members was 200,000. Since then the number has reached over half a million, and is daily increasing.

we are indebted for much information concerning Father Archer, says, in the article on Father Henry Fitz Simon, April, 1872, that this event took place in Rome on the 25th of May, 1581, in the thirtieth year of his age.

He was called from France to look after the newly founded College of Salamanca in 1593, and he went to Ireland in 1596 to collect funds for it. In Ireland he laboured with zeal in all the duties of the ministry, as may be gathered from his own letter to the Father General; and his activity in the cause of the Irish brought down on him the hatred and calumnies of their enemies. In 1577 Drury says of him:—"James Archer, of Kilkenny, is a detestable enemy of the Word of God. He did swear against her Majesty's jurisdiction in Louvain, taught all the way betwixt Rye and Bristol against the religion of the Queen, and caused a number to despair." The writer of the article mentioned goes on to say:—"We learn something more of Father Archer from two infamous Englishmen named Atkinson. One of these worthies, an apostate priest, wrote to 'crook-backed' Cecil: I know Fathers Nangle and Archer, who are Tyrone's ghostly fathers, and through them I shall get access to Tyrone, and *poison him with consecrated Hosts.*" A brother of Atkinson tried to get Father Archer arrested in London. From him we learn "that Archer had been confessor to the Archduke of Austria, and that he was in stature somewhat tall, black in visage, and somewhat thin."

In his letter to the Father General, Father Archer says:—"Dr. Cornelius Staule, Vicar Apostolic, asked me to come hither and help him in spiritual matters, and in a short time I converted ten priests who were living in schism and concubinage. Some Catholics had rescued some Church property from the heretics; and for the peace of their consciences, with the advice and authority of Dr. Staule, I dispensed with them on condition of their contributing towards the Irish College of Salamanca." In a previous sentence he had said:—"I have sent many letters to Spain with money for the students of Salamanca, and by the same way I have sent letters to your Paternity, but I have received no answers."

Father Nicholas Leynach, writing from Lisbon on the 25th of September, 1598, says:—"I gather the following details from a letter of Patrick Hamill, a secular priest, who was educated in the Irish College here:—Ireland derives the greatest advantage from the ardent zeal of F. Archer. He would have done much more good, if the viceroy had not set spies to hunt him down from the very moment of his landing. He has to keep hidden; but when he thinks he may venture out for a short time, he works with his accustomed zeal, and with singu-

lar success, and he has already brought many heretics back to the fold."

In his own letter Father Archer tells us he was anxious to get back to Spain, and meant to take shipping from the North at the first opportunity. He had, however, met difficulties in getting off, as the ways were all blocked up. He was still in Ireland in 1599, for Moore tells us that soon after O'Neill's escape from Munster, Sir George Carew, when on his way to assume the government of Munster, was invited by the Earl of Ormond to attend a conference about to be held near Kilkenny, with the young chief O'Moore. Among the persons who came with O'Moore was Father Archer, with whom Ormond entered into a dispute about religion. Soon after this Father Archer must have returned to Spain, for he again came to Ireland in 1601, with the expedition under Don Juan del Aguila, and was accompanied on this occasion by a lay brother named Dominick Collins. When Daniel O'Sullivan, lord of Beare and Bantry, seized his castle of Dunboy, which was about being surrendered to Mountjoy by the Spaniards, after the capitulation of Kinsale, he was assisted in the enterprise by Father Archer, who remained without the walls, while Dominick Collins took part in the defence. Father Archer writes to him thus:—"In the meanwhile whatever becomes of our delays or insufficiencies, be ye of heroical minds ; for of such consequence is the keeping of that castle, that every one there shall surpass in deserts any of us here ; and for noble, valiant soldiers shall pass immortal throughout all ages to come ;—and for the better encouraging, let these words be read in their hearing." In 1604 we find him again in Spain, when he was appointed *Prefect of the Mission*, by Father Aquaviva, and in 1605 he was engaged in transferring students from Valladolid to Salamanca. As his name does not turn up after 1617, we may conclude that God called him about this time to the reward of his immense services to his country at home and abroad.

Dominick Collins was a lay brother. He was born in Youghal in 1567, of noble parents, who owned the property of Labranche. He went to France when a lad, and at the age of twenty-two, was engaged, with the rank of captain, against the Calvinists or Huguenots. On the conclusion of this war he went to Spain, with letters of recommendation to Don Juan del Aguila, who commanded the Spanish army on the French frontier. He was soon appointed Captain of the Port of Corunna, where he lived for eight years an example of a Christian soldier. Here he met with Father Thomas White, whom he consulted on a design he had of becoming a Religious. The Franciscans and Dominicans desired to have him, and offered to promote him to the priesthood, but he preferred the

humble capacity of a Jesuit lay brother. He took leave of all his friends in Corunna, and went to Santiago dressed in his best, and accompanied by his servants, and presented himself for admission at the Jesuit College of that town.

When the Fathers saw his dress and his attendants, they began to fear that the postulant would never be able to accommodate himself to the humble position of a lay brother. When he saw their hesitation he immediately dismissed his servants, and addressed the Fathers in these words:—*Likely you question whether I shall persevere in the lowly state of a brother; but I assure your Reverences that if I possessed the learning of a Doctor, I would not select any other, for I feel that God calls me to it.* He entered the Society, and during the two years of novitiate gave rare example of virtue and perfection of life. He made his profession on the 4th of February, 1601; and when the expedition, which Philip III. was sending to Ireland under Don Juan, was about sailing, Father Archer brought him with him. When bidding the Fathers good-bye, he said he hoped to suffer much for the Faith, and the cause of God. Landed in Ireland he attended the army, but Father Archer afterwards testified that he contrived to live with as much recollection as if he were in the most retired convent.

The enemy surrounded the castle of Dunboy, and when the Catholics could no longer resist, they engaged Brother Collins to treat of the capitulation. The English, though they had promised a safe conduct, finding him in their power, carried him off prisoner to the fortress of Cork, where he lay in irons for three months. At the end of that time he appeared in his Religious Habit, at his own request, thus confessing with his acts as well as his words, that he was a Catholic, Religious and Jesuit, before the viceroy Mountjoy. He was offered the queen's pardon and the command of a troop of horse; he was told of the dishonour and injury his relatives would suffer, and every means was employed to induce him to yield; but he paid no attention to all their representations. He was then sentenced to be hanged, drawn, and quartered, the usual punishment inflicted on priests and Religious. He received his sentence with joy. He was taken to the gallows and hanged, and while still alive his body was opened, and his bowels and heart dragged out palpitating, whereon he gave his blessed soul to God, and went to receive his crown of martyrdom on the 31st of October, 1602, at the age of thirty-four years, and not full three in the Society. The following night the Catholics buried the body in a little chapel outside the walls, near the bridge, where it was revered by the faithful, and miracles were said to be wrought by God through his intercession.

A year or two after Father Archer disappeared from the

scene, another worthy Irish son of St. Ignatius passed to a better life, in a foreign land. This was Father Stephen Murty, of whom Oliver says:—"In a letter of Father James Quemerford, dated Madrid, 2nd September, 1607, he says Brother Murty was all these three months sick; he is now well, and like to prove a 'miracle in matter of learning.' He united with great wit and capacity a remarkable share of industry, and an extraordinary grace of delivery." Thus far Oliver, to which we can add the information about this great scholar contained in the Common Letter, written on his death by Father Ferdinand de Castro, and dated Santiago, 27th February, 1621:

"On Sunday, the 21st of September, at ten o'clock in the morning, our Lord was pleased to take to Himself Father Stephen Murty. He died of a hectic fever, the seeds of which he brought from the College of Salamanca, when he came to profess Theology here, and all the means employed to battle with it were of no avail. It was the opinion of all that he should go home to Ireland to his native air, which agreed well with him on a former occasion. However he got but as far as the town of Bayonne, when his illness confined him to bed, and got such a hold on him that he knew he was dying.

"He gave this College notice of his indisposition, and Father Thomas White went off at once to attend and console him in his trouble, and remained with him in company with another priest from this seminary, for the space of five days, till he died; and this diminished his grief at dying away from his beloved College. Before he left Santiago he made a general confession, and said he was making his confession for death, for he thought it more probable that he should go to the other world than to Ireland. In his illness he also confessed several times to Father White; and when they brought him the Most Holy Sacrament, he delivered such a tender and affecting address, that the principal people of the town, who were present, looked on him as a saint. He received Extreme Unction in his full senses, which he retained to the end.

"The Franciscan Fathers who attended him in his sickness, asked for his body, and they honoured him so far as to bury him near the High Altar, and for three days in succession recited for him the Divine Office, at which the Governor with his guard of soldiers, the Mayor with the town authorities, and the Abbot with the whole staff of the collegiate church, attended. Our Lord was thus pleased to honour him in death for the great humility he practised in life. He never did an action which savoured of vanity, nor uttered a word to his own credit, though he had the splendid talents we all know. He was thirty-six years of age, of which he had spent nineteen

in the Society with singular exemplariness, edification, and recollection, so that no one could find the slightest fault in him. He had a remarkable and heavenly gift for bringing back heretics, in which he employed himself the seven years he was in his native land, to the wonderful advantage and fruit of souls, and to the great credit of our Society. No one ever saw him angry, nor heard him say a rash word, and in his long illness, so trying and painful, he was never heard to complain of the want of anything. On the contrary, everyone saw in him great conformity with the will of God; and his confessor goes so far as to say that he never committed a mortal sin in his whole life."

And now we come to attend the deathbed of the great Father Thomas White himself, the man who did more for the preservation of the Faith in his native land during the terrible ordeal from which the Church of Ireland has but lately emerged, than any other Irishman I know of. To him is due the idea of the establishment of Irish colleges in foreign countries for the education of priests for the trying Irish Mission. The days when he lived and laboured were terrible but glorious. They are now, thank God, past, and we can sit down quietly and count our gains and losses, while we hope they may never return. We may hope, but we cannot be sure, for it will not do now to flatter ourselves, as we were accustomed to do some short time ago, that persecution for religion, the characteristic of a barbarous and unenlightened age, could not exist in the boasted nineteenth century. What is going on in Prussia to-day but the most infamous and groundless persecution, on pretence of defending the rights of the State, and in behalf of the new heresy of the Reinkenists? What is Switzerland doing in the interests of the Loysonists? That insignificant nutshell of a State, heretofore regarded as the home of Liberty, must put on airs and ape the conduct of the colossal tyrant of Germany. His fortune has blinded Bismarck in more ways than one. He miscalculated his powers when he entered on a contest with the Church, which has humbled so many tyrants more powerful than he, and outlived them all. He forgot that history is, in the long run, when the successive heresies die out, the exclusive property of the Catholic Church, and that he shall figure before posterity as her annalists paint him, and the colours he has mixed for them are not the brightest. I wonder shall the German Catholics be compelled by circumstances to seek the education of their clergy in foreign lands, as the Irish had to do. If so they may bless God if He sends them another Father Thomas White, to conceive and work out the project of founding colleges for

them, as that great man did for the Church of Ireland. After his long and weary labours in Salamanca, Lisbon, and Santiago, Father White was called by God to a better world on the 28th of May, 1622. The Common Letter, written by Father de Castro on his death, says:—

“To-day, Sunday, at seven o’clock in the morning, our Lord called to the reward of his great labours and deserts, Father Thomas White. He has died of fever, at the age of sixty-four years, and thirty-four of Society, during which he laboured apostolically in the service of God and the Catholic Faith, which through means of the colleges he founded in Spain, has been preserved in Ireland. His life and virtues are well known in the Society, and cannot be done justice in a short letter. All his anxiety and desires were ever for the greater glory of God, and the good of his colleges, in behalf of which he constantly toiled. On the road, and in the external occupations in which he was almost constantly employed, he observed a singular interior recollection, and never omitted his exercises of prayer and spiritual contemplation. He had always great resignation to the will of God, from whom, as he said before his death, he never asked anything in earnest which he did not obtain. God always favoured his designs and intentions by moving the wills of the Chapters, Prelates, and Princes with whom he came in contact, to assist him with their subscriptions, for they recognised in him a man of great zeal and extraordinary virtue. He practised great penance, and notwithstanding his age, never abandoned the hair shirt and discipline which he took daily.

“In his person he was most simple, as well in his dress as in his manner, and his ordinary daily food was a little bread and cheese, which he eat along the road. He edified exceedingly all the lay people he came in contact with. He was a lively example of virtue to his students; and through his means the different Religious Orders were peopled with distinguished subjects, and his native country with holy priests and prelates, who confess they owe all the good that is in them to Father Thomas White, after God. In his last illness he gave strong proofs of the sanctity of his life, and though death caught him at a time he might feel it most, when he was still engaged in organizing this College of Santiago, he prepared himself with most fervent acts of resignation to the will of God, and bewailed his not having served Him still more earnestly. Even in the moments when the fever went to his head, his sentiments were the same, so that one could see that virtue and religion had become second nature to him. He received Communion three times in the fifteen days his illness lasted, and

Extreme Unction was administered to him in good time ; and as we finished the recommendation of the soul to God, he breathed his last in great peace, his countenance retaining all the appearance of life. All this gives us special pledges that he is in Heaven, but we are left overwhelmed with grief for what all the colleges have lost in this father and protector of his country, and his death has created a profound sensation in this Seminary and city, where it is bewailed with tears."

Father White was a native of Clonmel, and that town may well be proud of having given birth to the saviour of the Faith in Ireland. Such a man is in every way deserving of a national monument, and I hope to see the day the Church of Ireland will, in gratitude to his memory, raise one in the capital of the kingdom, and another in his native town.

In the meantime, the persecution continued to rage with unmitigated fury in Ireland, as may be seen from the following proclamation of the Earl of Thomond, President of the province of Munster, bearing date the 11th of March, 1620 :—

" Inasmuch as we are well informed that in your town of N. there are various houses appropriated to the superstitious practices and uses of priests, Jesuits, and friars, who have recourse to them to say Masses, and for other superstitious and papistical ceremonies, contrary to the Sacred Scriptures, and to the laws and statutes of our lord the king : for the better prevention of these enormous crimes, and for the extirpation of the profane and vile persons who act thus against God and the laws of his majesty, it hath pleased us to command, and we do hereby strictly command the mayor, constables, and inhabitants generally of said town, as soon as they are required in virtue of these our letters, to make a secret search in the town and its neighbourhood, for said priests, friars, and Jesuits, and discovering, to put them in prison, and keep them safe till they have communicated with us. And we command that they immediately confiscate to our lord the king, all those superstitious houses and places, in which the people assemble to Mass, and other papistical ceremonies ; that they seize all relics, and that they destroy and level the altars used by these idolators, sending to us all their ornaments, books, and papers."

This was followed by another proclamation issued in Dublin on the 21st of January, 1624, commanding all priests, friars, &c., to depart the kingdom within forty days, on pain of incurring the usual penalties of imprisonment, &c., unless they submitted within ten days to the viceroy, or his majesty's justices. It also commanded that no subject of the king dare to receive into his house, succour, converse with, attend the

sermons, or receive any ecclesiastical dignity whatever from the hands of such friars, priests, &c. If such priests return to the country they incur like penalties; and the justices and magistrates are charged with the rigorous execution of this proclamation.

This constant current of inhuman barbarity was interrupted for a short time on the accession of Charles I. in 1625, and a certain degree of calm was enjoyed, owing to the good dispositions of the king, and the granting of what are known as the *graces*; but in 1628, fanaticism, and the cruel instincts of Protestantism, again asserted their influence over the direction of affairs, and the torture of the Catholics commenced anew. Charles, when Prince of Wales, had made a romantic expedition to Spain in 1623, accompanied by the king's favourite, the Duke of Buckingham, with the intention of forming an alliance with the Spanish crown, by marrying Maria, daughter of Philip III.; but the match was broken off, and Charles afterwards wedded Henrietta of France, of whom he had become enamoured when passing through Paris on his way to Spain. Our Irish Fathers did not allow the occasion to escape of doing something for their native land if the anticipated marriage should take place. They drew up a list of grievances connected with religion and the royal plantation in Ireland, and forwarded it to the Court with the object of inducing the king to insist on their redress in the marriage stipulation; but as the match was broken off, their good intentions were frustrated.

In 1641 what is known as the great rebellion took place; but it was not a rebellion against Charles personally, whom the Irish never ceased to regard as their legitimate king, but against the furious fanatical faction, who were slowly, but surely, undermining the throne, and clearing the way for the royal procession to the block. At the same time they required certain concessions from his majesty, which at the present day look reasonable and just enough, on the granting of which they promised peace and the submission of the kingdom. These concessions were twenty-two in number, and ran thus:—

1. That a general and liberal pardon, without exception, be granted to his majesty's subjects of this kingdom; and that this pardon be sanctioned by Act of Parliament.

2. That all distinction between English and Irish be abolished.

3. That it be enacted by both the English and Irish Parliaments respectively, that the Parliament of Ireland owes no subjection or subordination to the Parliament of England,

and has supreme jurisdiction in this kingdom, as absolutely as the English Parliament has in England.

4. That sexennial Parliaments be established in Ireland, as triennial Parliaments have been in England.

5. That the 10th Act of Henry VII., commonly called Poyning's Act, and all its explanatory Acts be repealed.

6. That as the Catholic religion has been constantly maintained in Ireland since the time of St. Patrick, and was formerly the religion of the subjects of all his majesty's dominions, and was professed by the greatest minds in the principal parts of the Christian world, besides being sanctioned and approved by all Œcumenical Councils, and being most favourable to monarchical government, as our adversaries know well by experience in neighbouring nations, said religion be re-established by Act of Parliament ; and that the 2nd Act of Queen Elizabeth in Ireland, and all Acts passed against the Catholic religion from the 20th year of Henry VIII., be repealed and annulled.

7. That the bishoprics, deaneries, and all the promotions of this kingdom, as well as all the convents of friars and nuns, be restored to the Catholics ; that they be also put in possession of the tithes ; that the precincts of the houses of the monks revert to their rightful owners ; but where they have been converted into residences of private persons, they shall not be interfered with, but shall be possessed by their present occupiers, till God inspires and changes their hearts.

8. That those who possess titles of archbishop, bishop, abbot, or other ecclesiastical dignity, by grace of the Holy See, can, during their lives, retain said dignities and promotions ; but with a protestation, and other suitable clauses, for the preservation of his majesty's right of Patronage, first fruits and twentieths, in the same measure and quantity as his majesty now enjoys.

9. That all English and Scotch Protestants enjoy in this country liberty of conscience, and be not obliged to contribute to the maintenance of any Catholic clergyman, vicar, or parish priest ; but let them support their own ministers at their own expense ; and that all Irish Catholics enjoy a like privilege in England and Scotland.

10. That it be lawful for all Catholics to found and endow colleges in this kingdom for the instruction of youth and others ; but the masters shall take the oath of allegiance to his majesty.

11. That for the education of the gentlemen of this kingdom, public schools be erected and endowed ; and that Catholic natives of this country, who go to graduate, or

study, in any place, university, or college in England, enjoy liberty of conscience without molestation.

12. That an Act of Parliament be passed for the security of the titles of the subject to lands and possessions, and other property, against the Crown, no matter what right it may allege to them for the last sixty years, or under cover or pretext of the present revolution.

13. That all motions made since 1634 to establish his majesty's title and right in Connaught, Thomond, Ormond, Eliogane, Kellomanagh, Duheare, Wicklow, Iveagh, and Ulster, be annulled and made void ; and that such estates be confirmed to their rightful owners.

14. That all Plantations made since 1610 be voided by Act of Parliament, if such seem just to the Parliament ; and that the possessions be restored to those, or their heirs, from whom they were taken ; such rightful owners, however, paying all fines and service to the Crown which the Planters pay.

15. That it be lawful to transport all kinds of native produce to all parts of the world at peace with his majesty, the royal duties being previously paid, and that the statutes 10, 11, and 13 of Queen Elizabeth, prohibiting the export of such merchandise, be totally annulled.

16. That all ecclesiastical, civil, and military promotions in the grant of the Crown, in this kingdom, be conferred on such natives as his majesty may select, sole exception being made in favour of the princes of the blood.

17. That a Marshal and Admiral be appointed in this kingdom, to be perpetuated from generation to generation, with the same authority, prerogatives, and jurisdiction which they respectively enjoy in England ; and that these posts be always conferred on noble natives of this kingdom.

18. That soldiers be trained in all cities, towns, corporations, and counties of this kingdom, to be armed and provided at the expense of said counties, towns, &c., and to be commanded by natives of said places, whom said cities, towns, and corporations may respectively appoint.

19. That his majesty remit and absolve all tenements *in capite*, and for *knight-service*, in lieu of which he shall receive a fixed subsidy of £12,000 per annum, which is double the sum produced by these rights.

20. That all monopolies be abolished *in perpetuum* by Act of Parliament.

21. That modern corporations possess not the right of corporate towns ; and such as were created to obtain votes in Parliament, be dissolved and deprived of their votes ; and that in future no such votes be received in Parliament.

22. That here or elsewhere, as may appear best, a duly qualified agent be elected, to be in continual attendance on his majesty at Court, to represent the grievances and complaints of this his kingdom; and that he can be removed by those who elected him; and in case he die or be deprived of his office, that another can be elected to succeed him; and such agent shall enjoy liberty of conscience at Court, or wherever he may reside.

These were the conditions laid down in a pamphlet published in 1642, the Latin version of which, now before me, concludes in these words:—

His proum erit suae sacrae Majestati perspicere non desiderare suos hujus Regni subditos ullam diminutionem regalium praerogativorum ipsius aut reddituum, nec ullam dissensionem cum Anglia charissima eorum sorore; sed è contra in omnibus eorum desideriis, votis et protestationibus publicis et privatis profitentur et vovent fidelitatem suo Principi, et unionem cum Anglia; et internam fidem suis externis expressionibus conformantes, humiliter offerunt quod si sua sacratissima Majestas pro sua regia et innata bonitate, moderatis et justis eorum petitionibus gratiose voluerit annuere, ipsius populus hic in aperto et libero Parlamento statuet suae Majestati redditum, in ea proportionem quae justa fuerit, ipsiusque privatae bursae resultabit considerabile et competens proveniunt, solvendum in totum vel quoad partem quottannis, trimestriis, singulis mensibus, vel aliter prout suae Majestati placuerit, cum tamen nullus omnino Majorum ipsius extiterit, qui vel unum denarium inde recipere. Regnum quoque in promptu habebit sufficientem exercitum ex naturalibus ejusdem ad serviendum suae Celsitudini, et ad efficiendum eum amicis proficuum, inimicis terribilem, formidandum foris, reverendum domi, et ad vindicandum ejus honorem et jura contra omnes adversarios paratum.

We shall pass in silence the succeeding reigns of this century, as we can give no special details concerning them, and endeavour to carry up the history of the College from the point at which we left it.

In 1623 Urban VIII. issued a Brief, at the petition of Dr. Thomas Fleming, Archbishop of Dublin, granting permission to the students of the Irish seminaries of France, Spain, and Flanders, to be ordained *in sacris in tilulum Missionis in Hiberniam, extra tempora, nec servatis intersticiis*, on the sole Dimissorials of their respective Rectors. This faculty was withdrawn from the Rectors in 1835; but there appears no reason for believing that the other privileges granted to the students are not still in full force.

On the appointment of Father Conway to Santiago, Father Thomas Bryan, or O'Brien, succeeded him in Salamanca, and on his translation to Seville in 1631, his successor was the learned Father Paul Sherlock. Father Paul was born in Waterford in 1599, and having gone out at a very early age to the College of Salamanca, joined the Society of Jesus in 1613. He became a great proficient in the Spanish language, which he wrote, and, I am sure, spoke, like a native. He is the author of a Commentary on the Cantic of Canticles, three vols., Lyons, 1640. Many letters written to him are preserved, among them two from James Carney, in all of which he is treated with the deep respect his learning and virtues merited. He was called to the reward of his labours, and his paternal care of the young seminary, in 1646, and after an interval of two years, in which it was governed by a Spaniard named John of Salamanca, was succeeded by Father Peter Reade. Father Reade is the author of a Commentary on the Machabees, in the Preface to which he has preserved the following beautiful and curious epigram, written on his work by Father James Carney. Father Reade himself tells us it is the only favourable judgment of his friends, which he regarded as a real and sincere opinion of the value of the work he had just completed :—

PETRUS REDANUS, i.e., RUPES ET NARDUS.

Rupe quid asperius? Nardo quid olentius? Et tu
Asper es ut rupes, ut bona nardus oles.
Asper es ut rupes, dum construis aspera bella,
Dum recolis palmas, ut bona nardus oles.
Asper es ut rupes, Fidei dum proteris hostes,
Dumque Fidem servas, ut bona nardus oles.
Asper es ut rupes, vitiis dum pharmaca praebes,
Componens mores, ut bona nardus oles.
Asper es ut rupes, patriae pro nomine pugnans,
Dum patriam relevas, ut bona nardus oles.
Asper es ut rupes, dum corripis Antiochistas,
Dum Machabaeum effers, ut bona nardus oles.
Nardus es et rupes, ut miscens utile dulci,
Omne probes punctum scripta tulisse tua.
Nardus es et rupes, ut Petrus Petra voceris:
Et mala bella dolens, et bona semper olens.

Only one letter of Father Reade's is extant, written to Father Luke Wadding. He went to render his account in 1651, and was succeeded by Andrew Sall. We are told by Oliver that Father Sall was probably uncle to the apostate of

the same name, who renounced the Faith in his native town of Cashel in 1674. It is to be hoped his good uncle finished his earthly career before his grey hairs were brought in sorrow to the grave by such a calamity. It would appear certain, according to the same writer, that in 1663 he was superior of his brethren in Ireland. His term of office in Salamanca was brought to a close in 1654. Of the fruits produced by the College up to his time, he has left us the following account:—"There have gone from it to the Irish Mission, in less than 60 years, 389 good theologians, for the defence of our holy faith, of whom 30 suffered cruel torments and martyrdom—I was primate, 4 archbishops, 5 bishops, 9 provincials of various Religious Orders, 13 illustrious writers, 20 doctors of theology, besides a great number of whose actions and dignities we have not heard, but who are known in Heaven, which has been thickly peopled by the illustrious children of the Church of Ireland."

In 1648 Father Luke Wadding was appointed *Prefect of the Mission*, with residence in Madrid. Several letters of his are extant, the last of which is dated Madrid, Oct. 25th, 1651. He is thus referred to by Oliver:—"Wadding, Luke (brother to Father Peter Wadding), was a native of Waterford, and of a family fruitful in great men. Father Luke was living in Salamanca, and his brother Peter in Bohemia, in the year 1642. On the 24th April, that year, the Superior of the Irish Mission, Father Robert Nugent, applied to the General Vitelleschi for the benefit of their services at home—in *missione hac omnino necessarii sunt*; but it is certain the petition could not be granted." To this we can add that the date of his birth was 1593. He went to Salamanca a mere child, and joined the Order of St Ignatius in 1609, at the age of 16 years. He was gifted with extraordinary talents, which his superiors employed in various classes in Salamanca and Valladolid. He became, in the course of time, Rector of the Jesuit College in Burgos, and gave great satisfaction in its government. His fame was so great that the most learned consulted him in their difficulties, and his virtue and piety so well known that the leading people of the different towns in which he resided sought him as director of their consciences. In 1648 he was appointed *Prefect of the Mission*, as we have said, and transferred to the Jesuit College in Madrid, where he professed a class of Ethics for three years, till death called him to a better world in the extreme end of 1651, at the age of 58 years.

Father Sall's two immediate successors were Spaniards, Father Andrew Mendo and Father Gaspar de Ibarra, who brought down the government of the College to 1665, when

Father Andrew Lincol took up the reins, and held them till 1689. In this year he was succeeded by Father James Walshe, who was translated in 1693 to the direction of the Jesuit House of Bilbao, where he died in 1703. He was succeeded by Father Barnaby Bath, who was appointed in 1696 to the government of the Irish College of Santiago. In the notice of that College we have seen the eminent virtues and holy life of this laborious and saintly Father. On his translation from Salamanca, he was succeeded by a Spaniard, Andrew Ignatius Garcia, whose term of office came to a conclusion in 1701.

We have now got through the stormy, eventful, but, for the Church of Ireland, glorious period of the 17th century. During the reign of James I. there was scarcely any intermission in the fury of the storm of persecution; but in that of Charles I. some short period of comparative lull was enjoyed. The King himself is acknowledged to have been favourably disposed to the Catholics; but as he was surrounded by people whose interests lay in despoiling them, he was unable to do what his humane instincts prompted. Whilst the priest and people of Ireland were sacrificing property, liberty, and life in defence of the Faith, the Irish sons of St. Ignatius in Spain were labouring silently, obscurely, but not the less effectively, in training new volunteers in the cause of God and His afflicted Church in the country of their birth. With the end of this century this chapter also comes to a close.

W. M'D.

A CATHOLIC CONGRESS.

TO many amongst the scientific minds of the present day, it would be a question of very little interest to discuss what form of constitution was given to the Church, in the beginning, by her Divine Founder. When men have lost faith in that Founder, they do not trouble themselves concerning His work, except to destroy it. But in the sixteenth century, when the mind of Europe, not yet prepared for "molecular" or cognate systems, was so intent on religious controversy, one of the subjects most warmly debated between the champions of the Church and the innovators, was that of the character of the Christian priest-

hood. If the subject could ever have been debatable for Catholics, the Council of Trent took it out of the field of debate by defining, in its 23rd Session, that there exists in the Church a hierarchy of divine institution, consisting of bishops, priests, and ministers, which by divine right is distinct from the body of the laity. The *Reformers*, on the other hand, contended that every Christian, by virtue of his baptism, is a priest, and that, consequently, the plenitude of sacerdotal power resides in the people. Hence they inferred the necessity of the people or their representatives participating in the election or removal of their ministers, and, generally, in the affairs of Church government. The result of this principle, where it has been carried out into practice, has been two-fold: 1st, to throw all power into the hands of the civil rulers, where the state protects religion; and, 2nd, where this is not the case, to create anarchy of thought and action amongst the various component orders of the body thus constituted. Here in Ireland we have not far to look for an exemplification of this latter result. The discussions of the Synod of the Disestablished Irish Church form a very striking comment on the Protestant principle of ecclesiastical government.

To the casual observer this false system of polity would seem to be in some way invoked and consecrated by one of the most remarkable phenomena of the Church's life in these days—I mean the Catholic Congresses. There is, indeed, an analogy between these assemblies and Protestant conventicles, inasmuch as both are constituted of an admixture of the lay and clerical element. But here the similarity begins, and here it ceases. As they are totally divergent in their aims and working, so they have been totally different in their results. Protestant synods have had the curse of barrenness upon them, they have been conspicuous, we had almost said ridiculous, failures, whilst Catholic Congresses have in all cases met with signal success.

Leaving out the higher and providential causes of these failures and successes, we think we shall not be astray in assigning, as secondary causes, that whereas Protestant assemblies have arrogated to themselves the right of defining doctrine and regulating discipline, the Catholic Congresses have never trespassed beyond the domain in which they were competent to judge and to act. The first, besides that they undertook a work for which they had no mission from above, were, even humanly speaking, unfitted to accomplish that work; whilst the second, duly recognising their position and powers, limited their labours to those interests and works in which their co-operation was desirable, and in which their authority was at once ac-

knowledge and esteemed. A writer, in the first number of the *Civiltà Cattolica* for July, pertinently remarks :—

“The Catholic Congress is not a council of laymen teaching religious truths and principles. The teaching power in the Church belongs to the Pope and the episcopate ; a congress of laymen can only profess, accept, and apply the doctrines of the teaching Church. The day on which a congress would presume to discuss or define religious or moral doctrines, it would cease to be Catholic, it would stand self-condemned and ridiculous in the eyes of the faithful. The wish, inspired by hellish pride, to become judges of revealed truth, has created the Protestant and liberal sects, but such a wish has naturally no place in an assembly of Catholics, who have come together precisely to repair the damages inflicted on the Catholic peoples by Protestantism and liberalism. Hence it is that all the Catholic Congresses yet held were opened and closed with an explicit and solemn submission to the teachings of the Chair of Peter.”

Further on, the same writer observes :—

“The Catholic Congress is not a political parliament, which discusses principles of civil government, or establishes merely civil institutions. It is religious zeal that assembles Catholics in congress, and it is religious zeal that assigns to them the limits which they ought not pass. A congress meets to defend and promote Catholic interests, which ought to remain outside every political question : and hence it cannot, and ought not, bind its action to the action of any political party. . . . This principle has ever informed Catholic Congresses, being indeed expressly affirmed in all their statutes.

“The strict observance of such a rule, however, does not prevent these Congresses from exercising a powerful and legitimate influence even over politics. But this influence is always indirect, and, if we might so say, accessory. Catholic Congresses can, little by little, succeed in dissipating prejudices, in manifesting the real needs and desires of the people, in showing governments on which side is justice, and on which oppression ; and thus they can force their rulers to abandon their hatred, their traps, and their persecutions, and to embrace a fairer, a more honest, a juster policy.”

We have thus far explained, in the words of our cotemporary, what a Catholic Congress is not. We shall now define what it is, in words very happily chosen, a short time since, by Baron de Loe, President of the Catholic Association of Germany, in his message of sympathy telegraphed to the Congress lately held at Venice. “A Catholic Congress,” said he, “is an auxiliary cohort of the Church’s army.” It is a *cohort*,

because its principal aim is to support the Church in her present terrible struggle ; it is an *auxiliary* cohort, because not necessarily forming part of the army which she must ever have to fight her way through the world ; it is an *auxiliary*, because it is lead and commanded by her ; it is, finally, an *auxiliary*, because it uses arms altogether different from those the Church herself adopts. And these arms the Baron briefly described when he recommended the Catholics, assembled at Venice, "to stand united with one mind and one aim, and to fight in the front rank with the arms of prayer, of speech, and good works." These are the arms of a Catholic Congress, because the arms of the Catholic laity.

This idea of a Catholic Congress is the same which His Holiness Pius IX. has more fully expounded in his brief to the President and members of the first Italian Congress :— "All should have at heart to assemble and consult together ; to manifest to one another the condition of the various provinces and their necessities ; to examine the difficulties proper to each ; to discuss the measures best calculated to ensure success, and so to unite their forces, that, though destined for various objects, there may be united action on the part of all to bring about the destruction of error, the extirpation of vice, the restoration of morality, the defence of religion, the increase of piety, and the alleviation of calamities." Such is the nature, such are the objects of a Catholic Congress.

But why is the aid of this *auxiliary* invoked by the Church at this age more than in past ages ? Is it not a modern institution ? Does it not seem little in accordance with the conservative spirit of the Church ?

That it in no way conflicts with the genius of Catholicity is plain, from the positive approval at various times given to it, by the great Pontiff who now sits in the Chair of Peter, as well as from the consideration of its aims, and the means which it employs to effect them. That a Catholic Congress, such as we now understand it, is a modern institution cannot be denied. But surely it is not to be suspected, much less condemned, merely because it is modern. Nay, it is the very force of circumstances which have arisen in modern times that has rendered such an institution almost a necessity. What is the salient feature in the Church's history for the last half century ? It is, doubtless, her abandonment by the rulers of the earth, her separation from the state, her divorce from civil society, precipitated by the Protestant and liberalistic influences which have been at work for the last three centuries amongst the European peoples. Whilst the state acted in harmony with the Church, whilst it observed its obligations towards

her, there was no need of organizations emanating from private persons for the defence of religion or morality. But the state first deserted and then denied its duties towards Christianity, so that Europe presents to-day the strange spectacle of several countries in which the millions profess Catholicity, and in not one of which is the state, as such, Catholic. But more: the civil power, not content with being independent, seeks and claims to be dominant. Hence the persecutions which the Church is undergoing in the various countries where the state has apostatized from Christian principles, hence the suppression of the religious orders, hence the spoliation of the clergy, hence the many vexatious enactments which governments moulded on the *liberal* type have not scrupled, nor been ashamed to carry out, against the most sacred liberties of their Catholic subjects.

These new conditions of society have naturally imposed new duties on Catholics. The state has abandoned its privilege and its duty to foster and subsidize religion, and it now falls to the lot of each individual professing the Christian faith to energize for its preservation and extension. But as the efforts of private persons, singly made, could be expected to effect little against the disciplined forces of liberalism and infidelity arrayed against them, hence the necessity for Catholics to band together in associations, in order to do battle successfully with the formidable foe. Union is strength, and a well-organized society must exercise an immense influence for good, whether that influence be direct or indirect. Where there is unity of aim and harmony of action, where there is ardour and firmness of resolve (as there will be generally where many are bound together for the attainment of a common object), the most successful results may be confidently expected.

Catholics must learn in the present crisis to use (where they can conscientiously do so), the weapons which have been hitherto wielded with such fatal effect by their adversaries. What has sold the states of Europe to the revolution? Has it not been freemasonry? And what has been the secret of its success if not the principle of association rigidly adhered to? How many of the most startling events of the past century may be traced to the *mot d'ordre* given in the clubs of the secret societies! What will explain the sameness of intent, and the sameness of measures incessantly preached by the journals in the pay of the revolution?—the same bitter hatred of Catholicity—the same rabid resolve to destroy it. What, but a pre-concerted plan, matured by some wide-spreading and powerful association, can explain the simul-

taneous action of sectaries triumphant in Europe, not only in popular demonstrations, but even within the walls of legislative assemblies? Was it not, for example, a remarkable thing that, a few years ago, there was proposed and discussed a law, for banishing religious education from the schools, in three great parliaments, at the very same time?

Taught, then, by reason and experience, the children of the Church, who grieve at her oppression and long for her delivery, have already, to a large extent, availed themselves of the right of association, which the state in most places gives them. And hitherto they have done so with the most happy and beneficial consequences. Where Catholic associations have been rightly established, there has vice sensibly decreased, there has virtue flourished. The aims of these associations are principally to disseminate religious knowledge amongst the people; to open good schools for them; to furnish them with harmless and instructive reading; to encourage the frequentation of the sacraments and other practices of piety; to provide for those who are exposed to danger, and to rescue the fallen from their evil ways; and generally, to create and foster healthy opinions amongst the people, on all public questions affecting the rights, privileges, and interests of the Church.

We shall instance the far-reaching activity and successful working of these associations by giving a summary of the *œuvres* which are at present being carried out in Marseilles. This city has been long noted for the wild and extreme revolutionary doctrines with which a considerable part of its population was infected. And yet there, by means of Catholic Associations, the most admirable works of Christian charity and piety have been established. There is, first, a Society, similar to that in Rome, "for the Defence of Catholic Interests," which forms the nucleus of the other associations. The exertions of the members furnish it with an annual revenue of £3,000. Then there is the Association of Servants, instituted to meet poor girls as they come to the city, and to provide them with suitable situations. There is, besides, what is called the *œuvre des Saints Touristes*, the object of which is principally to encourage practices of piety by example. To this end, the young men who are members of it go about to Mass and Communion in the villages round Marseilles. Further, there is an Association of Hospitality, in some way corresponding with the famous institution of S. Girolamo dei Pellegrini at Rome. How effectual it has been as a work of mercy, and how largely it has been availed of, may be gathered from the fact, that in the first two years of its establishment

eight thousand four hundred and twenty persons were comfortably lodged, and their wants seen to personally by the administrators, sixty-one in all, who constitute the association. We have given this example to show what the work of association, properly organized, can effect even in places where irreligion and impiety have been rampant.

We may be permitted to give a further proof of the power for good which these associations possess, by showing the dread entertained towards them by the arch-persecutor of the Church in our day, Prince Bismarck. In an official ordinance of the Prussian Minister of the Interior, we read the following :—

“ If the law of the 11th March, 1850, with regard to associations, put under the control of the police only those which made it their object to interfere in public affairs, it must be remembered now that it was not necessary this object should be stated in their rules, but that it sufficed to bring such an association under the control of the law, did they show by their proceedings that they intended to exert their influence in public affairs. It is the duty of the local police to take care that these associations do not evade the law, by holding their meetings so as to escape their inspection. . . . An attempt was made, principally by the Mayence Catholic Association, to evade the prohibition made with regard to the union of political associations, by founding a society, the members of which were not to be formed into small local associations, but were to be dispersed over the whole country. *Therefore everywhere the Mayence Catholic Association ought to be dissolved* (we must confess that it baffles the acumen of our reasoning faculties to discover where the *nexus* lies between the antecedent and consequent of this argument). These orders are to be strictly carried out by the police, and a report to be sent in at the end of a fortnight. At the same time a list is to be made of the Catholic Associations in each district, in which is to be specified whether they interfere in public affairs, and whether they allow politics to be discussed during their meetings, or what is the particular aim of each one ; further, the number of their members is to be stated ; if, and with what other associations they are connected ; and, lastly, who are their leaders.”

This document, whilst conveying unmistakable evidence of the *liberty* of the subject under the Imperial *regime*, affords us a strong, though indirect, proof of the benefits to religion which Catholic Associations are calculated to confer.

Now, a Catholic Congress is simply an extended Catholic Association such as we have described. It does for a nation,

or a province, what the association does for a certain circumscribed locality. Of late years, indeed, the Catholic Congresses have been principally constituted of deputies from the various local Associations, in so much that the writer in the *Civiltà*, already referred to, defines a Congress to be "*a federation of associations.*" It is a great centre of Catholic action, where the forces of the several committees, scattered over a large extent of country, are brought together, examined, compared, instructed, and trained in their noble duties; and whence they return with increased knowledge and ardour—hopeful, encouraged, and invigorated.

It is plain, therefore, that the idea of a Catholic Congress has been suggested by the changed relations of the nations to Christianity; that it is simply the natural outcome of Christian faith and Christian zeal, defending itself against the fierce aggressions of that infidelity and impiety which Liberalism has generated and diffused throughout the world. As the forms of error change, so the Church may change the weapons with which she encounters it; and a Catholic Congress is precisely one of these arms which she has chosen to employ in her present long and gigantic struggle. We may add, that whilst being a new phase, it is a splendid development of that wondrous vitality which has been insured to the Church by the unfailing promise of her Divine Spouse—"The gates of hell shall not prevail against it."

The Catholic Congress, we have said, in its present form, is of modern institution. By a gracious disposition of Providence, as if to prepare them for their coming trials, the Germans were the first to inaugurate this great means of support and strength. In 1848 the Society of St. Boniface was established, and every subsequent year its members assembled in Congress. These meetings proved a most fruitful source of blessings to the Catholic cause. We might cite as examples of their well-directed activity, the institution of poor schools throughout the country, the foundation of a great Catholic academy, the establishment of a Catholic university at Vienna, the institution of hospitals, houses of refuge, and savings banks, and many other noble undertakings in the cause of charity and religion. It is, doubtless, to the salutary influences exercised by these Congresses that the Catholics of Germany owe much of that heroic constancy and devotion to their pastors and their faith, which are gaining them to-day the admiration and sympathy not only of Catholics, but of fair-minded men throughout the world.

By a similar providential disposition the Catholics of Switzerland imitated those of Germany in forming themselves into

permanent associations in defence of Catholic interests, as if they had almost foreseen what has just happened—that the Swiss liberals would be the first to follow out the persecuting policy of the German liberals. And they have good reason to thank God for having inspired them with the idea. Already it has borne fruit. The people have not only remained faithful to their pastors, and spurned the ministrations of schismatics, but by their constancy and courage they have excited alarm and confusion in the camp of the enemy; so that the edifice of liberal Catholicity seems well nigh a collapse in that beautiful and historic land. Witness the defection, within the last few weeks, of the *ex-Père Hyacinth*.

In 1863 the work of Catholic Congresses received a new impulse, and gained new ground, by the now famous meeting at Malines, in Belgium. Thither flocked the flower of the Catholic clergy and laity of all countries, to sit in deliberation on the means which they might best adopt to succour in her affliction that tender mother—the Church—which they loved so ardently. More than four thousand Catholics, from every part of the world, were present on the occasion. There might be seen side by side such men as Cardinal Wiseman and Count de Montalembert; the illustrious prelate of Orleans, and scions of the noble houses of England, Germany, and Italy; there were represented the dignity and the wealth, the learning and the faith, of the Catholic world. The effects produced by this assemblage of genius and rank and virtue, were most happy and cheering to those who had at heart the cause of truth.

The mutual interchange of thought between the master-minds that assembled at Malines, and the force of example there communicated, conspired powerfully to spur on the work of organization amongst the laity, and to stimulate and extend the efforts of their zeal. Each member of the Congress left for his own country edified and cheered by what he had seen and heard, with more elevated ideas of the Church's grandeur, with more living faith in her prerogatives, and with more intense ardour and a more settled purpose to defend them.

It may seem strange that one of the last amongst the Catholic nations to hold its Congress was that which glories in having for its capital the centre of Catholicity. Up to the present year the champions of the faith in Italy have never put forth their power with one united effort in Congress. We hardly concur in the opinion, that the adequate reason for this is to be sought in the oppression to which the Church in Italy has for some years been subjected. The Government

of that distracted state seems quite as anxious and quite as able to persecute, in the year 1874, as it has ever been since 1860. We rather think that the delay should be explained by the absence of those causes in Italy which elsewhere have created the need for action amongst the Catholic laity. Until the year 1860, the Church was at least, *de jure*, protected by the State in the various kingdoms and principalities of Italy, if we except Sardinia; and it was not until the year 1870 that the last vestige of Catholic civil government was swept away by the awful sacrilege consummated in the bombardment and seizure of Rome. Then, and then only, were the Catholics of the southern Peninsula completely thrown back on their individual efforts and private resources, and then it was, in the year after, that the proposition was made, during the celebration at Venice of the centenary of Lepanto, to hold at some proximate future date an Italian Catholic Congress. We may add, as a predisposing cause for the delay, that spirit of cautious reserve in accepting any new form of religious movement, which characterizes the Italians, and which has its origin, doubtless, in their deeply-laid instincts of faith, and their proximity to the Chair of Truth, whose oracle they like to await before embarking in anything that might prove not in accordance with its teaching. The proposal to convoke a Congress emanated from the head-council of the Bolognese Association of Catholic Young Men, and was most warmly welcomed by those to whom it was made. Without delay, the Council just mentioned formed itself into committee to carry out the design, under the honorary presidency of His Eminence the Cardinal Patriarch of Venice. As the first Italian Catholic Congress has suggested the writing of this paper, we shall now briefly describe its prominent facts and features.

After a series of delays and disappointments almost inevitable in the present state of affairs in Italy, the Congress met at Venice on the 13th June of the present year. The sittings were held in the spacious and beautiful Church of S. Maria del' Orto, which was tastefully decorated for the occasion. On the day of opening there were 500 persons present, amongst whom were many of the aristocracy, and those whose names are conspicuous in Italy for their enlightenment, their zeal and devotion to the Holy See. On the President's bench were seated the illustrious Patriarch of Venice and the members of the committee, to which had been intrusted the convening of Congress; on the right were the Bishops of Treviso, Belluno, and Adria, and Monsignor Nardi, auditor of the *Sacred Ruota*.

Having invoked the divine blessing on the labours of the

Assembly, the Cardinal Patriarch declared the sitting open, with the greeting, "Praised be Jesus Christ," to which all present heartily responded, "Praised be He for ever." His Eminence then commenced his address to the assembly. After having sketched the story of the origin of the Congress, he proceeded to explain the programme which it was proposed to carry out.

"With regard to the object of the Congress," said the illustrious Prince, "it suffices to say, that we have the modest intention of doing a little good. . . . The sect which rules the world in these days has possessed itself of the press and of public instruction as means whereby to corrupt and ruin society, already so disturbed. It is for you to provide, especially for the diffusion of good books, and for the extirpation of such as are bad; to endeavour with all your might to establish Catholic schools, so as to put a barrier to the slimy torrent of corruption and impiety which menaces the submersion of the world. . . . Men proclaim that Catholicity is dead, is already a corpse; but we, in this Congress, shall make them feel with their own hands, that it yet lives in all the vigour of youth, and that it is still strong with the strength of God. The world clamours that men of progress are indifferent to religion, but we, in this Congress, shall show to all, that we put above every other desire and affection of our heart that most holy religion, in which we had the good fortune to be born, and in which, at every cost, we intend to die."

Subsequently, the appointing of the President and various officers of Congress took place. In every case the nomination made by the managing committee was approved of by the assembly. A Roman Prince of the Borghese family, Duke Salviati, was chosen President, and amongst the Vice-Presidents those best known to fame were the ex-deputy Baron D'Oudes Reggio, and Commendatore Albéri.

The President having taken the chair, addressed the assembly in a brief but appropriate speech, concluding with the text:—*Si Deus pro nobis, quis contra nos?* The Papal Brief approving of the Congress was then read, after which it was agreed to despatch to the Holy Father the following telegram:—"The Catholics of Italy, for the first time in Congress assembled, commence their work by humbly prostrating themselves at the feet of your Holiness, renewing their full and entire adhesion to all the truths proclaimed by your infallible word, and begging you to encourage and support them with your Apostolic benediction."

Then followed the reading of letters and communications of sympathy from various Catholic bodies and associations

outside Italy. This being completed, the Baron D'Oudes Reggio stood up to speak, and was received with deafening applause. He said:—"It seems to me that the Catholic Congress, the first that has met in Italy, should commence with this declaration:—

"The Congress is Catholic, and nothing but Catholic; for Catholicism is a complete doctrine, the great doctrine of the human race. Catholicism, therefore, is not liberal, is not tyrannical—it has no qualification: whatever qualification may be added to it is of itself a grave error. To suppose that Catholicism is either wanting in anything that must be added, or contains anything that must be taken away, is a most serious mistake, which can only beget schism and heresy.

"Catholicism is the doctrine which the Sovereign Pontiff, successor of St. Peter, Bishop of Rome, Vicar of Jesus Christ, infallible doctor of faith and morals, teaches us either *ex-cathedra* or conjointly with the Bishops, the successors of the Apostles. Every doctrine differing from this is schism or heresy. To the supreme authority of the Sovereign Pontiff the Congress submits its deliberations. Long live Pius the Ninth!"

The most animated approval was given by the assemblage, at the conclusion of this discourse; after which Duke Salviati announced the names of the presidents of the different sections into which the Congress was to resolve itself for the more practical and expeditious transaction of its business.

These sections were:—

- (1) Catholic Associations—President, Marquis Canossa, of Verona.
- (2) Charitable Works.—President, Counsellor Scriuzi, of Venice.
- (3) Education—President, Monsig. Regnani.
- (4) The Press—President, D. Francesco Massara.
- (5) Fine Arts—President of 1st section for Painting, Sig. Du-four; President of 2nd section for Music, D. Giacomo Anelli.

After the appointment of the members of the committees, the first general meeting closed; and in the afternoon the various sections reassembled to discuss the matters marked out for each.

At the public meeting on the following morning the two speakers were Signor Albéri, who took for his theme the social influence of Christianity, and Dr. Sacchetti, who delivered an admirable exhortation to increased activity in the Catholic cause. His adaptation of the Ignatian maxim was peculiarly

happy ; "Italians," he said, "let us pray that the revolution may die to-morrow ; but let us work as though it were to live for ever."

On Sunday the 15th, a much larger number, about 800, were present at the public meeting. Monsig. Nardi, favorably known to many Irish visitors to Rome, pronounced a trenchant and eloquent discourse on the profanation of Sunday, and the Rev. Editor of the *Osservatore Cattolico* of Milan made a telling speech against *liberal* Catholics. At the first public meeting on the following day, the Bishop of Chioggia warmly commended the Society of St. Vincent de Paul, and exhorted its members to maintain that spirit of genuine Catholic piety which was the secret of all their strength. In the evening of the same day, the fifth sitting was held to hear the reports of the various committees. Our space will not permit us at present to detail all the proposals of the different sections which met with the approval of Congress. But we shall here mention two of the most noteworthy. The first was that the next Congress be held in 1875 at Florence, and that the work of preparation be intrusted to the same persons who had discharged their functions so efficiently on this occasion. The second, which emanated from the illustrious leaders D'Oudes Reggio and Albéri, was that Catholics adopt every legal means in their power to obtain freedom of education and to protest against compulsory state instruction, which the Congress declares contrary to the duties and the rights of parental authority.

The last session, which was held on the 17th, was the most important of all, both by reason of the numbers present, and of the character of the discourses thereat delivered. The President commenced by announcing that one of the works approved of by the Congress, that of opening an asylum for poor servants out of situation, would be at once begun at Venice, by that indefatigable apostle of charity, Monsig. Canal. One of the most brilliant orations enjoyed by the Congress was that by the Baron D'Oudes Reggio on the momentous subject of liberty of education. After which the President, Duke Salviati, arose and returned thanks to the Cardinal Patriarch, the Bishops present, the people of Venice, and all who had co-operated in the splendid work which they were about to finish. His reference at the end to the Holy Father created the most intense enthusiasm amongst the entire audience. After him the Cardinal stood up, and with a few graceful words closed the Congress. He said :—

"I thank you all for having shed around about you in these days the good odour of your modesty, your piety, and your

devotedness! I hope that you will return to your homes, convinced by the eloquence of facts, that Venice is yet inspired by sentiments of active loyalty to the Church. And here it seems to me that I cannot better bring our work to a conclusion, than by asking you to give an enthusiastic signal of your approval to him, whom we all love with such deep affection, to the great, the immortal, the infallible Pontiff Pius the Ninth!"

A hearty salvo of applause greeted the expression of this sentiment; and when silence had been restored, his Eminence intoned the *Te Deum*, with which the proceedings of the first Italian Congress terminated.

It is hopeful for this nation so favoured by God, yet so ill treated by men, that an event, such as we have briefly described, should now form part of her history. It is refreshing to turn from the pettiness, the incapacity, the spirit of cabal, the indecent scenes of recrimination and abuse which distinguish the house of representatives at *Montecitorio*, to a dignified assembly like that at Venice, composed of men illustrious by their rank, their honesty, and their talents, who have at heart no mere human interest in what they do, but only the cause of God and the welfare of their fellow-men. Let us hope that this happy inauguration of an active policy on the part of the Italian laity, may be the harbinger of brighter days for their afflicted country, betrayed by an irreligious clique to the revolution; and that as from Venice went forth of old the expedition which culminated in the victory of Lepanto, and brought joy to the Christian world and its now-sainted chief Pius V., so from the same place may have started, in our time, that movement, which will break the power of the modern Mussulman; which will in a true sense regenerate Italy; and rejoice the heart of Christendom and of its devoted Father and Head—the saintly Pius the Ninth!

CHRONICLE.

ITALY.

THE following extract from the reply of His Holiness to the deputation from the Venice Congress, reveals an interesting historical incident, and is in the Pope's best style. He said:—"I feel consoled in hearing of what has just been done under the protection of an evangelist in the city of Venice.

Whilst praying God to bless your endeavours, I thank you who have come here not only to give an account of your zealous efforts, but to bring comfort to the heart of the afflicted Father of the faithful by your presence, your words, and your support.

"It is true, indeed, that my affliction proceeds, not from the hard position in which I have been placed, but from the evils which the Church is made to endure. . . . Men of faith need not wonder at what occurs to-day. It has been foretold: '*Mundus gaudebit, vos autem contristabimini, sed tristitia vestra vertetur in gaudium.*' When, on the 17th June, 1846, the Conclave was thrown open to admit those who came to see the new Pope, all was joy and gladness. Some of the diplomatic body had eagerly penetrated into the Chapel of the Quirinal, and amongst them, with greater eagerness than the rest, the minister of the King of Sardinia. The Pope approached the altar vested in pontificals before presenting himself to the people at the grand balcony; and the minister of the King of Sardinia, with reverent anxiety, took the train of the Pontifical robe, desirous to have the honour of being the first to render this homage to the new Pope.

"This act of cordial sympathy between the Holy See and Piedmont was followed soon after by certain kindly letters, which more officially confirmed the good understanding between the parties.

"So far, joy and friendship—later on, all was changed into sorrow; for the same Piedmont stripped me almost entirely of the robe of my temporal dominions; and on the 20th September, 1870, went further, entering Rome itself, not to bear, but to tear in pieces, the train which alone remained of the vesture that once covered me. And here you perceive how joy was changed into sorrow.

I will here limit myself to pointing out three enemies who way-lay youth, and tend with many others to deprave it, in order that all whose business it is to impart instruction may not omit to fulfil their duty.

"These moral evils are romances, theatres, and prints. Romances, after having disturbed unwary minds, push youths sometimes to the most frightful excesses. Theatres inure them to contempt for religion, by scoffing at its mysteries, and by introducing on the stage its ministers, and those consecrated to it, in order to render them objects of hatred and ridicule. Prints accomplish their evil task by doing violence to the will—impelling it to beastly desires."

2. A severe bereavement has come upon His Holiness in the death of Monsignor de Merode, his Almoner, and Archbishop of Melitene. The deceased Prelate was taken away, after a short and painful illness, at midnight between the 10th

and 11th July. Born in 1820 of a noble Belgian family, and connected with the royal house of Savoy, he, in early youth, manifested a taste for a military career, and afterwards served under Lamoriciere in the campaign which resulted in the capture of Constantine. Here the ardour and bravery of the youthful Belgian was pointed to by the distinguished general as an example for his soldiers. Subsequently, the successful volunteer, feeling himself drawn to another warfare, abandoned his high hopes of earthly military fame, and joined the army of the Church, receiving Holy Orders. Soon after, His Holiness conferred on him the dignity of domestic Prelate to the Papal Court, to which he ever afterwards remained attached, although at various times discharging various functions thereat. It was through the instrumentality of the deceased that Lamoriciere consented to take the command of the Pontifical army in 1860. Monsignor de Merode was at that time Pro-Minister of Arms under His Holiness, and then, as well as subsequently, distinguished himself by his activity and devotedness to the cause of the Father of the Faithful. On the elevation of Monsignor Hohenlohe to the Cardinalate in 1866, the post of Almoner was conferred on the Belgian Prelate, at which time he was also raised to the Episcopal dignity under the title of Archbishop of Melitene. During the Vatican Council he was amongst the minority of the Fathers, who considered the definition of Papal Infallibility to be then inopportune. This never in the least diminished the attachment of the Holy Father for him, which was most marked and constant up to the day of his death. During his illness the Pope visited and consoled him, and to honor his memory the more, derogated from several customs, in order that the funeral service might be performed in the Vatican Basilica. This case is one more witness against the malignant representations of the scribe *Quirinus*, who depicted so feelingly the terrorism of the Roman Curia, and the certainty of estrangement which would ensue between the Pope and any Prelate honest and bold enough to oppose the declaration of his supreme prerogatives.

3. In its special telegram from Rome, *The Tablet* has the following interesting item:—"To-day the Pope gave Cardinal Franchi a magnificent reliquary, inlaid with mosaics, for Quebec, where, on the 1st October, will be celebrated the centenary of the creation of that diocese. Fifty bishops, whose dioceses anciently formed part of the Diocese of Quebec, will be present on the occasion." This extraordinary fact is hardly corroborative of the assertion made by some of the *philosophic* men of the day, that the Church is past her time—a tottering worn-out institution.

4. Rather, we should say (and facts would bear us out in what we say), that many of the institutions which the *philosophic* worship as the practical triumph of modern enlightenment, are already far advanced in their decrepitude, before they have well begun to be. Take, for example, that marvel of modern political institutions—United Italy. What is the state of affairs in that country to-day? The most deplorable. The *Gazzetta di Torino* acknowledges that “crime is on the increase, twelve provinces are at the mercy of brigands, the penitentiary system is a budget of horror, and the normal school of crime.” And the semi-official *Opinione*, after giving a long category of the atrocities which have been of late committed, confessed—that “it is easy to understand how the offences, which have just been perpetrated, would awaken inquietude amongst the population, being of such a sort as to seem almost an open revolt against all the laws of society.”

Sicily is especially distracted in its social organization. From a letter, which was compiled by a number of the respectable inhabitants, and addressed to the Prefect of the Province, we learn that “the condition of public security is most deplorable. It is no longer ordinary theft, cattle-stealing, or highway robbery that disturbs social order; but the life and property of all and every one are at the disposal of a formidable sect of ruffians, who go about freely in organized bands, without any fear, strong in their numbers, their arms, and their affiliates.” The Prefect of Palermo has made an appeal to all citizens to unite their efforts to remedy this frightful state of things. He has further, in the name of the government, promised rewards, varying from 2,000 to 25,000 lire, for the arrest of the most notorious of the bandits. But the glitter of the promised gold seems to have been quite as ineffectual as the sheen of the brandished bayonet in bringing under the pest of brigandage. The papers nearly every day contain terrifying descriptions of the outrages committed in the broad light at the gates of, and even within populous cities, by bands of robbers, who are mounted on magnificent horses, furnished with the latest and most exquisite military arms, who combat with soldierly skill, capture rich proprietors, exacting for their ransom hundreds of thousands of lire, and slaughtering without pity any one whom they suspect of acting the spy, or any one who may refuse to pay the required ransom.

5. This serious and lamentable condition of things is not, however, confined to Sicily. In the middle and northern provinces also public order has been rudely disturbed. Food riots there take the place of brigandage in the south. Not to speak of the many outbreaks of the consumers against the

dealers in the small provincial towns, the most dangerous tumults have been excited even in some of the large cities. At Leghorn the military had to be called out and let loose on the rioters. The disorders at Florence assumed the yet more menacing character of communism. On the 2nd August, the government, acting on information received, despatched a body of troops to Rimini, where, in the villa Ruffi, they came upon and surprised a republican congress. Twenty-eight persons were arrested, and amongst them the notorious Saffi, ex-Triumvir of the Roman Republic in '48. Consequent on this, and various other awakenings of *International* life, the Prefects of Ravenna and Ancona have dissolved a number of Republican Unions.

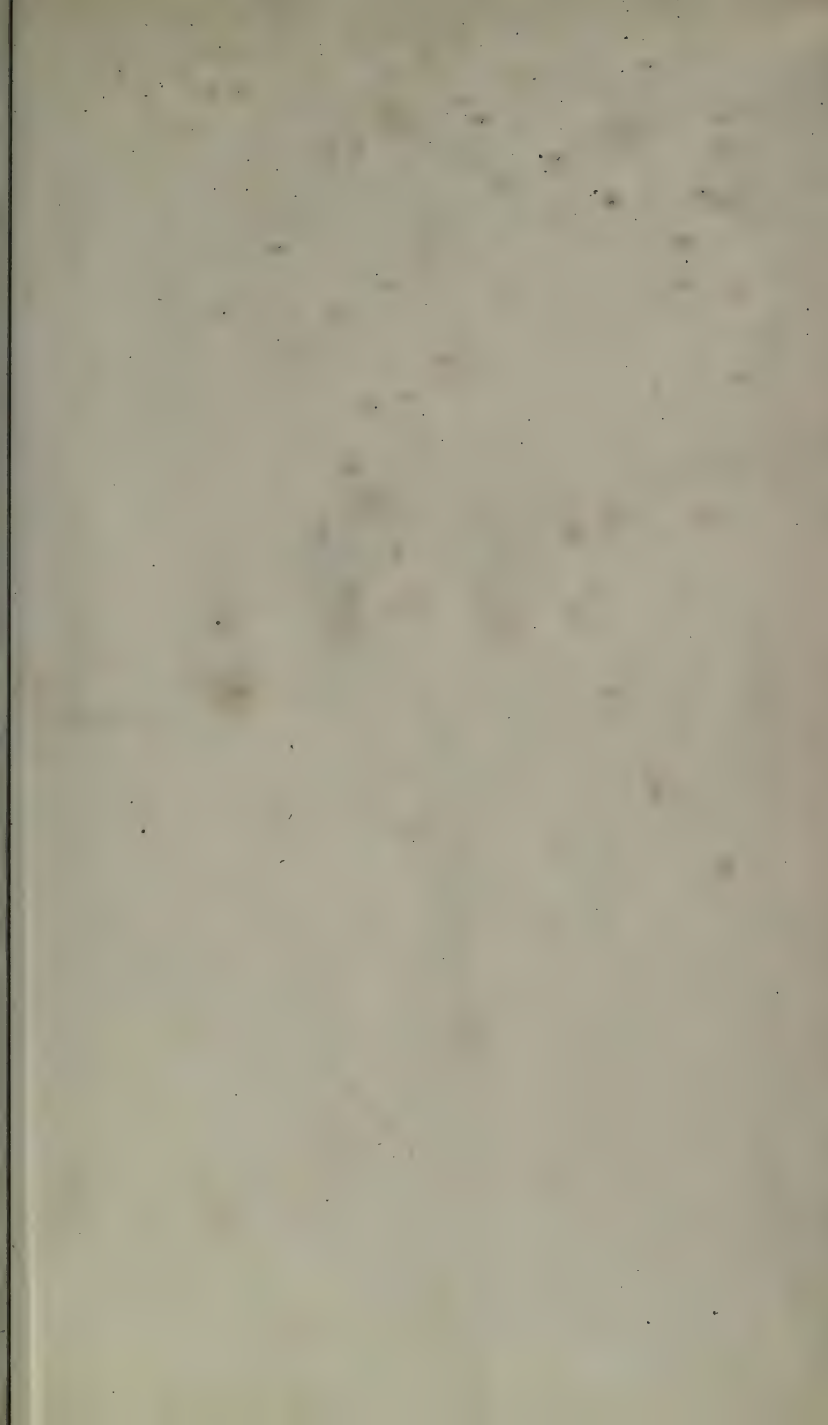
The *Turin Gazette* of the 26th July says that Italian Finance ministers, especially Sella and Minghetti, have "inoculated Italy with the virus of death." It continues:—"From 1861 to 1874 the War Office cost us three milliards, and gave us Custoza. The navy ate up 650 millions, and gave us Lissa. Public instruction swallowed 250 millions, and yet five-sixths of Italians cannot read or write. . . . Justice has oscillated between twenty-two and thirty millions, but the new magistracy is *not better* than that of the old governments, and is *neither more independent nor more able*."

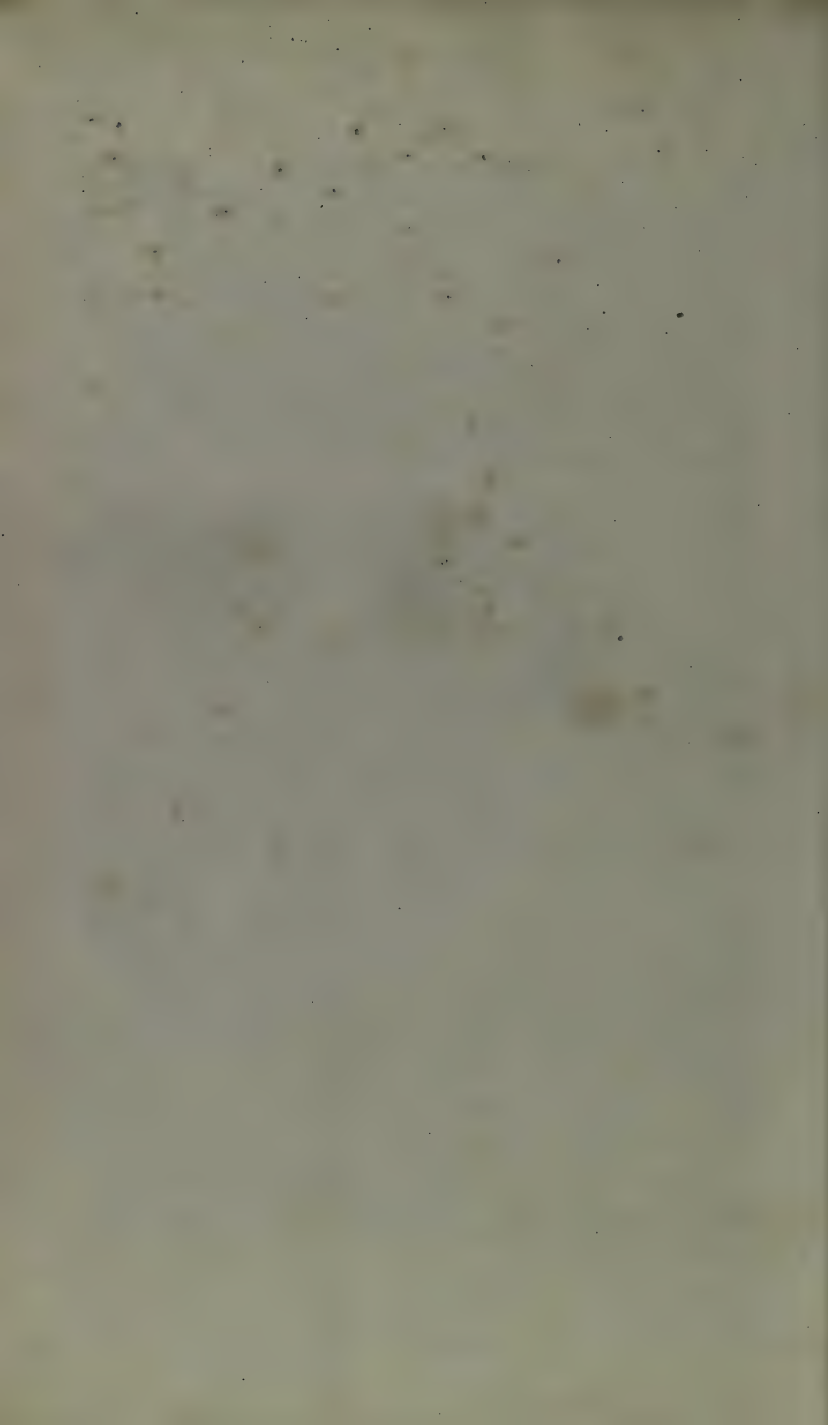
These are precious acknowledgments, and herein we have a faint idea of the happiness and prosperity of regenerated Italy fourteen years after the memorable fact of her unification!

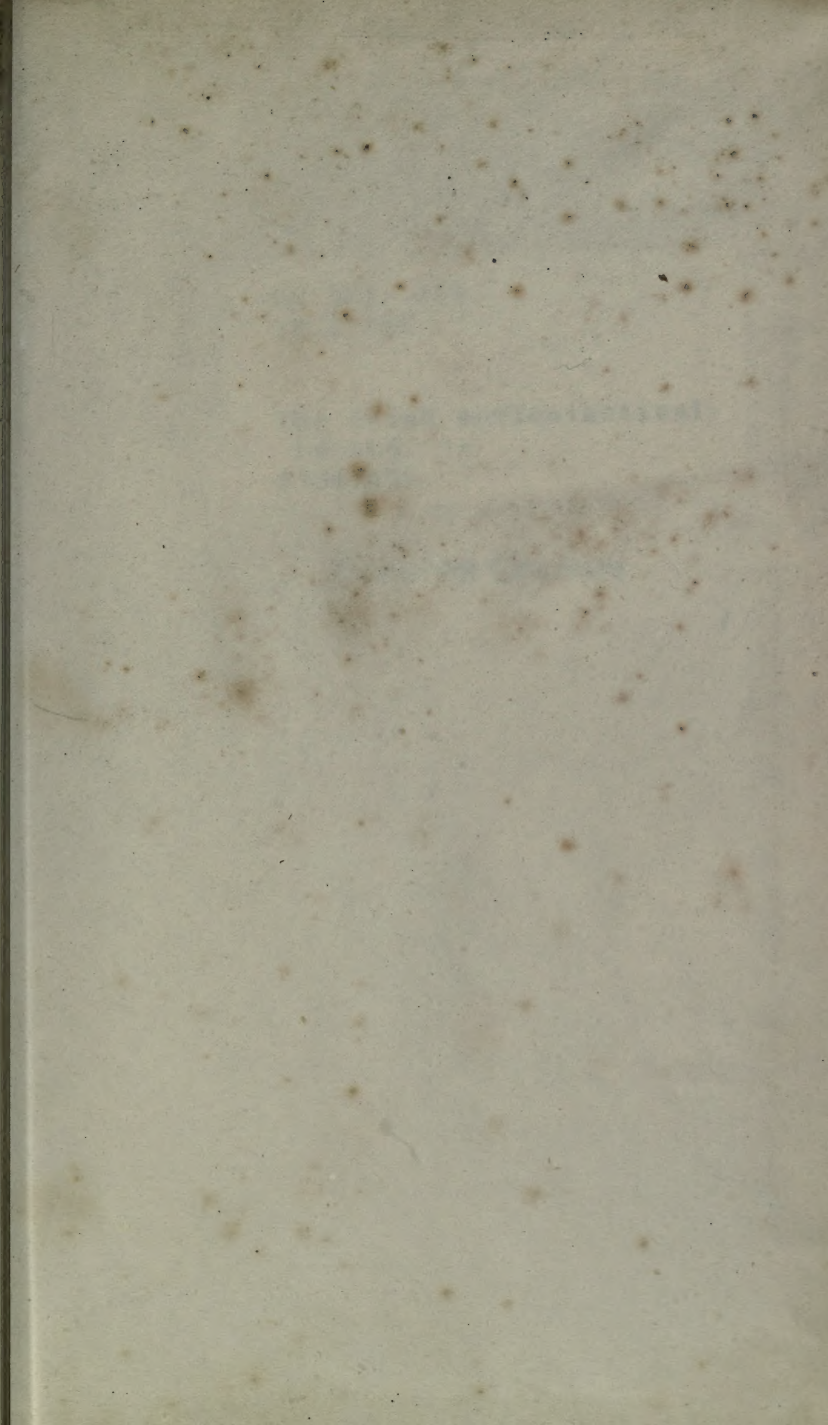
6. In the recent municipal elections the abstention of voters was most marked. In nearly all the *communes* only about one-third or one-fourth of the electoral colleges gave their suffrages. In a few places, as at Frascati, Velletri, Monte-Pozzio, and Albano, the Catholic candidates were successful.

7. Protestantism is quite jubilant at Rome. It has gained a new proselyte in the person of an unhappy priest! This is the second ecclesiastic who has fallen into the snares so widely laid for malcontents amongst the clergy by the intriguing sects who now prowl about the holy city, "seeking whom they may devour." It is only a marvellous mercy from God that, under present circumstances, more than two out of the thousands of clerics there should not have fallen.

8. One of the latest acts of the *Giunta*, for the sale of ecclesiastical property, is the disposal of the villa at Frascati, belonging to the Propaganda. Duke Grazioli was the purchaser.









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